EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAISNAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN BENGAL

FROM SANSKRIT AND BENGALI SOURCES

BY

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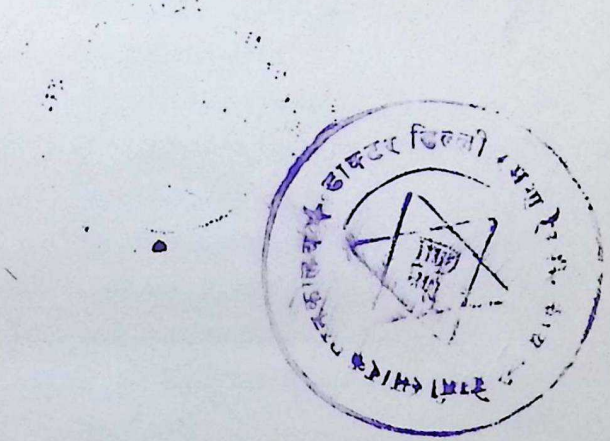
In Memoriam

VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR



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PREFACE

to the First Edition

Much of the present work was written as early as 1930, and its publication was announced in the introduction to the author's edition of the *Padyāvalī* in 1934 ; but the pressure of other urgent engagements diverted the author from its revision and completion till 1940. In the meantime, parts of it were published, in the form of preliminary essays, in *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz, Kuppusvami Sastri Commemoration Volume, Indian Historical Quarterly and Indian Culture* during 1934-1937. In its final form, the work is much enlarged and revised in the light of more recent studies.

Although the term Bengal Vaiṣṇvism is not co-extensive with the religious system associated with the name of Caitanya and his adherents, the present work limits itself to a study of Caitanyaism, which is Vaiṣṇavism *par excellence* in Bengal. It is further limited to the *early* history of Caitanyaism, which comprises the earlier and perhaps more interesting phases covered by the activities and teachings of Caitanya and his immediate followers, and excludes its later developments and departures in the 17th and 18th centuries. But the concern in this work is more with the faith than with the movement, more with ideas and ideals than with incidents and practices. Most modern works on the subject enlarge not so much upon the *matériel* as upon the *personnel*, not so much upon the tenet and teaching as upon the life and legend of the protagonists of the faith. They derive their material chiefly from the Bengali source, which consists of Bengali biographical and devotional works and represents what may be conveniently called the Navadvīpa tradition ; but in course of time it seems to have eclipsed the more doctrinal and less inviting Sanskrit source, which embodies what may be distinguished as the Vṛndāvana tradition. While fully recognising the importance of the more attractive and accessible Bengali source and of the vivid tradition and background it supplies, one should

admit that this source alone is not sufficient for a comprehensive account of the dogmas and doctrines of Caitanyaism, even if it presents a lively picture of the atmosphere and appeal of the faith. The almost contemporaneous Sanskrit source, represented by the elaborate works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, the Church Fathers of the faith, is perhaps more remote and recondite, and lacks the intimate personal element ; but it cannot be denied that it is an equally, if not more, important source which has not yet been properly utilised. It is true that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's standard Bengali biography of Caitanya gives a good account of the religious ideology of Caitanyaism ; but written in Bengali as it is, it should be affiliated to the Sanskrit source, inasmuch as it derives its material, as well as inspiration (at least in doctrinal, if not in biographical matters), quite freely from the learned Sanskrit works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, whose disciple the Kavirāja was and whose views he wanted to popularise. It is clear, therefore, that both the Bengali and Sanskrit sources, representing, as they do, two distinct traditions, should find their proper place in any adequate account of Caitanyaism. The present work makes a modest attempt to give, for the first time, a direct account of the content of the much neglected Sanskrit source, although the divergence between the mutually independent Navadvīpa and Vṛndāvana traditions is not thereby overlooked. As the presentation of religious ideas involves the necessity of interpretation, strict objectivity is almost unattainable ; but the author attempts an exposition of Caitanyaism by giving a direct summary and survey of all its earlier important works in the spheres of Rasa-śāstra, theology and philosophy, ritualism, and literature. It is more important to know what the promulgators of the faith themselves have recorded than draw upon one's own devotional fancy, or read alien, as well as anachronistic, ideas into their standard works.

The author fully realises the difficulty of writing upon a religious movement which is not yet five hundred years old,

and about a religious faith which, within the limits of locality, is still living. The peculiar system of erotico-mystic devotion of Caitanyaism, set forth as it is in a vital background of myth, miracle, sentiment and speculation, and demanding a highly refined and almost superhuman capacity of emotional abandon and ecstasy, is not yet a superseded curiosity capable of exact academic appraisement. The writing of Religionsgeschichte in such a case has its own peculiar difficulties which should not be underrated. The author, therefore, makes no attempt at any critique or comparative valuation of the faith, but he merely summarises its fully recorded original dogmas and doctrines, and leaves them to speak for themselves. It should be clearly understood, however, that the subject is approached, not from the standpoint of a devotee, apologist or partisan of the faith, but in the spirit of historical and critical research, which aims at truth-finding but does not sacrifice sympathy and understanding. The author's opinions are his own, to which he is entitled as the considered result of his independent study, but there is no motive to offend, nor any for wilful distortion. He is willing to confess to an imperfect capacity, but his sincere desire to appreciate, in the light of modern standards of scholarship, should not be misjudged.

University of Dacca
August 1, 1942.

PREFACE

to the Second Edition

This work has been out of print for more than fifteen years, but no substantial change was required for this edition, except small additions and necessary corrections.

CALCUTTA
DECEMBER 15, 1961.

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

1. THE HISTORICAL SETTING AND VAIṢṆAVA HERITAGE

The form of Vaiṣṇavism which is prevalent in Bengal is usually associated with the name of Caitanya, but Caitanya was not, strictly speaking, the originator of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, which counted for many centuries an important, if not a numerous, group of adherents in the country. Long before Caitanya, the melodious Padāvalīs of Jayadeva in Sanskrit[1] and the songs of Caṇḍīdāsa in Bengali[2] had also popularised the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult with their largess of Vaiṣṇava devotional sentiments. Even if Caitanya's religious personality started a new movement or gave a new interpretation to an old faith, his affiliation to the whole trend of Vaiṣṇava tradition of the past cannot be doubted, and its influence on him must have been varied and abundant.

As a religious attitude, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism appears indeed as a fairly homogenous result, but in reality it is a complex product. Its tradition is not only multiple but also polygenous. Two principal sources, however, can be broadly distinguished. On the one hand, it relates itself to the general

1 The contemporary Bengal anthology of Śrīdhara-dāsa (1206 A.D.), entitled *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, collects a large number of verses on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, some of which have been freely reproduced by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his own anthology, *Padyāvalī*.

2 Vidyāpati of Mithilā, who wrote considerably and learnedly in Sanskrit, was not professedly a Vaiṣṇava, but a Smārta Pañcopāsaka, who composed verses in Maithili on Śiva and Gaurī, as well as on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. But Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, since the time of Caitanya, to whom his Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs were a never-failing source of devotional inspiration, has claimed Vidyāpati as its own. Perhaps his Maithili songs in their half-Bengali dress had been more popular in Bengal than in their place of origin, and had undoubtedly influenced the trend of popular Vaiṣṇava sentiments in Bengal.

history of Vaiṣṇavism in India ; on the other, some of its peculiar dogmas and practices were developed by Caitanya and his disciples, giving it its distinctive character. To trace the general course of development of the Vaiṣṇava faith in India, which forms the distant historical background of Caitanyaism, is beyond the limited scope of the present work ; but we must distinguish two fundamental elements, which go to form the texture of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, as derived more or less from Vaiṣṇavism in general. The first and foremost of these is the general doctrine of Bhakti, or emotional service of love and devotion as a means of spiritual realisation ; but equally important is the Kṛṣṇa cult, intimately connected with it, as forming the ground of this devotional attitude.

The term Bhakti, used in contradistinction to the terms Jñāna and Karman, is employed by many a sect of modern Hinduism, but in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism it has its special connotation, which will be considered in its proper place. This special connotation is the result as much of historical development as of individual teaching and experience of particular saints and devotees ; but it would take us far astray if we are to trace here, even briefly, the various influences which shaped the idea of Bhakti in the different stages of its growth and brought it to its present connotation. Its origins are lost in far-off antiquity, and its spread over centuries of obscure religious, cultural and literary influences has made the stages of its growth erratic and undefined. Stretching into the early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya worship of the *Mahābhārata*,[1] it loses itself in a complex body of myth, legend, superstition, belief, sentiment and philosophy ; but it emerges in a more or less definite form in the Bhāgavatism and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. On this basis it was system-

1 An account of the development of the concept of Bhakti in Vedic literature, as well as of Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya worship in the Great Epic, is given by Mrinal Das-Gupta in the *IHQ*, 1930-32. On Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and the Bhāgavata faith see S. K. De, *Aspects of Sanskrit Lit.*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 91 f.

atised and erected into a philosopheme in such late Bhakti-works as the *Nārada-Śāṇḍilya-sūtras*, and it continued as a doctrine till about the end of eighth century A.D., when the theory of spiritual non-dualism and world-illusion promulgated by the great Śaṃkarācārya and his followers appears to have imperilled its dualistic metaphysical foundation. This must have led to a vigorous revival of Vaiṣṇavism in the subsequent centuries ; and about the 12th century A D. we have four Saṃpradāyas or schools of thought, into which the Vaiṣṇava movement divided itself. These are the well-known Śri-, Brahma-, Rudra-, and Sanakādi-Saṃpradāyas, associated respectively with the names of Rāmānuja, Madhva, Viṣṇu-svāmin (Vallabhācārya)[1] and Nimbārka. Each of these schools developed its doctrines and religious practices, and wrote an extensive literature. As against the purely monistic teaching of non-duality (Advaita-vāda) of Śaṃkara, these schools expounded respectively what are conveniently known as theories of Qualified Non-duality (Viśiṣṭādvaita-vāda), Duality (Dvaita-vāda). Pure Non-duality (Śuddhādvaita-vāda) and Dualistic Non-duality (Dvaitādvaita-vāda). The details of these metaphysical theories must be sought elsewhere ; but it is clear that the essential difference between these schools of thought consists in the attitude which they respectively assume towards the absolute non-dualistic position of Śaṃkara. Śaṃkara's extreme idealistic monism, postulating the sole reality of an attributeless and unconditioned Brahman, devoid of all associations of personality, and permitting an illusive and provisional reality to the world and the individual, hardly leaves any scope for a dualistic conception of an individual soul's longing devotion for a personal deity. Though admitting of various degrees, the essential dualism, involved in a religious atitude of Bhakti, in making a distinction between the devotee and the deity and implying an emotional real-

1 The exact relation between the systems of Viṣṇusvāmin and Vallabhācārya is not clear, but the Rudra-saṃpradāya came to be represented practically by the Vallabhācāris.

isation of a personal god in the individual consciousness, had to be reconciled with the absolute, impersonal and non-dualistic interpretation given of the *Vedānta-sūtra* by Śaṃkara. Each of these schools, therefore, wrote a fresh commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra*, in which an attempt was made to establish a theory which would permit the individual exercise of love and piety in a world of reality, some of them maintaining a frankly dualistic position, and others expounding various degrees of qualified dualistic views.

Whatever justification is offered by these schools of its ultimate philosophical position, the subsequent history of Vaiṣṇavism as a religious persuasion follows the lines of worshipping God as a person (Saguṇopāsanā) and through symbols and manifestations (Pratīkopāsanā). The faith is monotheistic, whether the object of adoration be Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, or one of the numerous incarnations of them ; but this loving adoration of a supreme personal god, to whose grace (Prasāda) the devotee must surrender himself (Prapatti), is often found not unaccompanied by a popular polytheistic reverence for "other gods"—Brahmā, Śiva and a million of godlings—who are classed as subordinate creatures and given well-defined powers and functions. The faith believed in a personal creator, in various theories of personal-impersonal creation (Sṛṣṭi) or emanation (Vyūha), in the energic power (Śakti) and incarnation (Avatāra) of the divinity, in a peculiar eschatology which postulates various degrees or stages of liberation, in sin as antithetical to Bhakti, in the necessity of a spiritual guide (Guru-vāda), in the efficacy of Mantra or recitation of some form of the blessed name (Nāman), in the worship of symbols and manifestations (Rūpa), in the complete surrender to divine grace and compassion, and, above all, in the supremacy of a mystic and emotional form of adoration or communion over intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge. Different modes of worship and ritualism were developed by each of these schools ; different symbols and manifestations were preferred ; distinct sectarian

marks were worn ; *Acta Sanctorum*, consisting of the legends of mythical and mediaeval saints, were elaborated ; but all the sects agreed in exalting Bhakti as the heart of worship, as the sole religious attitude of love and service towards a personal god.

Theoretically, the doctrines of most of the sects do not single out any particular incarnation of the incarnate supreme deity for special worship ; but, as the faith was personal in in ardour and concrete in expression, one or other of the incarnations was in actual practice preferred as the principal object of adoration. In spite of its inclusiveness and catholicity in this respect, the Rāmānuja sect, for instance, mostly prefers Śrī and Viṣṇu, or the Rāma-incarnation ; but in Northern India the other three sects, the Madhva, Vallabha and Nimbārka, are almost definite in their adoration of Kṛṣṇa, who was thus popularly installed as the centre of the Vaiṣṇava faith. Keen minds soon sought to utilise abstruse philosophies and appropriate them to the exaltation of the sectarian worship of Kṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇa of these sects, however, is very different from the Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and is yet identified with him. Though invested with an identity with the eternal Brahman, he yet retains his personal character as the youthful hero of wonderful feats and amorous exploits at Vṛndāvana. The Kṛṣṇa-legend was exalted with a wealth of devotional fancies, and all its mystical and emotional possibilities were worked out in detail.

In spite of much learned writing, the mediaeval expansion of the faith was essentially popular in character and appeal. After the epics and the philosophies came the popular Purāṇas, which set forth the Kṛṣṇa-legend against the exuberant and luscious background of myth, theology and mystical eroticism. They poetised and emotionalised the amorphous story, and thus came to occupy an important place in Vaiṣṇava sectarian literature. Sometimes they were even composed with an obvious sectarian purpose. Elaborate theologies arose out of them, and the earthly moment of the eternal

divine sport of Kṛṣṇa was interpreted in terms of symbol and allegory. The Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend naturally came to play an important part. Even if Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata* invokes Kṛṣṇa as "dear to the Gopīs" (*gopī-jana-priya*) in a passage which is now proved to be an interpolation, the Great Epic hardly takes into account the Gopī-legend, which assumes importance in the later cult. It develops, however, in the supplementary *Hari-vaṃśa* and in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, and is embellished further in the *Padma* and the *Brahmavaivarta* Purāṇas ; but it comes to full bloom in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, whose chief purpose seems to be the glorification of Bhakti and Kṛṣṇa-līlā, and which therefore came to be regarded as one of the supreme scriptures of mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism.

The *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* is indeed the one great Purāṇa which appears to have exercised an enormous influence on the development of Bhakti ideas in mediaeval times. No satisfactory theory of its date and origin has yet been advanced,[1] but there can be no doubt that its emergence marks a turning point in the history of the Vaiṣṇava faith, and that a whole series of sects, who take it as their leading scripture, appears in a sense to have been born out of this remarkable work. Contrasted with the *Hari-vaṃśa* and the *Viṣṇu purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* scarcely deals with the whole life of Kṛṣṇa but concentrates all its strength upon his boyhood and youth. With the youthful Kṛṣṇa at the centre, it weaves its peculiar theory and practice of intensely personal and passionate Bhakti, which is somewhat different from the speculative Bhakti of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Although Rādhā is not mentioned, the Gopīs figure prominently in the romantic legend, and their dalliance with Kṛṣṇa is described in highly emotional and sensuous poetry. The utter self-abandonment of the Gopīs, the romantic love of the mistress

1 Farquhar's suggestion (*An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford 1920, p. 232) that the *Bhāgavata* originated in the Drāviḍa country and could not have been composed later than 900 A.D. deserves consideration.

for her lover, becomes the accepted symbol of the soul's longing for God ; and the vivid realisation of the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa in an imaginative Vṛndāvana is supposed to lead to a passionate love and devotion for the deity. The *Bhāgavata* thus introduces a type of erotic mysticism as the leading religious idea, and the importance of the work lies precisely in this. It asserts the rights of the emotional and the aesthetic in human nature, and appeals to the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of feelings and sentiments. It transfigures the mighty sex-impulse into a passionate religious emotion. The *Bhāgavata* is thus one of the most remarkable mediaeval documents of mystical and passionate religious devotion, its eroticism and poetry bringing back warmth and colour into religious life. The essential truth of its glorification of Vṛndāvan-līlā lies in this appeal for a more emotional religion and in its protest against the hard intellectuality of doctrines and dogmas.

But Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's eternal consort in the Vṛndāvana-līlā, appears to enter into the Vaiṣṇava emotionale at a much later date. We may leave aside the neo-Vaiṣṇava *Gopāla-tāpanī* Upaniṣad, as well as the apocryphal *Nārada-pañcarātra* (i. 12) and its original, the *Kapila-pañcarātra*, mentioned therein (ii. 6) ; for the admitted uncertainty of the dates of these works precludes any definite chronological conclusion. But we find that Rādhā is distinctly mentioned in connexion with Kṛṣṇa as early as the Prakrit *Sapta-śataka* of Hāla. Such stray references, however, do not prove much ; and the name as well as the cult of Rādhā appears to be unknown in early Vaiṣṇava literature. She is unnamed in the earliar Purāṇas, although the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* refers to a favourite Gopī with whom Kṛṣṇa wanders and sports alone. She is extolled in the *Padma-purāṇa*, but it is in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the *Brahma-vaivarta* that Rādhā reappears against the vivid background of rich and sensuous imagery. Of the mediaeval sects the Vallabhācāris and Nimbārkas appear to recognise Rādhā as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa's energic power (Śakti) and his

spouse in the divine sport. In some sects joint worship is accorded to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, while in others[1] she is the object of independent worship and is sometimes exalted even over Kṛṣṇa, who figures under the title of Rādhā's Beloved (Rādhā-vallabha). As the highest fruition of devotion is the admission to the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the dangerous tendency towards erotic mysticism markedly develops as a creed, and the highly erotic possibilities of such a belief are sometimes carried to a lamentable extreme.

2. PRE-CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVISM IN BENGAL

It is difficult to say in what particular form Vaiṣṇavism existed in Bengal before Caitanya. A general diffusion of some form of Vaiṣṇavite worship may be presumed to have existed from the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods, but it probably took the form of general Bhāgavatism of the early type, losing itself in Viṣṇuism. The Gupta princes were styled Parama-bhāgavatas, and the chief object of worship was probably Viṣṇu, of whom Kṛṣṇa might have been regarded as one of the many incarnations. In the Susunia Rock inscription of Candravarman (*circa* 4th century A.D.) the prince appears as a worshipper of Cakrasvāmin or Viṣṇu. This makes it probable that the mediaeval emotionalism of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and its mystic adoration of Kṛṣṇa had not yet taken its root in Bengal. But it is believed that one of the figures recovered at the Paharpur excavation represents the united figure (yugala-mūrti) of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. It is definite, however, that in the Belava inscription of Bhojavarman (*circa* 11th century A.D.), mention is made of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa not only as the *mahābhārata-sūtradhāra*, but also as the *gopī-śata-kelikāra* of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, although he is still an incarnation (*aṃśa-kṛtāvatāra*) and not the supreme deity himself. The official religion of the Pāla kings was

1 *E.g.* the Rādhāvallabhis who resemble the Vallabhācāris but are counted as a sub-sect of the Nimbārkas.

Buddhism, but they do not appear to have been hostile to other religions, and evidence is not wanting in the inscriptions of the period of erection of Viṣṇu temples. It seems probable that from this period some form of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti cult was developing ; for it emerged in a finished literary form in the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva, who flourished under the Vaiṣṇavite Sena kings towards the end of the 12th century. Some are of opinion that the advent of the Karṇāṭas in Bengal with the Cedi prince Karṇadeva introduced the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* emotionalism, which had its most probable origin in Southern India ; and it is noteworthy that the Sena kings themselves, who were in all probability Vaiṣṇavas, are described in their inscriptions as Karṇāṭa-kṣatriyas. There can be no doubt, however, that the first and the most important literary record of pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal is the passionate lyrical poem of Jayadeva, which must have been the source of inspiration of such later Bengali poems as the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtan* of Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa (*circa* end of the 14th century).[1]

A Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇava would regard the *Gīta-govinda* not merely as a poetical compcsition of great beauty, but also as a great religious work, and would feign explain it in terms of his Bhakti Rasa-śāstra. But it must not be forgotten that Jayadeva's poem was composed nearly three hundred years before the appearance of Caitanya and before the promulgation of the Rasa-śāstra of Caitanyaism. It is hardly believable, therefore, that Jayadeva, like Rūpa Gosvāmin of the Caitanya sect, could have written it expressly for the illustration of any particular dogma or doctrine. As a poet of undoubted gifts, his chief object must have been to create a beautiful and finished work of great lyrical, pictorial and verbal splendour. His emotional temperament preferred an erotic theme, but of all erotic themes of mediaeval times the eternally fascinating love-story of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā was probably found the most absorbing. The love that Jayadeva

1 See Introd. to Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtan, ed. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta 1323 B.S. pp. 10 f ; *IHQ*, 1929, pp. 328-29.

depicts is indeed a reflex of the human emotion presented in a series of extremely brilliant and musical word-pictures, and the divine Kṛṣṇa and his consort are greatly humanised. As a musician, courtier and court-poet of Lakṣmaṇa-sena, Jayadeva must have been, as his poem itself testifies, entirely different in temperament and outlook from such devout and scholarly Gosvāmins as Rūpa and Sanātana. Whatever may have been the original character of the work, there can be no doubt that the *Gīta govinda*, with its mystical emotions, was claimed by Caitanyaism as one of the sources of its religious inspiration. It is said that the Padāvalīs of Jayadeva, like the Maiṭhili songs of Vidyāpati, had a great appeal for Caitanya himself. It is not surprising, therefore, that Caitanya's followers should try to transform Jayadeva, as well as Vidyāpati,[1] into a Vaiṣṇava of the orthodox type. But in all probability, Jayadeva, like Vidyāpati, was chiefly and essentially a poet. No doubt, he emphasises in his poem the praise and worship of Kṛṣṇa, but it is not unusual in older poetry to present poetic and even secular themes under the garb of religion. It is not our purpose to deny Jayadeva's Vaiṣṇava leanings, which are too obvious to be ignored, but we should like to emphasise the point that as a poet, it was probably not his concern to compose a religious treatise in accordance with any particular Vaiṣṇava dogmatics. It is undoubted that the erotic mysticism of his poem, which gives expression to fervent devotional longings in the intimate language of earthly passion, influenced similar tendencies of Caitanyaism, but it would not be historically correct to read later Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra into his much earlier work, or judge it by the tenets and practices which came into existence some centuries later.

The prominence given to Rādhā in the *Gīta-govinda* makes

1 The question is discussed in Haraprasad Sastri's Introduction to his edition of Vidyāpati's *Kīrti-laṭā* (Hṛṣīkeśa Series, Calcutta B.S. 1331, in Bengali characters). See also S. K. De, *Nānā-nibandha*, Calcutta 1954, pp. 43-160.

it probable that the source of Jayadeva's inspiration could not have been the Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavta*, which avoids all direct mention of Rādhā as Kṛṣṇa's consort, and which speaks of autumnal, and not vernal, Rāsa-līlā. The incident referred to in the opening verse of Jayadeva's poem, again, cannot be traced in the earlier Purāṇas, but it is supposed to refer to an episode described in the fifteenth chapter of the Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa of the *Brahmavaivarta* Purāṇa, in which the infant Kṛṣṇa, similarly entrusted by Nanda during the rains to Rādhā, sports with her on the banks of the Yamunā. This reference possesses some historical importance. We have already pointed out that the *Brahmavaivarta*, much more than any other Purāṇa, presents Rādhā in a vivid background of great sensuous charm, and in no other Purāṇa the erotic possibilities of the theme have been so elaborately worked out. This Purāṇa is also singular in effecting a regular marriage between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and thereby discountenancing the Parakīyā doctrine which came to prevail in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. But while the erotic Mādhurya aspect of Kṛṣṇa-worship is emphasised in this Purāṇa, the Aiśvarya aspect of this worship is also made prominent by legendary descriptions of Kṛṣṇa's greatness and power as the supreme deity. It is remarkable that almost similar tendencies are found in Jayadeva's poem. The opening Daśāvatāra Stotra, as well as the second Jaya-Jaya Deva-Hare Stotra, presents Kṛṣṇa in his Aiśvarya aspect, not as an Avatāra, but as the veritable supreme deity of many incarnations (*daśākṛtikṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṃ namaḥ*), omitting all reference to Rādhā but mentioning Śrī or Lakṣmī. As the poem proceeds, the Dhīrodātta Nāyaka becomes Dhīralalita, and all the erotic Mādhurya implications of the theme are developed to their fullest extent.

While these parallelisms are admitted, there is no proof of Jayadeva's direct indebtedness to the *Brahmavaivarta* Purāṇa, and it is difficult to explain why Jayadeva should prefer its authority to that of the almost exclusively paramount

Vaiṣṇava scripture, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. The date of the *Brahmavaivarta* is uncertain, but assuming the genuineness of the extant text, the *Kṛṣṇa janma-khaṇḍa* must be at least later than Śaṃkara and his school, to whom a distinct reference is made.[1] The suggestion that the whole of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Purāṇa is a Nimbārkite interpolation[2] is hardly convincing. Of all the Vaiṣṇava schools the Nimbārkas appear, no doubt, to give prominence to Rādhā in their thought and worship ; but there are chronological difficulties in assuming Nimbārkite influence either on Jayadeva or on the Purāṇa. The date of Nimbārka has not yet been fixed with certainty, but if he lived some time after Rāmānuja,[3] he would be almost contemporaneous with Jayadeva, and the theory of any influence by Nimbārka or by his sect on Jayadeva and his assumed source would be highly improbable. But the exaltation of Rādhā is a distinctive feature of the Purāṇa as well as of Jayadeva and of the Nimbāra sect. It is possible that Jayadeva derived and developed his erotic mysticism from the same source as Nimbārka himself ; and to the same obscure source probably the writer of the latter portion of the Purāṇa was indebted for his extremely sensuous treatment of the Rādhā-legend. Such emotional tendencies might have been wide-spread enough to have been thus widely and popularly utilised. In later times we find that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* became the ultimate source of such emotionalism, and it ceased to be confined to Bengal, Mithilā and Southern India ; but the Rādhā-legend and the exuberant development of its erotic possibilities, which supplied inspiration alike to Jayadeva, Nimbārka and writers of such late Purāṇas as the *Brahmavaivarta*, must be traced to a different and earlier unknown source.

1 *kārāgāre ca saṃsāre durvaham nigaḍaṃ param/*
acchyedye jñāna-khaḍgaiś ca mahadbhiḥ śaṃkarādibhiḥ//
(Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa, ed. Venkaṭeśvara Press, xxiv. 18).

2 Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 271, 376.

3 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism* etc., Strassburg 1913, p. 62.

The Caitanya movement in Bengal, no doubt, accepted the *Gīta-govinda* as a source of inspiration, but it does not appear to have accepted the *Brahmavaivarta* Purāṇa as canonical. Its chief scripture was the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, on whose devotional poetry and legend it based its emotionalism. Its glorification of the Rādhā-legend need not of itself connect it with the *Brahmavaivarta*, to which it seldom refers. Nor can any Nimbārka influence be traced directly in it. The influence of the Śrī-saṃpradāya of Rāmānuja is still less traceable in it; and the Vallabhācārya sect was almost contemporaneous and could not have immediately influenced it. There is, however, a tendency[1] to affiliate the Caitanya sect as a branch of the Mādhva Saṃpradāya which is said to have been most influential in Bengal before Caitanya. But the evidence adduced in favour of this assumption is hardly satisfactory, and there is nothing to shew that there was any direct Mādhva influence on Caitanyaism in the earlier stages of its development. It has, however, been stated, without much justification, that Caitanya himself was brought up in Mādhva traditions, that his predecessor Advaita, as well as many of his influential relatives and associates, had close connexion with Madhvaism, that Mādhavendra Purī, to whom is ascribed the credit of initiating a Bhakti movement in Bengal before Caitanya, was a Mādhva ascetic, and that Īśvara Purī and Keśava Bhāratī, the Dīkṣā and Saṃnyāsa Gurus respectively of Caitanya, were ascetics of the Mādhva

1 As maintained by Dinesh Chandra Sen in his three works on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and repeated by Kennedy in his *Caitanya Movement* (Oxford University Press, 1925). Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Sarva-saṃvādinī* directly disclaims connexion of the Bengal school with the views of all other Saṃpradāyas (p. 149, ed. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad). Ānandin in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta* claims that Caitanya himself and his followers were the founders of the Bengal Saṃpradāya and owed nothing to the Gurus of any other Saṃpradāya (*Śrīkṛṣṇa caitanya-mahāprabhuḥ svayaṃ bhagavān, saṃpradāya-pravartakās tatpārṣadā eva, sāṃpradāyikā guravo nānye*). See S. K. De, *Nānā-nibandha*, Calcutta 1953, pp. 62-69.

order, to which Caitanya was thus initiated. But these statements lack corroboration in the early records of the sect.

While Madhva himself is seldom cited. Madhvaism or affiliation to the Mādhva sect is never acknowledged in the several authoritative lives of Caitanya, nor in the canonical works of the six Gosvāmins of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. It is asserted for the first time in Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*[1], but this work was not written probably before 1576 A.D. Caitanya's Guru-paraṃparā is traced in it, with more ingenuity than accuracy, from Madhva himself, through Mādhavendra and Īśvara Purī, in a list, which looks suspiciously similar to a list given by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa which we shall mention presently. In his drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* (Act i), however, Kavikarṇapūra refers to Mādhavendra Purī, but not as a Mādhva ascetic ; nor is there any reference to Madhva or Madhvaism in this work, as well as in his earlier Sanskrit poem *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. On the contrary, in the fifth Act of his drama, Caitanya is distinctly stated to have entered the monastic order of the Advaita-vādins[2]. The only other support of the theory of Mādhva affiliation is to be found in a list of Guru-paraṃparā[3] given

1 This list is quoted with approval in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (18th century), but the evidence of this work is late and unreliable. It could not, however, have been copied from Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's list, but was probably derived from a common source.

2 Advaita asks: (v. 21) *keyaṃ līlā vyaraci bhavatā yo'yam advaita-bhājām| atyanteṣṭas tam adhṛta bhavān āśramaṃ yat turīyam||*, to which Caitanya replies : *bho advaita smara kimu vayaṃ hanta nādvaita-bhājo| bhedas tasmin tvayi ca yad iyān rūpato liṅgataś ca||*, implying that Caitanya believed that his being an Advaita Saṃnyāsin was not inconsistent with his devotional attitude of Bhakti. Caitanya is again reported to have said (viii—opening passage) that he was not impressed by the Rāmānuja and the Madhva sects whom he had met in Southern India: *kiyanta eva vaiṣṇavā dṛṣṭāḥ, te' pi nārāyaṇo-pāsakā eva; apare tattva-vādinaḥ, te tathāvidhā eva; niravadyaṃ na bhavati teṣāṃ matam.* And all this inspite of Karṇapūra's own *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* !

3 The Guru-paraṃparā is thus given (*Govinda-bhāṣya*, introductory verses , ed. Śyāmalāl Gosvāmī, Calcutta 1894 ; *Prameya-ratnāvalī*,

at the commencement of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Govinda-bhāṣya* (on the *Vedānta-sūtra*) and in his *Prameya-ratnāvalī*. As the time of some of these Mādhva Gurus is well-known, the historical accuracy of this list can be easily challenged,[1] and there can be no doubt that the list was made up for the occasion mainly from hearsay or imagination. Baladeva, a native of Orissa, belonged to the 18th century ; and what tradition records about his pro-Mādhva tendencies is confirmed by his learned writings. Even if his *Govinda-bhāṣya* shows independence, he has entirely given himself up to Madhvaism in his *Prameya-ratnāvalī*[2]. We shall discuss below the reason for this change of attitude on the part of one of the most acute champions of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism ; but whatever may have been the reason, there is no other direct claim for Mādhva affiliation in the authoritative works of Caitanyaism.

On the other hand, the indications are strong that Caitanya formally belonged to the Daśanāmī order of Śaṃkara Saṃnyāsins, even though the ultimate form which he gave to Vaiṣṇava Bhakti had nothing to do with Śaṃkara's extreme Advaita-vāda. Barring the two passages referred to above,

ed. Atul Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, 1927, p. 4): Madhva (Ānandatīrtha)—Padmanābha — Nṛhari — Mādhava—Akṣobhya—Jayatīrtha—Jñānasindhu—Mahānidhi —Vidyānidhi—Rājendra—Jayadharma—Puruṣottama—Brahmaṇya—Vyāsatīrtha—Lakṣmipati — Mādhavendra Purī—Īśvara Purī—Caitanya.

1 The question has been discussed by Amar Chandra Ray in *Udbodhana,* Vaiśākha 1337 B.S., pp. 244-53 and Caitra 1336, pp. 136-138, and *Assam Research Society Journal,* April 1935 ; also by B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma in *Indian Culture* iv, 1937-38, pp. 429 f. To the arguments detailed in these articles regarding the correctness of the Mādhava list of succession, one may add that neither Mādhavendra Purī nor Īśvara Purī is mentioned in the list of succession prepared by R. G. Bhandarkar (*Report,* 1883-94) from original lists procured from Miraj, Belgaum and Poona. Baladeva's list differs materially from this more authentic list.

2 His nine central principles of Vaiṣṇavism enunciated in this work are identical with the nine fundamental tenets of Madhva. Baladeva's Guru Rādhādāmodara appears to have been considerably influenced by Madhva in his *Vedānta-syamantaka.*

there is no evidence anywhere in the *early* standard works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism[1] that Mādhavendra Purī or his disciple Īśvara Purī, who influenced the early religious inclinations of Caitanya, was in fact a Mādhva ascetic. There is nothing to show that either they or their alleged disciple Advaita were Mādhvas in outlook. Tradition records that Madhva himself was initiated into the Tīrtha order of Śaṃkara by Acyutaprekṣa or Puruṣottama Tīrtha ; and even after he promulgated his Dvaita doctrines in opposition to Śaṃkara's teaching of Advaita,[2] he adhered to his Tīrtha designation under his Saṃnyāsa name of Ānandatīrtha. Ever since his time and up to the present day, all the Gurus of his order called themselves Tīrthas, and not Purīs or Bhāratīs[3]. Mādhavendra and Īśvara were both Purīs, and not Tīrthas ; while Mādhavendra's other alleged disciple Keśava Bhāratī was apparently also a Saṃnyāsin of the Bhāratī order of Śaṃkara.[4] To Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma at Puri, Caitanya is introduced (*C-C*, Madhya vi) as a Saṃnyāsin belonging to the Bhāratī-saṃpradāya. There are also other facts recorded in his authoritative biographies which militate against the assumption of Caitanya's Mādhva leanings. His calling himself a Māyāvādin ascetic on several occasions[5] ; Kavikarṇapūra's distinct statement that he belonged to the Advaita monastic

1 The evidence of such late works as the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (18th century), pp. 308-11, the verses of Gopāla Guru cited therein (pp. 312-13), or the *Anurāgavallī* of Manohara-dāsa, dated 1696 A.D., pp. 48-49, etc. are here excluded for obvious reasons.

2 *Saṃkara-śiṣyatāṃ labdhvāpi śrī-bhagavat-pakṣapātena tato vicchidya,* as Jīva Gosvāmin (*Tattva-saṃdarbha,* p. 70) puts it.

3 See B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, *op. cit.* p. 430, who is definitely of opinion that 'Purī' is not distinctive of Mādhva order.

4 Farquhar's statement (*op. cit.* p. 304) that in the later history of the Mādhva sect, the Mādhva ascetics called themselves Purīs and Bhāratīs really begs the question ; for it is based on the assumption that Mādhavendra Purī, Viṣṇu Purī, Īśvara Purī and Keśava Bhāratī were in fact Mādhva ascetics.

5 Kṛṣṇadāsa, *Caitanya-caritāmṛta,* Madhya, viii. 45, 123 ; Madhya, ix. 250 ; Antya, vii. 16.

order and did not approve of the Tattva-vādins ; the raillery of Prakāśānanda, an Advaita ascetic, on Caitanya's avoidance of his fellow Māyāvādin ascetics and on his improper indulgence in singing and dancing[1]; his direct disapproval of Mādhva doctrines[2];—all these and other indications raise a legitimate doubt regarding the historical accuracy of Caitanya's alleged connexion with Madhvaism.

It appears probable, on the other hand, that Mādhavendra Purī and his disciple Īśvara Purī were Śaṃkarite Saṃnyāsins of the same type as Śrīdhara Svāmin,[3] who in his great commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* attempted to combine the Advaita teachings of Śaṃkara with the emotionalism of the Bhāgavatas. Devotion to Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa was never considered inconsistent with one's belonging to the Śaṃkara Saṃpradāya, and many a Śaṃkarite ascetic has taught that the stage of Advaita realisation can be reached through the devotional worship of a particular deity as a person or as a symbol. It is said that the tutelary deity of Śaṃkara himself was Śrīkṛṣṇa, while tradition alleges that his chief disciple Padmapāda, like Śrīdhara himself, was a worshipper of Nṛsiṃha. It would seem that about the time of Śrīdhara there must have grown a tendency of tempering the severe monistic idealism of Advaita Vedānta with the devotional worship of a personal god. Śrīdhara appears to give a definite expression to this tendency in his well known commentaries on the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, in which he acknowledges Śaṃkara's teachings as authorita-

1 *C-C* Ādi, vii, 40-42. Vṛndāvana-dāsa retaliates by making Caitanya denounce Prakāśānanda in unmeasured language and afflict the uncompromising Vedāntist scholar with leprosy and damnation !

2 *C-C* Madhya, ix. 254 f, esp. 276-7 ; also Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya* cited above. But Caitanya, as reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa, entirely misunderstands the position of Madhva (B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma. *op. cit.*, p. 431).

3 As Śrīdhara refers to Vopadeva he could not have been earlier than 1300 A.D.

tive, but considers Bhakti as the best means of Advaita Mukti.[1] Whatever may be the value of this attempt at reconciling Jñāna and Bhakti, tradition alleges that Śrīdhara's interpretation caused a great sensation in his Saṃpradāya at Benares, but that it ultimately came to prevail through divine intervention. From his time a class of mystic-emotional Saṃnyāsins seems to have grown up, who found nothing inconsistent in their practices of Bhakti with their belief in Advaita Vedānta. An Advaita Saṃnyāsin of this type must have been Viṣṇu Purī of Tirhut, who is often mistakenly described as a Mādhava ascetic[2]. Following the tradition of Śrīdhara, he composed a *Bhāgavata-bhakti-ratnāvalī* in which some of the finest passages of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* were selected and arranged in "thirteen strings" according to their subject-matter. One of the closing verses of this work apologises for any departure the compiler might have made from the writings of the great Śrīdhara[3]; and there can be no doubt about Śrīdhara's

1 The phrase *sva-saṃpradāya* at the beginning of his commentary need not be interpreted to mean Viṣṇusvāmin Saṃpradāya. Jīva Gosvāmin (*Tattva-saṃdarbha*, ed. Berhampore, p. 68) dogmatically asserts that Śrīdhara, whose opinion is accepted as authoritative in the Bengal school, was a true Vaiṣṇava who only tempered his Vaiṣṇavism with Advaita doctrines in such a way as to make it acceptable to the Advaita schools. But there is no evidence to support this statement. On the contrary, at the commencement of his commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, Śrīdhara distinctly acknowledges the views of the Bhāṣyakāra (*i.e.* Śaṃkara), and in many places refrains from further explanation by simply referring the reader to Śaṃkara's interpretation. Although Bhakti is his main theme, the Advaita trend of his writings is too obvious to be mistaken. See Amar Nath Ray in *Uubodhana*, Caitra 1336, pp. 162-3.

2 Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 302, 375; Glasenapp, *Madhva's Philosophie des Viṣṇu-Glaubens* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1923), p. 61; in the works of D. C. Sen cited above. Kavikarṇapūra alleges in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* genealogy that Viṣṇu Purī was a disciple of Jayadhvaja, mistakenly called Jayadharma! But see Amar Nath Ray, in *Indian Culture*, p. 102 f.

3 *atra śrīdhara-sattamokti-likhane nyūnādhikaṃ yad bhavet ||*
tat kṣantuṃ sudhiyo'rhata sva-racanā-lubdhasya me cāpalam||
The colophon to the Dacca University manuscripts of the text,

influence on this work. Some of Viṣṇu Purī's original verses are cited in the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and no one can mistake their devotional fervour[1]. Mādhavendra Purī and Īśvara Purī were probably devotional Saṃkarites of the same type, and the descriptions given of their religious attitude in the earlier Bengali Vaiṣṇava works, which however never call them Mādhava ascetics, fully bear out their emotional predilections. Caitanya himself was probably initiated as a Saṃnyāsin of this type, although his own religious experiences made him go a long way into the extreme emotional attitude of Bhakti, for which he is reported to have been ridiculed by the Saṃnyāsins of Benares. We shall see presently that his belonging to a particular Saṃpradāya hardly made any difference to his personal religious consciousness, that the movement he inaugurated had nothing to do with the strict

with its commentary *Kāntimālā*, which we have consulted, reads: *iti śrī-puruṣottama-caraṇāravinda-kṛpā-makaranda-bindu-pronmīlita-viveka-tairabhukta-paramahaṃsa-srī-viṣṇupurī-grathita-śrībhāgavatāmṛtābdhi-labdha-śrībhaktiratnāvali-kāntimālā samāpatā.* Apparently Puruṣottama was his Guru and not Jayadhvaja. An edition of the text with English translation has been published in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series, Allahabad 1912. MSS noticed in Aufrecht's *Bodleian Catalogue*, no. 90; Aufrecht's *Florentine Manuscripts*, no. 236; Mitra, *Notices*, i. no. 422, p. 240; Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, vi, p. 1272-73. The colophon occurs with slight variations in Mitra's and Eggeling's MSS. Aufrecht (*Florentine Manuscripts*, p. 76) states that the work was composed at Benares in 1634 A.D. The source of his information is not known, but the editor of the Allahabad edition tells us that this date is given in a footnote to the edition of the work published at Calcutta. This date, however, is impossible, for it militates not only against the date 1595 (=Saṃvat 1652) of the copying of the India Office manuscript (Eggeling, *loc. cit.*), but also against the Bengal tradition that Viṣṇu Purī, who is mentioned by Kavikarṇapūra, was much earlier than Caitanya. This would dispose of the story of the meeting of Viṣṇu Purī and Caitanya, mentioned in the Introduction to the Allahabad edition and in Carpenter's *Theism in Mediaeval India* (London 1926, p. 422). On the date of the work see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, v, 1938-39, pp. 197-99.

1 The *Padyāvalī* also cites another ascetic devotee, named Yādavendra Purī, of whom however nothing is known.

Advaita standpoint, and that he himself rose superior to sombre and passionless asceticism ; but it is highly probable that Keśava Bhāratī (an ascetic apparently of Śaṃkara's Bhāratī order),[1] who was his Saṃnyāsa Guru, and Īśvara Purī, who was his Dīkṣā Guru, formally introduced him into this tradition of emotional Saṃnyāsa, which hardly stood in the way of his practice of extreme forms of emotional Bhakti. The roots, therefore, of the Bhakti movement, which Mādhavendra Purī is said to have started in Bengal and which Caitanya carried forward and definitely shaped, must be sought in such traditions as originated from Śrīdhara's great commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which was accepted with much veneration by the Bengal school.[2] Caitanya himself is said to have possessed the highest admiration for Śrīdhara Svāmin, and on one occasion he is said to have repudiated a commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* by one Vallabha Bhaṭṭa on the ground that it departs from Śrīdhara Svāmin's interpretations[3].

1 Keśava Bhāratī, who formally initiated Caitanya into the monastic order at Katwa, near Burdwan, in Śaka 1431=1510 A.D. does not appear to have exercised any direct spiritual influence on Caitanya or his sect. He is said to have belonged to the village of Denuḍ in the district of Burdwan and born of Bengali Brahmin ancestry. According to the *Prema-vilāsa* (ch. xiii) Keśava's former name was Kālīnātha Ācārya, and his native place was Kuliyā in Navadvīpa. But he appears to have resided chiefly at Katwa (Kaṇṭaka-nagara). In the *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Itihāsa* (in Bengali) by Madhusudan Tattvavacaspati (2nd ed., Hooghly, 1333 B.S.=1926 A.D.), a confusion is made (p. 152) between Keśava Bhāratī and Keśava Kāśmīrī of the Nimbārka sect, of whom we shall speak later.

2 Sanātana Gosvāmin in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* pays his homage to Śrīdhara in the Namaskriyā and speaks of his Bhakti interpretations of the work ; and Jīva Gosvāmin has throughout accepted his interpretation, quoting his commentaries with approval (*ṭīkānumatam, ṭīkānusāreṇa, sādhu vyākhyātam* etc.) about sixty times in his *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha*, thirty times in his *Paramātma-saṃdarbha*, and more than seventy times in his *Bhakti-saṃdarbha*.

3 With an obvious pun he stigmatised this new commentary as *bhraṣṭā* because it renounces the Svāmin.

It must also be pointed out that in doctrinal matters, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, as set forth by Caitnaya's Navadvīpa devotees or by the six Gosvāmins, hardly shows any resemblance to Madhvaism. Madhvaism is more speculative than emotional, and displays a distinct metaphysical leaning towards the views of the Naiyāyikas and Sāṃkhyas. The Mādhvas reject the erotic Rāsa-pañcādhyāya of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which is one of the sacred texts of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. In Mādhva devotion there is hardly a place for Rādhā, nor is the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa an exclusive object of adoration. The name or the works of Madhva, or of his Saṃpradāya, are very seldom cited in the earlier standard works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Sanātana, in his *Vaiṣṇva-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, has once or twice quoted the Madhva-bhāṣya, but it is not clear whether these passages were inserted by Jīva Gosvāmin, who made an abridgment of the work. Rūpa Gosvāmin also refers to the Bhāṣya of Madhvācārya in his *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* (ed. Murshidabad, p. 310). In his *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, Jīva refers with respect to Madhvācārya's Vaiṣṇava ideas (pp. 56-57), as well as to three Madhvācāryas, namely Vijayadhvaja, Brahmatīrtha and Vyāsatīrtha, and their works, from which he professes to derive some material,[1] but he

1 *Vijayadhvaja-brahmatīrtha-vyāsatīrtha-veda-vedārtha-vidvadvarāṇāṃ śrī-madhvācārya-caraṇānāṃ bhāgavatātparya-brahmasūtrabhaṣyādibhyaḥ saṃgṛhītānī* (p. 71). In his *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* (pp. 154, 454-5, 593, 698) and *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* (p. 251), Jīva Gosvāmin cites Sruti texts as he finds them quoted in the Madhva-bhāṣya (*madhva-bhāṣya-pramāṇitā śrutiḥ*); while the Madhva-bhāṣya itself is cited in the former Saṃdarbha (at pp. 181, 235). In his *Sarva-saṃvādinī* (p. 4), which also quotes some Madhva-bhāṣya-pramāṇita Śrutis, he speaks of writing his six Saṃdarbhas after looking into old Vaiṣṇava works like those of Rāmānuja, Madhvācārya and Śrīdhara-svāmin; but he speaks of Madhvācārya (p. 12) as *tattvavāda-bhāṣya-kṛt*, which Tattva-vāda Caitanya is said to have discredited at Udipi in his South Indian pilgrimage. These Tattva-vāda-gurus are cited twice (pp. 224, 37) in his *Kṛṣna-saṃdarbha* (ed. Prangopal Goswami) only for the purpose of refuting their peculiar views.

does not refer to them as Pūrva-gurus. It is only when we come to Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa that Mādhva-affiliation is distinctly and authoritatively claimed. It appears probable that in Baladeva's time differences of Vaiṣṇava opinion arose between the Bengal sect and other Vaiṣṇava sects at Vṛndāvana; and the question, which was hitherto of no importance, came to be mooted whether it was possible or desirable to affiliate the comparatively new Caitanya Saṃpradāya to the four recognised Vaiṣṇava Saṃpradāyas. The Bengal Vaiṣṇavas, for some reason or other,[1] thought it convenient to acknowledge themselves as Mādhvas. There is a tradition that at a conference of Vaiṣṇavas at the Galta Valley in Jaipur State, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa made this acknowledgment on behalf of Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. Hitherto the Bengal school did not think it necessary to follow the example of other schools in the writing of a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra*; and its philosophical apologist, Jīva Gosvāmin, in his *Tattva-saṃdarbha,* declared that such a course was not necessary, for the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* itself was Vyāsa's own commentary on his authoritative *Vedānta sūtra.* But now a necessity arose for writing a learned commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* for making the metaphysical position of the sect clear; and the task was accomplished, it is said, by Baladeva in his *Govinda-bhāṣya.* The verses describing the Mādhva Guru-paraṃparā, at the commencement of this *Bhāṣya,* as well as in Baladeva's *Prameya-ratnāvalī,* probably grew out of this circumstance. Madhvaism could not have proved congenial to the extremely emotional and erotic predilections of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and it is very doubtful if it ever had any influence on the thought and practice of Caitanyaism; but now an authoritative declaration was made, which was hardly consistent with its earlier tradition and which hardly affected its essential doctrines in its subse-

1 It has been suggested that their common origin from the Śaṃkara-Saṃpradāya was probably the reason for the rapprochement.

quent history. It will be clear from what has been said above that, in spite of this belated acknowledgment, the Bengal school, like other Vaiṣṇava schools, derived its original inspiration from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* itself, which is undoubtedly the fountain-source of all the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava sects. The devotional interpretations of Śrīdhara were apparently accepted by a class of devotional Saṃnyāsins, who first laid the foundations of a Vaiṣṇava Bhakti movement in Bengal on the ultimate basis of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. Caitanya, himself a Saṃnyāsin of this type, moulded this movement into an entirely new shape by his own practice and experience of Bhakti.

The apostle with whose name this early movement in Bengal is usually associated in the period immediately before Caitanya, is the emotional Śaṃkarite ascetic, Mādhavendra Purī, of whom we have spoken above. Among his disciples is counted not only Īśvara Purī, but also Advaita who was Caitanya's precursor at Navadvīpa.[1] The *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* of Sanātana states that the Kalpataru of Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti was germinated by Mādhavendra in three worlds (*lokeṣvaṅkurito yena kṛṣṇa-bhakti-rasāṅghripaḥ*) ; the *Caitanya bhāgavata* tells us that Mādhavendra was the *ādi-sūtradhāra* of Bhakti-rasa in Bengal ; the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa pays a similar compliment by speaking of him as the first sprout (*aṅkura*) of the Kalpataru of Bhakti ; and Kavikarṇapūra in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* distinctly says that Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, with its associations of Prīta, Preyas, Vatsala and Ujjvala Rasas, owes its origin to Mādhavendra (*yad dharmo'-yaṃ pravartitaḥ*, p. 15). We have already spoken above of the tradition that Advaita before Caitanya was initiated into Bhakti by Mādhavendra. We are also told that Nityānanda

1 Eleven other disciples of Mādhavendra Purī are mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: Keśava Bhāratī, Paramānanda Purī, Brahmānanda Purī, Viṣṇu Purī, Keśava Purī, Kṛṣṇānanda Purī, Nṛsiṃha Tīrtha, Sukhānanda Purī, Raṅga Purī, Rāmacandra Purī and Brahmānanda Bhāratī. Other works add a few more !

met him in Southern India, that Puṇḍarīka Vidyānidhi was his disciple, and that Īśvara Purī, one of Caitanya's Gurus, was an ascetic initiated by Mādhavendra. Caitanya himself never appears to have met Mādhavendra,[1] who must have died when he was in his childhood, but he always cherished a great reverence for Mādhavendra, as well as for his many disciples whom Caitanya is said to have met during his pilgrimage. At Puri, we are told, Caitanya used to recite with great emotion Mādhavendra's verse *ayi dīna-dayārdra nātha he*, cited in the *Padyāvalī* 330. But the mystic emotionalism which Mādhavendra made current in Bengal could not have been Madhvaism. Unlike a Mādhva ascetic, Mādhavendra appears to have been a devotee of great emotional capacity, who must have, before Caitanya, imparted a new spirit to the sombre and forbidding aspects of asceticism, and who probably cared more for actual devotional fervour than for the teaching of dry doctrines. It is noteworthy that in the references to Mādhavendra mentioned above, stress is laid upon his teaching of Bhakti as a religious emotion or Rasa ; and we also read, in the various accounts given of him in these works, about his ecstatic emotions and visions as striking features of his religious experience. He would go into mystic trances, we are told, even at the sight of dark-blue clouds which became to him a symbol of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa[2]. In all this he anticipated Caitanya himself and prepared the way for his advent. But he is said to have done more than this. Fifty years before the Bengal Gosvāmins, he turned the thoughts of Bengal Vaiṣṇavas towards the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana, where he is said to have recovered an image of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and established a temple with two Bengali priests as custo-

1 Jayānanda is singular in stating that Caitanya met Mādhavendra at Gaya, but he is also singular in stating that Viśvaṃbhara's Dīkṣā from Īśvara Purī occurred at Rajgir and not at Gaya !

2 माधवेन्द्र पुरी कथा अकथ्यकथन । मेघदरशनमात्र हय अचेतन ॥ (*Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Ādi viii).

dians[1]. D. C. Sen,[2] chiefly on these grounds, conjectures him to have been a Bengali, but the evidence is slender and inconclusive.

But tradition is definite that Mādhavendra's disciple, Īśvara Purī, meeting with whom at Gaya is said to have formed a turning point in Caitanya's life, was a Bengali. Īśvara Purī, whose original name is not known, is said to have been born at Kumārahaṭṭa (modern Halisahar, near Naihati) of Rāḍhīya Brahman family, his father's name having been Śyāmasundara Ācārya[3]. The *Bhakti-ratnākara* tells us (ch. xii) that he composed a *Śrīkṛṣṇa līlāmṛta* in Sanskrit at the house of Gopīnātha Ācārya, brother-in-law of the great scholar Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. This may or may not be the same work as *Rukmiṇī-svayaṃvara*, which is attributed to Īśvara Purī by Rūpa Gosvāmin and from which two verses are quoted in the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*.[4] It is probable that Īśvara Purī came pretty often to Navadvīpa, and it is recorded (*C-bh*, Ādi. ix) that on one of these occasions he tried to win Caitanya, then a proud and light-hearted young scholar, to devout life ; but Caitanya's only response to the attempt was to pick flaws in the grammar of the Sanskrit texts quoted from Īśvara Purī's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta*. Later on at Gaya, Caitanya received Mantra-Dīkṣā from Īśvara Purī and came back a changed man. In later years Caitanya spoke of him with great reverence ; and on one occasion when Caitanya was passing by Kumārahaṭṭa, he is reported to have said that the very dust of the place which saw the birth of Īśvara Purī, was to him dearer than life or wealth.[5] Īśvara Purī, like

1 Kṛṣṇadāsa s *Caitanya caritāmṛta*, Madhya iv, 48-104.

2 *Caitanya and His Companions* (Calcutta 1907), p. 207.

3 *Prema-vilāsa*, ch. xxiii. As the authenticity of this chapter is not beyond question, these details may or may not be correct. It is curious that in the *C-bh*, Ādi ix, Īśvara Purī calls himself "a humble śūdra" (*śūdrādhama*) ! Probably this is a term of humility.

4 Ed. Kāvyamālā, pp. 272-284.

5 प्रभु कहे ईश्वरपुरीर जन्मस्थान । ए मृत्तिका आमार जीवन धन प्राण ॥ (*Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Adi. xv).

Mādhavendra, was also an emotional mystic, who used to go into trances on hearing the Kīrtana of Kṛṣṇa's name.[1]

3. OTHER SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

From what has been said above there can be no doubt about the independent origin of the Bengal sect, like that of other Vaiṣṇava sects, from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* tradition, and about its debt to the mystic emotionalism interpreted and established by a class of emotional Saṃnyāsins from the time of Śrīdhara. But into the complex texture of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism were also woven ideas from various other non-Vaiṣṇava sources which coloured, to some extent, its inherited Vaiṣṇava tradition. Tenets and practices, left behind by decadent Buddhism and already deep-set in current Hinduism, must have gone far into the religious thoughts and practices of the time.[2] Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna, characterised by theories of self-fulfilment and consequent corrupt practices, developed early as an obvious protest against the rigours of the Mahāyāna discipline and its difficult ideal of self-denial. Allied with these were all the coarsening features of decadent Tāntra, in both its Hindu and Buddhist guises, which were probably exotics in Bengal, but which had at this time a wild and luxuriant growth on its congenial soil. The teachings of the Vāmācārin (Left-handed) Tāntric schools, with their mystic exaltation of the female principle in the universe, and their emphasis upon the religious value of sexual passion and sexual use of women; formed an undesirable legacy of a great system, and exposed Vaiṣṇavism, with its high erotic possibilities, to considerable temptation. Milder but equally mystic cults, like the Sahajiyā and Nāthism (the former of which became strangely Vaiṣṇavised), had also dangerous erotic tendencies. They preached a doctrine of

1 *C-bh*, Ādi. ix.

2 This obscure subject still awaits detailed critical study. What is offered here is necessarily imperfect and tentative.

"naturalism" (*sahaja*) and self-realisation, which in actual practice meant an idealisation of the sensuous, the finding of salvation in and through the senses. Apart from their questionable ideas and mysterious rites, all these hybrid cults encouraged a mixture of mystical metaphysics, emotionalism and sensuality; and if we are to judge from contemporary Vaiṣṇava records, they had hardly any spiritual or aesthetic influence on the religious life of Bengal. Although Caitanya, himself an ascetic and a man of great personal purity, does not appear to have lent countenance to these strange ideas and practices, they yet created the environment into which the Vaiṣṇava tradition entered, and possibly had some general influence on its erotic dogmas.

But Tantra is a term which has been very loosely applied, and its later distorted forms have obscured its proper significance. Whether Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva or Śākta, it implied in its essence a mystic worship of Śakti or Female Energy, exalted in conjunction with the Male Energy in the universe. Its origin is lost in obscurity, but it assumed various forms, and its doctrines spread not only to decadent Buddhism but also to the various sectarian systems of Hinduism. The Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātra system and the Kashmirian Śaiva Āgama are openly Tāntric. It also coloured the orthodox Smārta systems, and the great Raghunandana in his *Tattvas* makes considerable use of Tāntric ideas. Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, author of *Tantra-sāra*[1] and great exponent of Tāntric doctrines in Bengal, is said to have been (like Raghunandana) a contemporary of Caitanya; and there can be hardly any doubt as to the wide-spread character of Tāntric teaching in Bengal. The Vaiṣṇavism of the time could scarcely escape its influence. Its bipolar system of thought and culture, for instance, must have considerably

1 From internal evidence this work is dated by P. K. Gode (*Ganganath Jha Research Institute Journal*, i, pt. 2, 1944, p. 177-84) between 1500 to 1600 A.D., narrowed down to 1494 and 1530 A.D.

influenced and shaped the bipolar conception of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which Bengal Vaiṣṇavism developed and which is certainly one of its distinguishing features. The Vaiṣṇava Śakti-tattva, the acceptance of Kāma-gāyatrī, and the idea of Rādhā as the Śakti or Energy of Kṛṣṇa point probably to Tāntric influence, both remote and direct. Quotations from Tantra works are scattered throughout the standard Vaiṣṇava treatises of Rūpa, Jīva and other authoritative theorists of the Bengal school. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rādhā figures in a Tāntric light in such later Vaiṣṇava Tantras as the *Nārada-pañcarātra* ; and Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*[1] declares that Rādhā is already established in the Tantra (*tantre pratiṣṭhitā*) as the Hlādinī Mahāśakti of Kṛṣṇa.

In the midst of such conditions Caitanyaism was born. If we are to place any reliance on the picture of contemporary society given by the biographers of Caitanya, who lived not far from his time, there can be no doubt that there was a lamentable decadence of religious life and ideals in Bengal. The tyranny of an alien rule was aggravated by the greater social tyranny of dominant Brahmanism with its protective, but despotic, spirit. Minute rules and restrictions of an unchanging and stringent code of religious and social duties were prescribed, and the effort is best exemplified by the great, but narrowly conservative, work of Raghunandana who was probably an older contemporary of Caitanya. No doubt, the object of such social legislation was to secure stability of conduct, but it afforded little room for expansion and progress, and little escape from inevitable bondage and burden. On the other hand, even the exclusive Brahmanism in its instinct of self-preservation, had to relax itself so far as to adopt deities and countenance practices of strange origins, such as those associated with the local cults of

1 Ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 61.

Manasā, Vāśulī[1] and Dharma Ṭhākur. The degraded Sahajiyā and Nāthism, and various phases of decadent Buddhism and Tāntricism, of which we have spoken above and over all of which the mantle of Hinduism was thrown, brought in superstitious rites and doubtful practices which weakened the inherited spirituality of Brahmanism as a religion. The *Caitanya-candrodaya* of Kavikarṇapūra speaks of false ascetics, terrible Kāpālikas and corrupt Tāntrikas; and references are made in other works to the general preference of unclean meat, drink and women. "Religion" laments Vṛndāvana-dāsa "was reduced to a mere form, and there was no faith in men." The times were such as needed a reformer and saviour.

The city of Navadvīpa (modern Nadīyā), which witnessed the birth, youth and early manhood of Caitanya, was at that time a famous seat of mediaeval Sanskrit learning; but the kind of learning it favoured is typified by its production of a highly scholastic system of New Logic, the Navya Nyāya[2]. It was also the stronghold of orthodox Brahmanism, as well as of neo-Tāntricism, and produced a stringent social dictator like Raghunandana, as well as a champion of obscure Tāntric rites like Kṛṣṇānanda. Its great reputation for Sanskrit scholarship and orthodoxy drew students from all parts of the country, but it created an arid and intellectual atmosphere, highly materialistic, narrow, proud and even sceptical.[3]

1 Identified by some with the Buddhist Vāgīśvarī or Vajreśvarī. Cf. *Caitanya-bhāgavata,* Ādi ii, where the cults of Manasā, Vāśulī etc. are mentioned. For an account of these popular cults from literary sources, see Asutosh Bhaṭṭacharya, *Maṅgala-kāvyer Itihāsa,* Calcutta 1940.—The Dharma cult, as Haraprasad Sastri has now amply demonstrated, with its doctrine of void (*śūnya-vāda*), came out of decadent Buddhism.

2 This scholastic atmosphere should be borne in mind if we were to understand the scholastic trend of the theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

3 कुतर्क घुषिया सब अध्यापक मरे। भक्ति हेन नाम नाहि जानये संसारे॥ (*Caitanya-bhāgavata,* Adi. vi.). Similar picture is drawn in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya.*

Vedāntism formed the topic of conversation of the cultured few, who looked down upon the emotional abandon of Bhakti as weak and vulgar,[1] but they are characterised by Karṇapūra as pantheists who believed in no other gods than their own selves. The self-satisfied formalism of the orthodox Smārta system, which prescribed religious merit and absolving efficacy to a somewhat mechanical observance of fixed duties and ceremonies, hardly encouraged any exhibition of personal devotional fervour, or any inner sensibility for morality or religion.[2]

But there existed in the city a devout Vaiṣṇava community although it was neither a numerous nor an important group. Dissatisfied with their unspiritual surroundings, this religious group used to meet in certain houses to hold religious discourses, to listen to the reading of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and to satisfy their spiritual longings by an enthusiastic singing of the name, praises or exploits of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. Even Caitanya's father Jagannātha Miśra, though a Vaidika-Brahman scholar, had devout Vaiṣṇava tendencies, and the family had probably been Vaiṣṇava for generations. His hospitable house is said to have entertained many a venerable Vaiṣṇava guest, who must have created some subconscious impression on Caitanya's mind in his boyhood and youth.

This small community must have been inspired and encouraged in its Vaiṣṇava tendencies by Mādhavendra Purī and his disciples ; for we find that the most commanding figure of this group was a disciple of Mādhavendra, named Kamalākṣa Bhaṭṭācārya, better known by his other name of

1 The Vaiṣṇava Kīrtana and emotionalism were scoffed at ; शुनिलेइ कीर्तन करये परिहास ।...केह वले ज्ञानयोग एडिया विचार । जन्मत्तेर प्राय नृत्य कोन व्यवहार ॥ (*op. cit.*, Ādi. ix).

2 See the story of Śrīvāsa who was turned out of Devānanda's house because on the reading of the *Bhāgavata* he sobbed and showed signs of devotional emotion (*op. cit.*, Ādi. ix).

Advaita Ācārya. He was an elderly Brahman scholar of Śāntipur who lived for the most part at Navadvīpa, and whose scholarly attainments, pious life and sincere devotion made him a natural leader of his group. He came of distinguished and learned ancestry, and his original home, like that of Caitanya's father, was in Sylhet[1]. He was probably older than Caitanya, and an old friend of the family, whom Caitanya's mother accused of having led her two sons to asceticism. There can be no doubt that Advaita very early recognised the power and fell under the spell of Caitanya's rapturous devotion, and a close relationship sprang up between the pious old man and the young religious enthusiast. The *Prema-vilāsa* (ch. i) tells us that at one time Advaita taught the older doctrine of Mukti (Jñāna) and deviated from the emotional creed of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti ; and this seems probable from his very title Advaita Ācārya,[2] which apparently indicates his leanings towards non-dualistic

1 His father Kubera Tarka-pañcānana is said to have been a *dvāra-paṇḍita* of Divya-siṃha, Rājā of Lāuḍ in Sylhet, who himself later on became a devout Vaiṣṇava under the name of Lāuḍīya Kṛṣṇadāsa and wrote an account of the early life of Advaita. The story of Advaita's life is told in Bengali by Advaita's follower and disciple, Īśāna Nāgara, in his *Advaita-prakāśa* (ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta, no date), which is said to have been composed in Śaka 1490=1568 A.D., when its author was an old man of over seventy. Īśāna tells us that Lāuḍīya Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote an account of Advaita's early life in a Sanskrit work, entitled *Bālya-līlā-sūtra* (published by Acyuta Charan Chaudhuri, with a Bengali metrical translation, B. S. 1322=1916 A.D.) on which Īśāna's own work professes to draw considerably. One must confess to serious doubts regarding the genuineness of the printed texts of these two works, manuscripts of which are not forthcoming anywhere. By a critical examination of their contents, Bimanbihari Majumdar (*Śrī-Caitanya-cariter Upādān*, Calcutta University 1939, pp. 433-465 and 473-480) makes out a good case that the works are modern fabrications.

2 Attempts have been made to interpret the title Advaita fancifully, as signifying identity with Hari (*i.e.* Caitanya) or as meaning 'advitīya' or unique. See Amar Nath Ray in *Udbodhana*, Agrahāyaṇa 1337 B.S., pp. 685 f.

Vedānta[1]. The *Caitanya-bhāgavata* describes him as the greatest teacher of Jñāna, Bhakti and Vairāgya (ज्ञान भक्ति वैराग्येर गुरु मुख्यतर). The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa also refers unmistakably to Advaita's leanings towards Jñāna-mārga, and speaks of occasions when his views did not receive entire approval of Caitanya himself (Ādi xii. 40; xvii. 67). It is highly probable that Advaita, following the tradition of Śrīdhara Svāmin and Mādhavendra Purī, believed in tempering intellectual Advaitaism with emotional Bhakti. But he seems to have very closely identified himself with the new movement, and influenced its course of development to such an extent that he came to be regarded in the later history of the sect as one of the five Tattvas or Realities of the new faith[2]. It is also recorded piously that Advaita was an Avatāra of Śiva and preceded Caitanya in his descent to

1 See, for instance, the report of his conversation with Nityānanda in *C-C*, Madhya xii, 193 f; his Mukti interpretation of *Yoga-vāśiṣṭha* in Ādi. xii. 40; his explanation of Jñāna-mārga in Ādi. xvii. 67, etc. Tradition alleges that Advaita's two disciples, Kāmadeva Nāgara of Gujarat and Saṃkara Deva, apparently of Assam, refused to renounce Vedāntism and accept the new faith, leaving their teacher and the country on account of this difference of opinion. But this is only a legend. Śaṃkara Deva is not explicitly mentioned in any Bengal Vaiṣṇava work. For a discussion of the question, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 540 f.

2 It is remarkable, however, that the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins do not, in their authoritative Sanskrit works, explicitly recognise this doctrine, and seldom mention Advaita and Nityānanda. Only in the introductory verses to the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* (1578 A.D.), obeisance is made to Advaita and Nityānanda but there is nothing there to distinguish them from the other disciples and associates of Caitanya, mentioned along with them in a fairly long list. Recognition is found, however, in the works of Kavikarṇapūra (especially *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*) and in the Bengali lives of Caitanya; and the promotion to the exclusive dignity is thus of popular growth in the Navadvīpa, rather than in the Vṛndāvana, circle. Kavikarṇapūra, however, attributes the origin of the doctrine of Pañca-tattva to Svarūpa Dāmodara, the five Tattvas being Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita, Gadādhara and Śrīvāsa (Locana substitutes his own Guru Narahari Sarakāra for Śrīvāsa). Advaita is mentioned in the first Caitanyāṣṭaka of Rūpa Gosvāmin (verse 3).

the world, and that it was in response to Advaita's prayer and appeal that the descent of Caitanya took place[1]. Whatever may be the value of this belief, there can be no doubt that in spite of his Vedāntic scholarship, Advaita was the precursor of the devotional Vaiṣṇava tendency which later on took definite shape as Caitanyaism ; and the small band of devout men who gathered round him formed the nucleus and presented the incipient features which were to mark the course of the new movement. They prepared the way for Caitanya and welcomed him as their leader ; and to his life and personality, therefore, which gathered together the prevalent religious forces, we must now turn our attention.

1 अद्वैतेर कारणे चैतन्य अवतार । सेह प्रभु कहियाछेन वारवार ॥ (*C-bh*, Ādi ii ; also Madhya v). This belief probably originated from the first worship of Caitanya as the Bhagavat by Advaita at Śrīvāsa's house, described by Murāri (ii. 9. 18), Kavikarṇapūra (Kāvya vii. 30), Vṛndāvana-dāsa (Madhya vi), as well as from Advaita's first public declaration of the belief at Puri.

CHAPTER II

THE ADVENT OF CAITANYA

1. MATERIALS FOR A STUDY OF CAITANYA'S LIFE

There is no dearth of materials for a study of Caitanya's life and personality. A fairly large number of lives in Sanskrit and in Bengali came into existence not many years after his death ; and they supply valuable materials not only regarding the details of his career, but also about the circumstances attending upon the growth of the movement he initiated, its method, its extent and its contagion. They reproduce the atmosphere and depict in vivid outline the attractive figures of the leading actors in the scene. As some of these works are contemporary records, they embody personal impression and knowledge, and in this sense they are truly historical. But most of them already acknowledge the divinity of Caitanya and write from the devotional point of view[1]. Biography is a distinctly Vaiṣṇava contribution to Middle Bengali ; and by creating it, the movement added a new *genre* to the literature of the country ; but the prolix and exuberant metrical narratives are often presented in a distorted perspective by an imagination which is ready to go to the utmost limits, or want of limits, of fanatical devotion. The powerful impression made by a great personality inspired these men to give sincere expression to their human love and admiration, but the early deification of Caitanya made them accept as their model the myths and unrealities of their favourite Purāṇic stories. Miraculous legends and grotesquely absurd accounts about Caitanya appear to have rapidly grown up even during his life-time, and the pious credulity of these devout writers found no difficulty in reproducing them in all seriousness. Yet, beneath all this, we have a picture of great

1 अलौकिक लीला इह परम निगूढ़ । विश्वासे पाइवे तर्के हय बहुदूर ॥

human interest and appeal ; and the purely devotional aspect of Caitanya's career is depicted with sincere and loving care, with all the attending details and circumstances[1].

MURĀRI-GUPTA

The earliest available work on Caitanya's life appears to be the Sanskrit *Śrī-kṛṣṇacaitanya-caritāmṛta*, or simply *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, attributed to Murāri-gupta,[2] an older contemporary, fellow-student and associate of Caitanya. It purports to have been composed in response to the devout enquiries made of the author by Dāmodara Paṇḍita (not to be confused with Svarūpa Dāmodara) who was a well-known follower and companion of Caitanya in his final years of residence at Puri. It is usually known as a *Kaḍacā* or a brief biographical account, but the printed text[3] offers it as a

1 The best critical account of the materials for a study of Caitanya's life will be found in Bimanbihari Majumdar, *Śrī-Caitanya-cariter Upādān* in Bengali, Calcutta University 1939.

2 References to Murāri-gupta are to be found in almost all the biographies of Caitanya, and some of them directly utilise his pioneer work. But details of his life are meagre. Originally belonging to Sylhet, he appears to have settled at Navadvīpa, and was probably a neighbour of Caitanya's father and a fellow-student of Caitanya at Gaṅgādāsa's Ṭol (*C-bh*, Ādi vii). He belonged to the Vaidya caste and apparently practised as a physician. He seems to have had Vedāntic inclination before he became a devotee of Caitanya. He appears to have been originally, like Caitanya's father, a Rāma-worshipper ; and the *Rāmāṣṭaka*, which he cited before Caitanya, is given in full in his biography at ii. 7. 10-17. This circumstance might have led to his being regarded as an incarnation of Hanūmat. He was also a man of extraordinary physical strength, and it is recorded that once during a Kīrtana ecstasy at Śrīvāsa's courtyard he carried Caitanya on his shoulders and danced for hours together. His dates are unknown ; but he must have been older than Caitanya, and probably survived him. In spite of Murāri's reputation for Sanskrit scholarship, his work contains many instances of *lapsus linguae* which cannot be explained merely as a feature of later Kāvya-style.

3 Published by Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, 3rd Ed., Calcutta B.E. 1337 (=1921 A.D.) in Bengali characters. The first ed. was published by Syamlal Gosvami in 1303, the second in

regular Sanskrit Kāvya, consisting of four sections (*prakrama*) and total of seventy-eight cantos, and versifying in a variety of metres practically the whole career of Caitanya. The concluding verse[1] in the printed text gives Śaka 1435=1513 A.D. as the date of composition; but since Caitanya became a Saṃnyāsin in Śaka 1431=1510 A.D. and returned to Bengal, for a short time, after a little over three years in Śaka 1435=1513 A.D., the biography should have recorded incidents of his life up to that date. In reality, however, the story is carried down to a greater part of his later life at Puri, down even to 1530 A.D.; it alludes to the Gambhīrā episode (iv. 24) and even to the death of Caitanya (i. 2. 12-14). The genuineness of the date or of the subsequent account, therefore, is open to serious doubt.

Whatever may be the value of the printed text, the existence of some biographical account by Murāri-gupta is beyond doubt, and it is probable that it dealt chiefly with the early years of Caitanya's life. The earliest Bengali biography of Vṛndāvana-dāsa omits all references to it; nor does Jayānanda mention it in his short list (p. 3) of previous lives of Caitanya. But writing only nine years after Caitanya's death (1542 A.D.), Kavikarṇapūra informs us that he based his own *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Kāvya chiefly on Murāri's account (xx. 42). It is clear, however, that Murāri's work was utilised closely for Caitanya's early life, although after canto xi

1317. It is said to have been edited from two MSS, one from Dacca and another from Brindaban; no account of the sources is given. The number of cantos in the four Prakramas is respectively: 16 18, 18 and 26. The extremely incorrect form in which the text is printed, even in the third edition, precludes the allegation of fabrication or deliberate tampering with the text.

1 *caturdaśa śatābdānte pañca-triṃśati-vatsare/*
āṣāḍha-sita-saptamyāṃ grantho'yaṃ pūrṇatāṃ gataḥ||
The reference is apparently to Śaka era. This is the reading of the third edition of the work, published by Mrinal Kanti Ghosh; but the first two editions read *pañca-viṃśati-vatsare*, which gives us Śaka 1425, instead of Śaka 1435.

Kavikarṇapūra appears to have drawn from other sources. That the name of Murari's work was also *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is clear from the citation by this name in the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (*śl.* 94),[1] another work of Kavikarṇapūra's. The much later, but the more authoritative, Bengali biography of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, written probably within ninety years of Caitanya's death, professes to utilise Murāri-gupta's work and describes it as a condensed account of all the exploits of Caitanya in his early life[2]. Locana-dāsa, an earlier biographer, writing about the end of the 16th century, refers to the existence of a poetical life by Murāri-gupta from Caitanya's birth to boyhood (जन्म हइते बालक चरित्र) and acknowledges his immense debt to that work.[3]

The present text devotes its three out of four sections (*prakrama*) to incidents occurring up to Caitanya's visit to Rāmakeli after the South Indian pilgrimage, *i e.* roughly up to 1513 A.D., while the last section very briefly and rapidly sketches his Vṛndāvana pilgrimage and his final settlement at Puri. The second section ends exactly with the account of his Saṃnyāsa, which incident, in the usual reckoning, con-

1 Reference is made in this verse to a story, said to be related by Murāri-gupta, about Haridāsa's being an incarnation of a Muni-putra. The legend is actually told in the present text in i. 4. 9 f.

2 आदिलीलामध्ये प्रभुर यतेक चरित्र । सूत्ररूपे मुरारि गुप्त करिला ग्रन्थित ॥ *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Ādi xiii, 15. But elsewhere Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja says: दामोदर स्वरूप आर गुप्त मुरारि । मुख्य मुख्य लीलासूत्र लिखियाछे विस्तारि ॥ (Ādi xiii, 46). This may mean that Murāri-gupta dealt in detail with the chief incidents of Caitanya's life as a whole ; but the mention of Dāmodara Svarūpa permits the interpretation that Murāri and Dāmodara, who knew intimately the earlier and later life respectively, gave a detailed account of the chief incidents of each phase.

3 Locana-dāsa actually translates in some places the account given in the present text, and mentions some points (*e.g.* Lakṣmī's having been in previous birth an Apsaras) exclusively stated by Murāri-gupta. Even from the last doubtful section of Murāri's work he utilises the Bibhīṣaṇa episode which is not mentioned in any other biography.

cludes his Ādi-līlā or early life. The genuineness of the fourth and last section (as possibly also of the third), therefore, is not altogether beyond question ; and the presumption has been made that the concluding verse, which gives its date of composition, originally occurred, as it should, at the end of the second section, but was somehow retained even when the supplementary section or sections were added. The somewhat strange device of making Dāmodara Paṇḍita[1] the curious enquirer after Caitanya's life would be justifiable, only if his enquiries related to the earlier portion of that life ; for Dāmodara, who was one of Caitanya's companions at Puri must have known more about the later phase of Caitanya's life than Murāri could have done from hearsay. But apart from the fact that Kavikarṇapūra generally knew the present text, even if he ignored the last section, it was undoubtedly known, almost in its entirety, to Locana-dāsa, who closely and directly makes use of it throughout, and specifically utilises the Bibhīṣaṇa episode of the last section (iv. 21). It is also noteworthy that Narahari Cakravartin, in the 18th century, quotes from Murāri's work in his *Bhakti-ratnākara*, and the quotations are traceable in the present text ; and it is also interesting that the last section (up to iv, 10—Vṛndāvana visit) was known to Narahari. The allegation, therefore, that the printed text is a modern fabrication cannot be very well maintained. The statement that the earlier part of Caitanya's life only was described by Murāri probably owes its origin to the fact that Murāri gives a more detailed account of the earlier phase of which he had direct knowledge, while the later phase is only hurriedly and vaguely given. The work may have been composed during Caitanya's life-time, but since it alludes to his passing away, it is probable that it came

1 Jagadbandhu Bhadra (*Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*, Introd. p. 50) makes the not unnatural mistake of confusing Dāmodara Paṇḍita with Svarūpa Dāmodara.

into existence after his death (1533 A.D.), but before 1542 A.D. Murāri's biography begins with a deified picture of Caitanya as the incarnation (Yugāvatāra) of Viṣṇu (i. 4. 26-27 ; i. 5. 4 ; 1. 12. 19 ; i. 1. 14 as Caturbhuja Viṣṇu) and gives credence to miraculous legends as a proof of his divinity. This common trait, as well as the uncertainty of the present text, impairs its importance as a strictly historical document. But if the entire work is genuine, it is extremely valuable as the earliest record written by a close associate ; and in spite of its pious attitude, it gives a vivid and somewhat human account, not too much overlaid with theology, of the Navadvīpa period of Caitanya's life, for which it is, with Vṛndāvana-dāsa's biography, the best and most authoritative source. But its value as a record of incidents has been greatly diminished by the more systematic biographies which followed and made considerable use, openly or otherwise, of its material.

SVARŪPA DĀMODARA

The account of Svarūpa Dāmodara, which is probably next in date, appears to be lost. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja refers[1]

[1] दामोदर स्वरूपेर कडचा अनुसारे (*C-C*, Madhya viii, 312) ; प्रभुर मध्यशेषलीला स्वरूप दामोदर। सूत्र करि ग्रन्थिलेन ग्रन्थेर भितर ॥ (Ādi xiii, 16) ; दामोदर स्वरूप आर गुप्त मुरारि। मुख्य मुख्य लीलासूत्र लिखियाछे विस्तारि ॥ (Ādi xiii, 46) ; स्वरूप गोसाञि आर रघुनाथ दास। एइ दुएर कडचाते ए लीला प्रकाश ॥ (Antya xiv, 7), etc. If Raghunātha-dāsa also wrote a Kaḍacā, as the last passage states, it is also lost. Possibly this was no independent work of Raghunātha's, but he helped his Guru Svarūpa Dāmodara in the compiling of the latter's *Kaḍacā*. Nothing of Raghunātha-dāsa's writing on Caitanya remains except his *Caitanyāṣṭaka* and *Gaurāṅga-stavakalpataru* incorporated in his *Stavāvalī* (altogether 20 stanzas) ; while we have only a few doctrinal verses in the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (13, 17, 149) ascribed to Svarūpa Dāmodara. These could not have been implied by the word Kaḍacā in Kṛṣṇadāsa's statement. Bimanbihari Majumdar (*op. cit.* p. 331 f) denies that any biographical account could have been written by Svarūpa Dāmodara or Raghu-

to it as his chief source for the middle part and last years of Caitanya's life, and describes it as a *Kaḍacā*. This could not have been the actual name of the work which is said to have been composed in Sanskrit. The author appears to have been originally a Navadvīpa scholar,[1] named Puruṣottama Ācārya (*C-bh*, Antya x. 52), a Vedāntist who subsequently became a Saṃnyāsin of the Daṇḍin order under the name of Svarūpa Dāmodara. Attaching himself to Caitanya as one of his most intimate and favourite disciples at Puri, he became thereafter an indispensable companion, keeping watchful care and regulating the life of the Master in detail.[2] Kavikarṇapūra, in his *Caitanya-candrodaya*,[3] as well as Caitanya's other biographers, makes him, as he really was, a great figure in Caitanya's life at Puri ; and the verse viii. 10 (*heloddhūlita-*

nātha ; but his arguments are not convincing. The worthless work which is sometimes printed from Baṭṭalā as Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā* cannot be seriously taken ; it does not correspond to the descriptions given by Kṛṣṇadāsa, and contains wholesale appropriations even from Mīnanātha's work on the Kāma-śāstra ; it is obviously a later Sahajiyā fabrication.

1 This is implied by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (Madhya x, 101-2) ; but Murāri does not mention him as a Navadvīpa-associate of Caitanya, while there is nothing in the works of Kavikarṇapūra, Vṛndāvanadāsa and Raghunātha-dāsa to support the view that Svarūpa Dāmodara was a native of Navadvīpa. On Puruṣottamo Ācārya, see below, note 3.

2 Svarūpa was one of the few faithful followers who possessed great influence upon Caitanya, and knew his mind (*C-C*, Madhya xiii, 122, 134-5 etc.). Caitanya himself paid a tribute to his scholarship and devotion when he laughingly confessed to young Raghunātha that Svarūpa knew more about the Śāstras than he himself did.

3 In his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Kāvya (xiii. 137-142) Kavikarṇapūra refers apparently to Svarūpa Dāmodara as Puruṣottama Ācārya. For the citation of a verse ascribed to Puruṣottama Ācārya in some MSS of the *Padyāvalī*, see S. K. De's ed. of the work, no 83 (note) and p. 212. But it is remarkable that Kavikarṇapūra does not mention Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā*, although he expressly acknowledges his indebtedness to Murāri's biographical account in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Kāvya.

khedayā), which is put in Svarūpa's mouth in the drama, is said to be Svarūpa's own composition incorporated by Kavikarṇapūra.[1] He was well versed in Vaiṣṇava theology and practice, and had charge of young Raghunātha-dāsa's Vaiṣṇava training at Puri.[2] In Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, Svarūpa Dāmodara is credited with the doctrine of Pañca-tattva,[3] which established Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita, Gadādhara and Śrīvāsa as the five Tattvas of the faith, and exalted Caitanya as Mahāprabhu and Nityānanda and Advaita as Prabhus. This would indicate Svarūpa's attitude, if not the whole of his theology. He is said to have been so deeply attached to Caitanya that he never survived the great shock of Caitanya's death ; but from Raghunātha-dāsa's reference in the *Muktā-caritra* (*śl.* 4), it is not unlikely that he passed his last days at Vṛndāvana and wrote his personal reminiscences there.

PARAMĀNANDA KAVIKARṆAPŪRA

After these comes the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Mahākāvya in twenty cantos, composed nine years after Caitanya's death, by Paramānanda-sena, better known by his poetical title of

1 The verses 5-12, which open Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, are printed in some editions of the text as quotations from the so-called *Kaḍacā* of Svarūpa Dāmodara (*e.g.* in Vaṅgavāsī ed., Mādhva Gauḍīya Maṭha ed. etc.) ; but in the Kālnā edition of the text this indication is omitted. The manuscripts of the text which we have consulted in the Dacca University Library do not support this attribution to Svarūpa, as there is no such heading there as *svarūpa-gosvāmi-kaḍacāyām*. See S. K. De in *IHQ*, 1933, pp. 99-100 ; Bimanbihari Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 329. coming to the same conclusion after consulting five MSS of the work in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad collection. It is probably an unjustifiable "padding" by zealous editors, of which instances are very frequent in the printed texts. The well-known verse *śrī-rādhāyāḥ praṇaya-mahimā* is often, but wrongly, attributed to Svarūpa Dāmodara, probably because it embodies a doctrine ascribed to him.

2 The disciple acknowledges his debt in the opening verses of the *Muktā-caritra*, where he refers to Svarūpa, along with Rūpa and Sanātana.

3 See above p. 32 note 2.

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डा. डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय

Kavikarṇapūra, who also wrote many years later a drama in ten acts on the same theme, entitled *Caitanya candrodaya*. The author was the son of Śivānanda-sena, an elderly disciple of Caitanya,[1] who used to organise and lead the annual exodus of Caitanya's followers to Puri. He belonged to the Vaidya caste, and his youngest son Paramānanda was born at Kāṁcḍāpāḍā (Kāñcanapallī), near Naihati, a few years before Caitanya's death. Śivānanda had poetical tendencies, and some of his Bengali songs are to be found in the Vaiṣṇava anthology, *Pada-kalpataru*, as well as in the modern compilation, *Gaura-pada-taraṅginī* (six Padas on Caitanya); his son appears to have inherited his father's literary gifts at an early age. When he was a boy of seven he is said to have accompanied his father to Puri, where he saw Caitanya; and the touch of the Master's feet is said to have inspired the precocious child to utter the following Sanskrit verse in the difficult Āryā metre, which praised Kṛṣṇa as the ear-ornament of the Gopīs, and earned for him the title, given by Caitanya himself of Kavi-karṇapūra or "ear-ornament of poets":[2]

śravasoḥ kuvalayam akṣṇor añjanam uraso mahendra-maṇi-dāma/
vṛndāvana-ramaṇīnāṃ maṇḍanam akhilaṃ harir jayati//

1 Kavikarṇapūra speaks about his father as one of the chief disciples of the Master (*pārṣadāgryaṃ mahāprabhoḥ*) in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā, sl.* 4 and 177. Śivānanda is regarded as occupying a high position among Caitanya's disciples: see Murāri, iv. 17. 6; Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Antya v and ix; Jayānanda, p. 142; Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Antya i, 12-28; x, 139; xii, 11 and 44; xvi, 60 etc. Both in his drama and his poem, Karṇapūra mentions Śivānanda many times and records that during his return to Bengal Caitanya paid a visit to Śivānanda's house. There is also a significant passage in the drama in which Śivānanda is represented as bringing his son (apparently Kavikarṇapūra himself) before Caitanya at Puri.

2 His other name given by Caitanya is said to have been Purī-dāsa, which occurs in the colophon to the printed text of his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*; but on this alleged name see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 85-86. In his work Kavikarṇapūra he never uses this name of Purī-dāsa. An *Āryā-śataka*, now lost, is ascribed to him; this Āryā-

'Victorious is Kṛṣṇa, who is the blue water-lily in the two ears, collyrium in the two eyes, the great rope of sapphire on the breast, (in fact) the entire adornment, of the young women of Vṛndāvana !'

Whatever value this story of an infant prodigy may possess, it is probable that it originated from the fact of his extraordinarily precocious literary gifts. His earliest sustained poetical effort appears to be his Sanskrit *Caitanya caritāmṛta* Kāvya,[1] in which he declares himself as a "child" (*śiśu*). One of the concluding verses[2] gives its date of composition as Āṣāḍha, Śaka 1464=June-July, 1542 A. D. If we accept 1524 A.D. as the date of his birth,[3] he would then be about eighteen when the work was completed. For a youth the poem is indeed a marvellous achievement of precocious gifts. The work consists of 20 Sargas and over 1900 verses in a variety of Sanskrit metres (excepting Āryā), and gives a poetical but complete

verse may have formed its opening Namaskriyā. The verse is, however, given in Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* (Kiraṇa viii) as an example of the poetic figure Mālā-rūpaka.

1 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad 1884, in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation. In *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, the name of Karṇapūra's Guru occurs as Śrīnātha.

2 *vedā rasāḥ śrutaya indur iti prasiddhe/*
śāke tathā khalu śucau subhage ca māsi/
vāre sudhā-kiraṇa-nāmnyasita-dvitīyā /
tithyantare parisamāptir abhūd amuṣya/ (xx. 49).

3 This usually accepted date is given by Rajendralala Mitra in his Bibl. Ind. ed. of *Caitanya-candrodaya* (Preface, p. vi). This would make Karṇapūra about nine years old at the time of Caitanya's passing away, and would not conflict with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's account of Karṇapūra's visit to Puri. In a MS of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Karṇapūra, however, in the Dacca University Library (no. 2389) the scribe, one Viṣṇudāsa, calling himself a servant of Rūpa Gosvāmin, records the tradition that Karṇapūra was only sixteen when he composed this work (*caitanya-candra-caritāmṛtam adbhutābhair / dvyaṣṭābdikair viracitaṃ kavikarṇapūraiḥ*). This tradition would agree more with the poet's self-description as a "child," and put his birth-date at 1526 A.D. His visit to Puri in his seventh year would then have occurred in the very year in which Caitanya passed away. But, of course, this does not entirely remove the difficulties of exact dating.

account of forty-seven years (*catvāriṃśatā saptabhājā hāyanānāṃ krameṇa*)[1] of Caitanya's life. The author himself admits that he based his work chiefly on the account of Murāri, who knew Caitanya in his boyhood and youth; and as it was composed nine years after Caitanya's death, the standard Bengali biographies had not yet been written. The latter part of the life, however, is independent of Murāri's account, but it is rather meagrely treated. Like the preceding work, Karṇapūra's poem devotes its strength chiefly upon the poetical and devotional possibilities of the theme, indulging in frequent flights (in the regular long drawn Kāvya-style) of poetical descriptions, and presenting Caitanya as the blessed Saviour and incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, as well as the hero of a religious Kāvya. The author conceives himself as a poet and devotional writer rather than as a sober historian. His drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya*,[2] a more mature work composed in 1572

1 This enumeration does not really conflict with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's mention of forty-eight years, for the actual number of years covered by Caitanya's life appears to have been forty-seven years and a few months. See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23 for a discussion of the question.

2 Ed. Kāvyamālā 87, NSP, Bombay 1917. The date of composition is given in one of concluding verses, which however has been differently interpreted, making a difference of seven years. The verse (*śāke caturdaśa-śate ravi-vāji-yukte/gauro harir dharaṇimaṇḍala āvirāsīt/ tasmiṃś catur-navati-bhāji tadīya-līlā-grantho'yam āvirabhavat katamasya vaktrāt//* says that Caitanya was born in Śaka 1407, and that the drama, which deals with his life, was composed in Śaka 1494=1572 A.D. (*tasmin* referring to unqualified *catur-daśa-śate śāke*); but some interpret the verse so as to give Śaka 1501=1579 A.D. as the date of composition (taking *tasmin* to refer to *caturdaśa-śate śāke* qualified by the phrase *ravivāji-yukte*). As the drama is quoted in Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* which is expressly dated 1576 A. D., the date 1572 is more likely than 1579. There is nothing to throw doubt on the genuineness of this verse; but Bimanbihari Majumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 88-94, brushes aside this explicit date and maintains, chiefly from what he considers to be internal evidence, that the drama was composed before 1540 A.D.

A. D. at the command of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa,[1] is conceived in the same strain, and introduces allegorical (*e. g.* Maitrī, Bhakti, Adharma, Virāga, etc.) and even mythical figures (*e. g.* Nārada, Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, etc.), somewhat after the manner of the well-known *Prabodha-candrodaya*, which must have been its model. If Kavikarṇapūra does not strictly follow Murāri's account in this work, and departs in many details from his earlier poem, it is perhaps due to his more mature and fuller knowledge and judgment, as well as to his desire to enlarge in the drama upon the later phase of Caitanya's life, as much as his immature poem was largely devoted (after Murāri-gupta) to its earlier phase. The work, however, is a regular drama in ten acts, as the other is a regular poem in twenty cantos. As sober historical documents both these works, which are obviously literary and devotional in form and treatment, are not of much value, but they give us an interesting glimpse into the atmosphere of Caitanyaism, and record some traditions which the poet's father, Śivānanda, who is a figure in this drama, might have handed down.[2]

1 One must, however, recognise the difficulty of this reference, for most historians are of opinion that Pratāparudra was dead by 1540 A.D. This is one of the strong reasons which leads B. Majumdar to hold that the drama was composed before 1540, that is, even before the poem, which is dated 1542 A.D.

2 The *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (ed. Murshidabad, Radharaman Press, 1912) is usually regarded as Karṇapūra's third work. Its date of composition, however, is uncertain, as the concluding verse which gives the date has different readings in different manuscripts. The MSS noticed in Haraprasad Sastri's *Notices*, ii, no 60 (pp. 49-50) and in Aufrecht's *Leipzig Catalogue* no. 721, as well as the printed text, read *śāke vasu-graha-mite manunaiva yukte* (Śaka 1498=1576 A.D.); but the India Office MS (Eggeling's *Catalogue*, iv, no. 2510) reads *śake rasā-rasa-mite manunaiva yukte* (Śaka 1466=1544 A.D.). The work gives an elaborate account of the previous incarnations of Caitanya's disciples as associates of Kṛṣṇa in the Vṛndāvana-līlā,—an extreme logical development of the Vaiṣṇava theory of incarnation, which regards not only Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa, but also his followers as Kṛṣṇa's associates and beloved ones. It is true that hints of such a system are already found in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*

VṚNDĀVANA-DĀSA

These Sanskrit works became the starting point of a series of biographies of Caitanya in Bengali, which absorbed and in course of time eclipsed the Sanskrit originals. The earliest, and by far the most important, of these Bengali accounts, with

Kāvya, composed in 1542 A.D., for it mentions Ṇityānanda as an incarnation of Balarāma, Advaita as that of Śiva and Śrīvāsa as that of Nārada ; but the mature theological elaboration of the dogma, such as the present work offers, could not have been worked out as early as 1544 A.D. It is also possible that the idea of the work was suggested by Rūpa Gosvāmin's description of the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa, for which Caitanyite parallels had to be found, in his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (about 1550 A.D.). The date 1576, given by the majority of MSS, appears therefore more suitable for this alleged work of Karṇapūra. Doubts have been expressed regarding its genuineness ; but it is quoted in the 18th century by Narahari Cakravartin in his *Bhakti-ratnākara*. See B. Majumdar. *op. cit.*, pp. 97-100 for a discussion of the question ; but interpolations into the text may be suspected. As an instance, one may point out that this work expressly affiliates the Caitanya Saṃpradāya to the Madhva, but Karṇapūra's drama testifies to Caitanya's dislike of Mādhva doctrine and his being an Advaita Saṃnyāsin ! In style and treatment the work is pedestrian, and its theology is clearly of later development ; it is difficult to say if it is really a genuine work of Kavikarṇapūra's. Karṇapūra's other Sanskrit works are : (i) *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū*, a voluminous Campū in Sanskrit prose and verse in 22 Stavakas, on the childhood and youth of Kṛṣṇa (ed. in the *Pandit*, Old Series, vol. ix and x, New Series, vol. i-iii. Only 9 Stavakas. ed. Madhusudan Das, Hooghly 1919, with comm. of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, and a Bengali translation, in Bengali characters). The Stavaka i is entitled *Bhagavat-sthāna-tattva-vallī-vistāra*, describing Vṛndāvana ; Stavaka ii-vii *Bālya-līlā-latā-vistāra*, dealing with childhood, and Stavakas viii-xxii *Kaiśora-līlā-latā-vistāra*, treating of the early youth of Kṛṣṇa ; (ii) *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* (ed. Murshidabad, Radharaman Press, 1907 ; also ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1923-34), a regular work on Sanskrit Poetics, of which illustrative verses are mostly in praise of Kṛṣṇa. A short description of this work will be found in S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. Calcutta 1960. i, p. 254-55 ; (iii) *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī* (ed. Haridas Das, in Bengali characters, Haribole Kutir, Navadvīpa 1941), a small Kāvya in six Prakāśas, dealing with the Aṣṭakālīya Līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and belonging, by its theme to the same type of composition as the

respect to the early part of Caitanya's life, is the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, composed by Vṛndāvana-dāsa at the command of Nityānanda.[1] Its date is uncertain[2] but it was probably writ-

Govinda-līlāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin. The work is often wrongly ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala (see *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1938, p. xx, footnote 2).—The *Camatkāra-candrikā*, a small Kāvya in four Kutūhalas and 225 verses, on Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-līlā, is sometimes assigned to Kavikarṇapūra (Rajendralala Mitra, *Notices*, vi, no. 2150, pp. 212-13), but it belongs most probably to Viśvanātha Cakravartin. In the printed edition of this text, however, based on three MSS (ed. Haridas Das, in Bengali characters, with a Bengali translation, Navadīpa 1937), no manuscript indication or proof of authorship is found. In the India Office MS of the work (Eggeling, vii, p. 1463, no. 3882/1177e) the author's name is missing. Several other works are ascribed to him, but their genuineness is doubtful. The *Varṇa-prakāśa*, a dictionary of vocables containing the same consonants, composed for Rājadhara, son of Amara-māṇikya of Traipura (= Tipperah), is probably by some other Kavikarṇapūra, as the MS noticed in the India Office Catalogue (Eggeling, no. 3107. ii, p. 293) contains no reference or homage to Caitanya. A *Bṛhat-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* is also ascribed to him in the *Pandit*, ix, 105. Of the *Āryā-śataka* mentioned above, no information is available.—An account of the literary works of Kavikarṇapūra will be found below in Ch. vii.

1 নিত্যানন্দস্বরূপের আজ্ঞা ধরি শিরে। সূত্রমাত্র লিখি আমি কৃপা অনুসারে ॥

The work has been published very often in Bengal but none of the editions can be regarded as critical. MSS are abundant, and the work deserves to be critically re-edited. The most convenient editions are those by Śiva Candra Sārvabhauma (Calcutta 1901) and the Amrita Bazar Patrikā Office (Calcutta 1926). Also ed. Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha with notes and indices. Atul Krishna Gosvamin's edition contains an index, while the verses are consecutively numbered in the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha edition.

2 Various dates are given: Ramagati Nyaya-ratna (*Baṅgabhāṣā O Sāhitya-viṣayaka Prastāva*) gives Śaka 1470 = 1547 A.D.); Jagadbandhu Bhadra (*Gaura-pada taraṅgiṇī*, introduction p. 130) gives 1457 (=1535 A.D.) which is absurd, because, if it were so, then this important biography would have been referred to in Kavikarṇapūra's Sanskrit *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Dinesh Chandra Sen in his various works gives the dates 1535 and 1573 A.D.; but the authority for these conjectures is not known. The work must have been completed some time before Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja undertook the laborious compilation of his

ten not more than fifteen years after Caitanya's death, at a time when Nityānanda was still alive. It is divided into three Khaṇḍas, *viz.* Ādi (ending with Caitanya's visit to Gayā), Madhya (ending with his Saṃnyāsa) and Antya (dealing with the remainder of his life), and contains a total of fifty-two chapters. The Caitanya-legends must have grown in the meantime, and the process of deification must have been complete. Vṛndāvana himself does not appear to have seen Caitanya. Brought up in the orthodox tradition, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, whose own birth is shrouded by a supernatural story,[1]

own monumental biography of Caitanya, in which the debt to Vṛndāvana's work is fully acknowledged. Locana-dāsa also mentions it; and in the list of previous authorities Jayānanda places it at the head of the (Bengali) accounts of Caitanya. As both these writers composed their respective works probably in the last quarter of the 16th century, it is likely that Vṛndāvana's work was completed much before 1575 A.D., especially as Vṛndāvana-dāsa is already mentioned as Vedavyāsa in Karṇapūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* composed in 1576 A.D. On the other hand, Karṇapūra does not, as we have already stated. mention nor utilise Vṛndāvana's work in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Kāvya composed in 1542 A.D. It is not unlikely, as Bimanbihari Majumdar demonstrates from internal evidence (p. 183 f), that it may have been composed between 1546 and 1550 A.D. (at about 1548). If, as Majumdar shews, Vṛndāvana-dāsa was born in 1518 A.D., his age at the time of composition, was presumably between 28 and 32. It is probable that Vṛndāvana knew Murāri's work.

1 Vṛndāvana is said to have been the posthumous son of Nārāyaṇī, born 18 months after the death of her husband, Vaikuṇṭha Cakravartin of Kumārahaṭṭa. But there is nothing in the earlier texts themselves to support this statement. Vṛndāvana himself nowhere mentions the name of his father which is found only in a spurious chapter of the *Prema-vilāsa*. Murāri-gupta mentions Nārāyaṇī as *madhura-dyuti* and *a-bhartṛkā*; but Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja simply says : नारायणी चैतन्येर उच्छिष्टभाजन। ताँर गर्भे जन्मिला श्रीदास वृन्दावन॥ (Ādi viii, 41). The older contemporary writers, who must have known Nārāyaṇī, thus maintain a discreet silence, although Kavikarṇapūra speaks of her with esteem, and mentions her as a *parikara* of Gaurāṅga-līlā. There must have been some strong reasons to shroud the birth of Vṛndāvana-dāsa in mystery and miraculous legends. Nārāyaṇī was the daughter of one of the three brothers of Śrīvāsa, at whose house in Navadvīpa

readily accepts all supernatural stories about Caitanya, and strives to figure him with divine adoration. Deriving his inspiration chiefly from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, he finds a record of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood in Caitanya's early life, and the Caitanya and his followers used to meet in the earlier stages of the movement. When Nārāyaṇī was a child of four she obtained the blessings of Caitanya (*Caitanya-bh*, Madhya ii), and devout Vaiṣṇavas believed with Kṛṣṇadāsa that Vṛndāvana came into the world by partaking of the food left by the Master. Vṛndāvana himself regrets that he had no opportunity of witnessing Caitanya-līlā. This may mean that either he was too young to witness Navadvīpa-līlā, or was not born during Caitanya's life-time. If he was not born at all during Caitanya's life-time, then it is difficult to explain the statement that Vṛndāvana was born out of Nārāyaṇī's partaking of the *ucchiṣṭa* of Caitanya. There is also another difficulty. Vṛndāvana tells us that he was directed by Nityānanda to write Caitanya's biography. If, as we are told, Nityānanda survived Caitanya only by eight years, it is inconceivable that he should have commissioned a boy of less than eight years to take such a responsibility. It is also said that Nārāyaṇī, like her son, was a faithful disciple of Nityānanda, who residing at that time at Śrīvāsa's house and not knowing that she was then a widow, blessed her with the boon of motherhood. At any rate, the scandal which ensued is said to have caused some inconvenience (see *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*, introd. p. 128), and Nārāyaṇī had to appear before the Kazi of Navadvīpa to defend her character. A miracle happened, and the Kazi was convinced. But this legend is absurd and unauthentic. Nārāyaṇī had, however, to leave her uncle's house with her infant son, and take shelter at the house of one Vāsudeva-datta at Māmgāchī, near Navadvīpa. Vṛndāvana praises Vāsudeva-datta in high terms (Antya v), and we are also told that Nityānanda used to live near by at Baḍagāchī. In later years Vṛndāvana is said to have resided at Denuḍ in the district of Burdwan. The exact date of his birth is not known; but he tells us that either he was not born or was too young during Caitanya's Navadvīpa-līlā (हइल पापिष्ठ जन्म ना हइल तखने। हइलाम वञ्चित से सुख दरशने॥ referring to the Navadvīpa-līlā, Ādi x; हइल पापिष्ठ जन्म तखन ना हइल। हेन महा महोत्सव देखिते ना पाइल॥ Madhya i). It is said that he was born about Śaka 1459=1537 A.D. and died in Śaka 1541=1619 A.D. at the great age of 82. Another date of birth, 1507, is sometimes given. These dates are unlikely and at best uncertain, and no reliance can be placed on them, as they are not given by any old writer. Of other dates, however, 1518 A.D. given by B. Majumdar (*op.*

book was considered to have been so successful from this point of view that the venerable Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, for whose seal of approval it was submitted, are said to have changed its original name of *Caitanya-maṅgala* into *Caitanya-bhāgavata* ![1] The name itself is indicative of its general outlook, as well as of its sanctity ; but apart from its obviously enthusiastic devotional spirit, the book became the most valuable and authoritative record of the earlier part of Caitanya's life at Navadvīpa, on which it practically spends all its strength. Having been the grandson of a brother of Śrīvāsa,

cit. p. 179) appears to be more plausible ; for, as we have seen above, it would have been impossible for Nityānanda to have directed Vṛndāvana-dāsa to write Caitanya's biography if he was born in 1537 A.D. He appears as an enthusiastic partisan of Nityānanda, at whose instance he wrote his work, and the details of whose life occupy a great deal of his attention. Even Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja remarks upon this trait (नित्यानन्द-लीलावर्णने हइल आवेश । चैतन्येर शेषलीला रहिल अवशेष ॥ Ādi viii, 48). Very frequently in his work, Vṛndāvana refers in a somewhat impatient and immoderate language to those who speak ill of Nityānanda, and his vigorous invective itself indicates the existence of some amount of ill-feeling in the sect against Nityānanda. Vṛndāvana appears to indicate that at the time of his writing, which could not have been very early but which was probably ten to fifteen years after Caitanya's death, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas were already split into several sects, paying homage to Advaita, Gadādhara and Nityānanda, or believing in the Gaura-Nāgara doctrine which Vṛndāvana himself discredits. Several other works are attributed to Vṛndāvana, but their genuineness is not beyond question.

1 The story is told in *Prema-vilāsa* xix, but is at best doubtful (see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 259). To Kṛṣṇadāsa the work was still known as *Caitanya-maṅgala*, but Locana-dāsa refers to it as *Caitanya-bhāgavata*. The Vaiṣṇava hagiology knows Vṛndāvana as an incarnation of Vyāsa, author of *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. Probably this originated from eulogistic references to him by Kṛṣṇadāsa and others as "the Vyāsa of Caitanya-carita" (चैतन्यचरिते व्यास वृन्दावन दास Ādi viii, 82). The designation "Maṅgala" clearly indicates the influence of Middle Bengali Maṅgala Kāvyas on this new type of literature created by Vaiṣṇavism. The preponderance of myth and supernaturalism is thus intelligible as a common trait.

whose historic courtyard was the early centre of the movement, Vṛndāvana-dāsa was in full possession of all the Navadvīpa legends and traditions. He may have utilised Murāri's account,[1] but his chief source must have been what he heard from Nityānanda ; and he puts special emphasis on incidents of Caitanya's life connected with Nityānanda. This somewhat impairs his independent judgment. His acceptance of the Purāṇic attitude and his belief in the established identity of Caitanya and Kṛṣṇa confirm and encourage his unhistorical imagination. Nevertheless, he does not, as Kṛṣṇadāsa does, concern himself much with abstruse theology. By his simple narrative and picturesque presentation of men and things, which makes his work deservedly popular, he forcefully reproduces the devotional atmosphere and gives a vivid picture of the men who played an important part in the movement in its earlier stages.

KṚṢṆADĀSA KAVIRĀJA

The rather inadequate treatment of the closing years of Caitanya's life by Vṛndāvana-dāsa was remedied by the next Bengali biography, entitled also *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,[2] of

1 B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 201 f. Vṛndāvana did not himself witness any of the incidents of Caitanya's life, but writes from what he heard from Bhaktas: ताहा लिखि याहा शुनियाछि भक्तस्थाने (Ādi i). Gadādhara's words may also have been, as he tells us, one of his sources: गदाधर श्रीमुखेर कथा किछु लिखि । (Antya x). B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 195 considers the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* to have been left incomplete, but offers no ground for his opinion.

2 This popular work has been printed very often in Bengal, but none of the editions can be regarded as critical or even entirely reliable. Discrepancies in reading etc. are found on a comparison with original MSS which we consulted in the Dacca Univesity Library and elsewhere. An edition with full critical apparatus, based on reliable MSS, is still desirable. The most noteworthy publications of this work are those by the Vaṅgavāsī Press ; by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha (Calcutta 1927 ; with indices etc. and commentaries in Bengali) ; by Gosvāmins at Kālnā (with a Sanskrit commentary and notes, Kālnā 1898), the last giving a comparatively reliable text.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. In the narrative portion it makes considerable use of the previous works of Murāri, Dāmodara, Svarūpa, Kavikarṇapūra and Vṛndāvana-dāsa,[1] and professes to have been composed with the express permission of the latter.[2] Perhaps it also depends upon the personal reminiscences of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, at whose inspiration it was undertaken as a supplement to Vṛndāvana's work. Like the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, it is divided into three parts, covering sixty-two chapters. The Ādi, Madhya and Antya Līlā deal respectively with the three stages of Caitanya's life, namely, the early life ending with his Saṃnyāsa, the six years of pilgrimage, and the last eighteen years spent in residence at Puri. As the early life of Caitanya till his Saṃnyāsa has been fairly fully treated by Vṛndāvana-dāsa in thirty-two chapters, Kṛṣṇadāsa devotes only five short chapters to it (Ādi xiii-xvii), but the remainder of the life, to which Vṛndāvana gives only ten chapters, takes up forty-five chapters of the *Caritāmṛta*.

In literary merit the work, with its epic length, prolixity and prosiness, is much inferior to its prototype. The style is

1 दामोदर स्वरूप आर गुप्त मुरारि ।
मुख्य लीलासूत्र लिखियाछे विस्तारि ॥
सेहि अनुसारे लिखि लीलासूत्रगण ।
विस्तारि वर्णियाछेन ताहा दास वृन्दावन ॥
ग्रन्थविस्तार भये छाड़िला ये ये स्थाने ।
सेइ सेइ स्थाने किछु करिव व्याख्याने ॥
प्रभुर लीलामृत तिँह कैल आस्वादन ।
ताँर भुक्तशेष किछु करिव चर्वण ॥

(*C-C*, Ādi xiii, 46-50). Indebtedness to Karṇapūra, though not acknowledged, is clear.

2 चैतन्यलीलाय व्यास दास वृन्दावन ।
ताँर आज्ञाय करोँ ताँर उच्छिष्ट-चर्वण ॥

(*C-C*, Madhya i; also Ādi viii, 39-48, 82).

terse but not very elegant or attractive, and the versification poor and faulty. The author cares little for the picturesque, poetic or human possibilities of the theme ; and his long residence outside Bengal, as well as his greater familiarity with languages other than Bengali, is perhaps responsible for its quaint and laboured diction. But it is a profoundly laborious and learned work, and is by far the most authoritative biography of Caitanya. It should, however, be remembered that it is not a Carita, but a Caritāmṛta, written more from the devotional than from the historical point of view. Although the work, like the other works on Caitanya's life, was written within a century of his passing away, the Caitanya myths and legends, originating from Navadvīpa and gradually expanding, must have now completed the process of deification. Kṛṣṇadāsa does not hesitate to accept them fully, but even elaborates and adds to them ; sometimes his devotional fancy goes to the extreme limits of credulity and the colours are too thickly laid. This is indeed a common trait, but Kṛṣṇadāsa achieves something more than this. The Vṛndavana Gosvāmins had come and occupied an important position in the meantime, and they supplied the necessary learned theological justification to the naïve popular adoration. The picture of a life, devoid of striking external incidents but rich in impassioned religious consciousness, is marvellously well drawn ; but every thing is coloured by the Rasa-śāstra and theology of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins. The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is indeed a great work in Middle Bengali, but its greatness consists not so much in the literary skill or narrative interest with which the story of a great life is told, as in the profound scholasticism with which it presents and exemplifies the entire theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism (as propounded by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins) in the life of the Master. If the Gosvāmins took the life of Kṛṣṇa as their theme, Kṛṣṇadāsa exemplifies all the implications of their exposition in the life of Caitanya. But the work goes a step further. Its speciality lies in figuring Caitanya not only as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa

(and later on of Rādhā), but also as a passionate devotee who was at the same time a scholastic theologian of the devotional school. The author, himself a scholar and devotee leading a celebate old age at Vṛndāvana in company with the learned Gosvāmins,[1] was trained as their disciple in the exact school

1 Not much authentic information is available about the details of Kṛṣṇadāsa's life. His Vaiṣṇava modesty apparently prevents him from speaking about himself. The names of his parents, as well as his caste, are uncertain, but he is said to have been the son of Bhagīratha and Sunandā. He was born at Jhāmaṭpur, near Katwa, in the district of Burdwan. His father might have been a Vaidya by caste and profession, but Kṛṣṇadāsa became an orphan in childhood. He appears to have left home in early youth ; and, inspired by Nityānanda in a dream (*C-C*, Ādi v), he went to Vṛndāvana and lived a devout and scholarly life there till his death. His original name is not known, for Kṛṣṇadāsa must have been his name on initiation. He acknowledges the Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana as his Śikṣā-gurus (Ādi i. 37), and makes a special obeisance to Rūpa and Raghunātha at the end of almost every chapter of his book. The *Prema-vilāsa* tells us that Raghunātha-dāsa initiated him into ascetic life. With their learned theological writings he shows complete familiarity. Aufrecht makes the curious mistake of making him a son of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, but this is entirely wrong. He was more of a Sanskrit than Bengali scholar, and wrote also several works in Sanskrit, of which the following are notable: (i) *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, a Kāvya in 23 cantos on the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (ed. with a Bengali trs. and in Bengali characters by Sachinandan Gosvami, printed at Vṛndavana, 1908). It was written after an indication of Rūpa Gosvāmin (xxiii. 94) and deals with the Aṣṭakālīya-līlā (beginning from morning to the end of the night) of Kṛṣṇa. On this work, see below under ch. vii. In this work also, a reverential mention is made of the Gosvāmins, including Raghunātha-dāsa and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, to whom the Kāvya is sometimes wrongly attributed (see *IA*, Nov. 1928). In his *Muktā-caritra*, which in its turn is quoted in Rūpa's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* (p. 261), Raghunātha calls Kṛṣṇadāsa *kavi-bhūpati* ; it is likely, therefore, that the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* was an early work, composed some time before these two works of Rūpa and Raghunātha. The work was translated into Bengali verse by Yadunandana-dāsa. (ii) *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* commentary on Līlāśuka's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* (ed. in Bengali characters, along with the text and a Bengali verse trs. by Yadunandana-dāsa, at Murshidabad, Radharaman Press, 1925 ; re-edited by S. K. De in his edition of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* in

of Vaiṣṇava theology. As his work itself indicates by its imposing array of Sanskrit quotations[1] and by its frequent intrusion of abstruse theological matter, which impair its purely biographical interest, Kṛṣṇadāsa was well read in the scholarly and authoritative works of Rūpa, Sanātana and other theologians of the cult. He does not even hesitate at the risk of anachronism and absurdity to put their subtle scholastic views in the mouth of Caitanya himself. The work itself was begun, as Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us, at the special request (Ādi viii. 50-62) of the Vaiṣṇavas of Vṛndāvana,[2] at a time

Devanāgarī characters, Dacca 1935—which see for details of the commentary).

1 For a full list of the works actually cited by name, prepared from a MS of the work (no. 207, dated Śaka 1672) existing in the Dacca University Library, by Subodh Chandra Banerji, Keeper of these MSS, see *IHQ*, 1933, pp. 100-102. The printed editions do not distinguish between actually cited works and those anonymously cited, but sometimes the editors themselves supply as a heading the names, by chapter and verse, of the works which the manuscripts quote anonymously.—The work is calculated to contain roughly 15,000 couplets. The Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha ed. calculates total number of couplets to be 11, 515.

2 It is doubtful if the six Gosvāmins were alive at the time of the writing of the work. In his *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, the author speaks of the personal interest of four Gosvāmins (Rūpa, Raghunātha-dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Jīva), but here no such direct acknowledgment is found, although the Gosvāmins are reverentially mentioned as his Śikṣā-gurus (Ādi i. 37). On the other hand, Kṛṣṇadāsa (Ādi viii. 57-65) informs us that he undertook his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* at the direction and request of Haridāsa (a Pra-śiṣya of Gadādhara), Govinda (a disciple of Kāśīśvara), Yādavācārya (a friend of Rūpa), Śivānanda Cakravartin (according to one reading of the text, a disciple of Advaita), Caitanyadāsa (a disciple of Bhūgarbha), Mukunda Cakravartin, Kṛṣṇadāsa (with the epithet Premin) and other Vaiṣṇavas then living at Vṛndāvana,—a list which omits all reference to the six Gosvāmins and suggests that they were probably not alive when the work was completed.—In spite of his scholasticism, Kṛṣṇadāsa's devout attitude and mystic inclination are quite conspicuous throughout the work. While in theology he draws entirely upon the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, in biographical matters he borrows a great deal from his predecessors ; but his imagination is too pious to be strictly historical, and too inelastic to be imbued with common sense. Himself

when its erudite author had already attained a mature old age ;[1] and it was completed with exemplary patience and labour of seven (or according to some, nine) years in Śaka 1537=1615 A.D.[2] This fact adds sanctity as well as

a learned man, he deprecates learned discussion as the croaking of frogs (भेककोलाहल Ādi viii. 6), and does not accept anything but the sectarian theology of his school! In his impatience, he prescribes punishment in hell for those wicked people who would argue, and not accept with faith (Ādi xvii. 298) :

तर्के इहा नाहि माने येइ दुराचार ।
कुम्भीपाके पचे तार नाहिक निस्तार ॥

But then, this is the attitude of nearly all the devout biographers ; and Murāri reports (ii. 13. 11) that Caitanya himself declared that he would not bring salvation to one who is hostile to a Vaiṣṇava (वैष्णवद्वेषकर्तारं नोद्धरामि कदाचन).

1

वृद्ध जरातुर आमि अन्ध ओ वधिर ।
हस्त हाले मन बुद्धि नहे मोर स्थिर ॥
नानारोगग्रस्त चलिते वसिते ना पारि ।
पञ्चरोगपीड़ाय व्याकुल रात्रि दिने मरि ॥

(Antya xx. 93-94). If any reliance can be placed on the rather dramatic story of his death a little after the completion of his great work at the age of 86, it is likely that he flourished from about 1530 A.D. to 1616 A.D. For a discussion of the question, see B. Majumdar *op. cit.* pp. 323f, who disbelieves the story, but places Kṛṣṇadāsa's date of birth (p. 305) at about 1527 A.D.

2 The verse which gives the date of composition is: *śāke sindvagni-bāṇendau jyaiṣṭhe vṛndāvanāntare/sūryāhe sita-saptamyāṃ grantho'yaṃ pūrṇatāṃ gataḥ//*. It gives Śaka 1537=1615 A.D. But the reading *śāke'gni-bindu-bāṇendau*, which gives Śaka 1503=1581 A.D., is also found. It is noteworthy that the verse is not found in all MSS and printed texts (*e.g.* the Kālnā ed. omits it, and it is missing in some of the Dacca University MSS. See note at the end of the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha ed.). It occurs in most MSS, which contain it, after the colophon and is thus probably a scribal addition, which is naturally omitted in some MSS. The authenticity of the verse, therefore, is not beyond question, but probably it records the traditional date, which may be

importance to the work. Hitherto all learned theological treatises of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism were written in Sanskrit ; and the idea probably occurred to popularise the tenets in the vernacular in a recognised standard work, so that they would not be confined to the learned few.[1] The choice of Kṛṣṇadāsa for this propagandist purpose was fully justified, and the work he produced at once took its place among the most authoritative texts of the sect. It is more than a biography. It is a remarkable mediaeval document of mature theological scholarship, which is by no means easy or elegant to read, and which perhaps presents Caitanya and his simple impassioned faith in a distorted perspective ; but from the specialist point of view, it is a work of rare merit and gives a complete exposition of the scholastic theological presuppositions of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. If Vṛndāvana-dāsa's inspiration came chiefly from the orthodox circle of Navadvīpa,[2] Kṛṣṇa-

correct. But unfortunately the difference of reading makes a difference of 34 years. From internal evidence, however, it appears that the latest work cited in it (*C-C*, Madhya i, 144 ; Antya iv, 230) is Jīva Gosvamin's *Gopāla-campū*, which was not completed till Śaka 1514 (=1592 A.D.), the Pūrvārdha of the work being dated Śaka 1510 (=1588 A.D.). See below, ch. iii and vii. Kṛṣṇadāsa, therefore, could not have completed his work in 1581 A.D. The date Śaka 1537=1615 A.D., therefore, appears to be more likely. See S. K. De in *IHQ*, 1933, pp. 98-99.

1 The story is recorded that the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, who initiated the work, became afraid of its publication, lest its merit and completeness in doctrinal matters should eclipse their own standard Sanskrit works !

2 We use the term 'Navadvīpa circle' in a general and extended sense, for the Navadvīpa followers of Caitanya came from Śrīkhaṇḍa and other places, and covered a large tract of Bengal ; but the inspiration came from Navadvīpa and centred round the earlier phase of Caitanya's life which occurred at that place. Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra, Locana and Jayānanda, as well as the composers of Padas on Caitanya, represent this group, along with Vṛndāvana-dāsa. They have their own theology, but it is somewhat different from that of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins and Kṛṣṇadāsa. The works of the Gosvāmins and the Navadvīpa devotees were, however, composed at about the same time, although the Navadvīpa tradition probably originated earlier than the other.

dāsa's inspiration came from the scholastic Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana ; and each in his own way throws interesting light on different aspects of the faith and the movement. The two works of Vṛndāvana-dāsa and Kṛṣṇadāsa, therefore, are in a sense complementary to each other as representing two distinct traditions.

LOCANA-DĀSA AND JAYĀNANDA

Of the remaining smaller biographies of Caitanya, two or three are well known. The *Caitanya-maṅgala*[1] of Locana-dāsa, son of Kamalākara-dāsa and Sadānandī of Kogrāma, which refers to the work of Vṛndāvana-dāsa[2] but not to that

1 Ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1918 ; also ed. Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Amrita Bazar Prtrika Office, Calcutta 1930. Also ed. Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta (with notes and indices).

2 The work was written, as the author himself informs us, at the instance of his Guru, Narahari Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa, an associate of Caitanya himself ; and one of its objects appears to be to record particulars about Narahari, whose name was left out by Vṛndāvana-dāsa. Locana freely acknowledges his debt to Murāri's Sanskrit work. No influence of Vṛndāvana-dāsa or Kavikarṇapūra is perceptible. From what he tells us about himself (Śeṣa-khaṇḍa), Locana (or rather Trilocana) belonged to the Vaidya caste, and was the son of Kamalākara and Sadānandī of Kogrāma in the district of Burdwan. His exact dates are not known. His Guru Narahari composed Bengali songs in which he symbolised his religious longings in the form of womanly love, such as the Gopīs in the *Bhāgavata* felt towards Kṛṣṇa, but he imputed a distinct, but unjustifiable, erotic colouring even to the Caitanya legend. This Nāgara-bhāva of Caitanya is deprecated by Vṛndāvana-dāsa (Ādi xiii), and it might have been one of the causes which gave rise to the alleged difference of opinion between Vṛndāvana and Narahari. Hence Locana, who accepted his Guru's views, was inspired to write a fresh biography from a different point of view. In their Bengali songs, both Narahari and Locana make this erotic tendency even more prominent. Regarding works cited by or known to Locana, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 251f. The argument that Locana's work was composed before *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* (1576 A.D.) is not conclusive, for its omission or hesitation to refer to the doctrine of Avatāra in the Sūtra-khaṇḍa proves nothing.

of Kṛṣṇadāsa, was composed probably towards the last quarter of the 16th century. It is divided into three, or rather four, Khaṇḍas, namely, Sūtra, Ādi, Madhya, and Śeṣa ; but there is no definite division of chapters. The work, however, is more poetical than historical. Its author was also a well-known composer of Bengali Vaiṣṇava songs, and the undoubted lyrical qualities of his biography are evidenced by the use made of it by professional Vaiṣṇava singers. It presents the ascetic Caitanya in a more romantic light, but it is in many places a professed free translation of Murāri-gupta's Sanskrit work ; and as a record of incidents, it does not add very materially to the information contained in the biographies, mentioned above, especially with regard to the devotional phase of Caitanya's life at Puri. Just as Vṛndāvana enlarges upon incidents connected with Nityānanda, so Locana-dāsa glorifies his Guru Narahari Sarkār into one of the five Tattvas of Caitanyaism, proves his intimacy with Caitanya, and accepts his Gaura-Nāgara doctrine.

On the other hand, Jayānanda's work, also entitled *Caitanya-maṅgala*, is in many respects more interesting, being independent of Vaiṣṇava orthodoxy, from which it does not appear to have received much recognition. Unlike the other works, which accept the conventional division of Caitanya's life into Ādi, Madhya and Antya Līlās, this biography is divided into nine parts or Khaṇḍas, entitled respectively, Ādi, Nadīyā, Vairāgya, Saṃnyāsa, Utkala, Tīrtha, Prakāśa, Vijaya and Uttara Khaṇḍas. Although the author, who was the son of a follower of Caitanya's,[1] yields to the general

1 The work was published by Nagendra Nath Basu and Kalidas Nath from the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, in 1905. A comparison of this text, however, with an incomplete MS of the work existing in the Dacca University collection shows material differences of reading ; and a fresh critical edition of the work is much to be desired, especially as the VSP edition is already out of print. Jayānanda, son of Subuddhi Miśra and Rodanī, was a Vandyaghaṭīya Brahman by caste. Subuddhi

tendency of accepting a large number of miraculous legends and fables, there is yet much in it (*e. g.* the manner of Caitanya's death over which a veil of mystery is drawn by the piety of his followers) which does not follow the beaten track, and gives us a few facts or traditions not recorded elsewhere. The work appears to have been written at the instance of Gadādhara Paṇḍita (a favourite Navadvīpa companion of Caitanya), whose disciple the author must have been. Jayānanda knew Vṛndāvana-dāsa's work, but he does not always accept the orthodox views. He tells us that his work was composed in the form and manner of a Pālā-gān, in which extraneous Purāna matters were not out of place, nor strict historical accuracy a necessary requisite. He does not appear to have a clear idea, for instance, of Caitanya's pilgrimages, nor any personal or authentic knowledge of important men and incidents, Even the new information that he supplies should not be taken without examination.[1] The date of composition of Jayānanda's work is not known, but in its opening list of previous biographies[2] it mentions

is mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the genealogy chapter of Caitanya's disciples (Ādi x); he appears to have been a disciple of Gadādhara. The name Jayānanda is to have been given by Caitanya himself on an occasion when he came to Subuddhi's house (p. 140) at the village of Āmāitpurā in Burdwan, at a time when Jayānanda was a child in the lap of his mother. Jayānanda's dates are uncertain, but he must have been born before Śaka 1436 (=1514 A.D.) when the visit of Caitanya mentioned above is conjectured to have occurred. He must have been alive during the latter part of Caitanya's career. His work is supposed to have been composed between Śakas 1480 and 1492 (=1558 and 1570 A.D.).

1 For a discussion of Jayānanda's omissions, errors and additions, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-249.

2 The existence of some other works on Caitanya is proved by this list. Jayānanda mentions (p. 3): (i) a *Caitanya-carita* in verse (probably in Sanskrit), as well as a *Caitanyāṣṭaka* (p. 125) and a *Caitanya-sahasra-nāma* in 100 verses (also probably in Sanskrit) by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, of whom we shall speak later, (ii) A series of poems or songs (कवित्वसुश्रेणी सङ्गीतप्रबन्धे) by Gaurī-dāsa Paṇḍita, probably

Vṛndāvana-dāsa's work but not that of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. It is probable, therefore, that it was composed towards the last quarter of the 16th century, and was thus almost contemporaneous with Locana's work of the same name.

GOVINDA-DĀSA

There is another interesting work, which records only two years or so of Caitanya's life, but which is refreshing for its somewhat unconventional outlook, although this has apparently banned it from orthodox as well as learned estimation. This is the so-called *Kaḍacā* of Govinda-dāsa Karmakāra, son of Śyāmādāsa of Kāñcana-nagara (in Burdwan) and Mādhavī. It is said that he was a blacksmith by occupation, left home owing to a quarrel with his wife Śaśimukhī and became a personal servant of Caitanya a little before the time of the latter's Saṃnyāsa. He states that he kept private notes of what he saw (कडचा करिया राखि अति सङ्गोपने) especially during the time he accompanied Caitanya in his South and West Indian pilgrimage. The work, which was first published by Jaygopala Gosvami of Śāntipur in 1895 and reprinted in 1926 by Dinesh Chandra Sen from the University of Calcutta, has gained some notoriety from the somewhat heated controversy it has started on the question of its genuineness and authorship.[1] The question has been rendered difficult, not so much

in Bengali. (iii) *Gaurāṅga-vijaya Gīta* by Paramānanda-gupta, said to have been an abridgment (*saṃkṣepa*) of Gaurī-dāsa's work, (iv) *Caitanya-maṅgala* song (सङ्गीतप्रबन्धे) by Gopāla-vasu. Besides these mention is also made by Jayānanda of Vṛndāvana-dāsa's biography in three parts. It is noteworthy that Jayānanda does not refer to the Sanskrit accounts of Murāri-gupta and Svarūpa Dāmodara.

1 For an exposition of the two sides of the question, see respectively Dinesh Chandra Sen's introduction and Mrinal Kanti Ghosh's *Govinda-dāser Kaḍacā-rahasya* (Calcutta 1937) with his introduction to the revised ed. of the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*, to which further arguments are added by B. V. Das-gupta's *Govindadāsa's Kaḍacā: a Black Forgery* (Dacca 1938). For a review of the question see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 413f.

by the refusal of orthodox recognition for its unconventional contents and its unorthodox picture of Caitanya, but by the fact that, though no particular motive for the alleged forgery is suggested, the original manuscript or manuscripts have disappeared, that no other manuscript is forthcoming, and that the printed text has undoubtedly been modified and modernised[1] (probably, as suggested, by the well intentioned but entirely misdirected zeal of its first editor) and presents an appearance of modernity. The probability of interpolation is also not excluded ; as a matter of fact there are some passages which have almost identical phrasing with those in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's work, and look suspiciously like direct incorporation.[1] It is difficult to pronounce a definite judgment, but it seems probable that some of the matter it contains is old ; and this internal evidence itself, in the absence of other proofs, makes the genuineness of the general substance of the work extremely plausible. The other extant biographies of Caitanya are indeed vague and meagre in information regarding his South and West Indian pilgrimage, which was possibly not so well known from direct evidence ; but this work supplies a fairly large amount of hitherto unknown details,[2] which appear to have been drawn from direct evidence or experience. It certainly contains much new, but plausible, information, which has the characteristic of not being inspired by devotional propagandism, but which was probably the result of vivid personal knowledge. The work is incomplete and contains a record of barely two years' wanderings in the South and West of India, and its genuineness or otherwise would not very seriously affect the general story of Caitanya's

1 Even such modern words as जानाला (from Portuguese) and गेलास (from English) occur!—Surely the work as a whole cannot be taken as casual notes of an uneducated man.

2 In spite of ludicrous geographical errors, pointed out by sceptical critics, such as रसालकुण्डा, a modern town named after a Madras Civil Servant, George Russell!

life ; but it certainly gives a most human picture of one who has been so often and so grotesquely[1] deified, and presents a plain and vivid narrative by a sincere lover of the Master, who was dominated neither by learned dogmatics nor by excessive fanatical devotion.

THE COMPOSERS OF BENGALI PADAS ON CAITANYA

In this connexion it is necessary to refer to a group of composers of Bengali Padas or short devotional songs bearing on some aspects of the Navadvīpa life of Caitanya. They have been collected together in a modern compilation, entitled *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*,[2] by Jagadbandhu Bhadra, but some of them will also be found quoted in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, as well as in older Bengali Vaiṣṇava anthologies like the *Pada-kalpataru*[3] of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. Some of the composers were contemporaries[4] who must have actually seen and felt what they described. From one of the Padas of Narahari

1 Apart from miracles, see, for instance, the story of Caitanya's appearance, all on fours and carrying a pot in his teeth, and his being hailed by Murāri-gupta as the veritable incarnation of the Great Boar! Also his Nṛsiṃha-Āveśa and Balarāma-rūpa, described by Kavikarṇa-pūra and others! It is noteworthy, however, that there are passages placed in the mouth of Caitanya, even in the orthodox devout biography of Kṛṣṇadāsa, in which Caitanya disclaims all such pretensions of an Avatāra. It should be observed that, according to the report of his biographers, Caitanya did not mind divine honours before his Saṃnyāsa and actually allowed himself to be worshipped as such ; but after his Saṃnyāsa he expressly deprecated such praise and worship on many occasions.

2 Ed. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta 1902 ; 2nd ed. by Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, *ibid.* Calcutta 1935.

3 Ed. Satis Chandra Ray, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, 5 pts. Calcutta B. E. 1322-1338 (=1915-1931).

4 Such as Narahari Sarkār Ṭhākur, the three brothers Vāsudeva, Govinda and Mādhava Ghoṣa, Śivānanda-sena (Kavikarṇapūra's father), Rāmānanda-vasu, Paramānanda-gupta (referred to by Jayānanda, p. 3), Gaurīdāsa, Candraśekhara, Vaṃśīvadana, etc.

Sarkār Ṭhākur[1] we learn that some of the composers actually witnessed the Navadvīpa life of Caitanya and wanted to record their impression in the vernacular (*bhāṣā*) for the inducement of those who would write his biography, implying thereby that these Padas were mostly composed before any life of Caitanya in Bengali had come into existence. As such, they certainly possess an historical importance. They do not profess to deal with external incidents, nor give any systematic survey of the Navadvīpa life, but they sometimes allude to small incidents which are not mentioned elsewhere; and, what is more important, they give an actually witnessed and necessarily vivid picture of certain aspects of Caitanya's emotional life of devotion as it appeared to the loving eyes of the faithful devotees. In these Padas, as in the lives of Caitanya which derive their inspiration from the Navadvīpa circle, and to which they have a natural affinity, no abstruse theology obscures the simple and passionate faith; to them Caitanya is not an image of their supreme deity, but the deity himself incarnated,—not a means, but an end in itself. It is clear that the elaborate theological ideas, which inculcated the worship of the supreme Kṛṣṇa Bhagavat, as imaged by Caitanya's life of devotion, rather than the worship of Caitanya himself as the highest object of adoration, had not yet been imported and familiarised by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Śrīnivāsa Ācārya and others from the works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins. The Padas, thus, supplement in their own way the account of Navadvīpa life given by Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra, Locana and Jayānanda.

[1] गौरलीलादरशने इच्छा वड़ हय मने भाषाय लिखिया सव राखि। मुइ अति अधम लिखिते ना जानि क्रम केमन करिया ताहा लिखि॥ ए ग्रन्थ लिखिवे ये एखनो जन्मे नाइ से जन्मिते विलम्ब आछे बहु। भाषाय रचना हैले बुझिवे लोक सकले कवे वाञ्छा पूरावेन पहुँ॥...किछु किछु पद लिखि यदि इहा केह देखि प्रकाश करये प्रभुलीला। नरहरि पावे सुख घुचिवे मनेर दुख ग्रन्थ-गाने दरविवे शिला॥ (*Gaura-pada*, 2nd ed., see p. 8).

Of the contemporary Padas on Caitanya, those ascribed to Narahari Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa and Vāsudeva Ghoṣa of Kulāi (Burdwan) are the most interesting. Of the former we have a hundred and of the latter one hundred and thirty-seven Padas, some of which are undoubtedly spurious.[1] Vāsudeva, with his two brothers Govinda and Mādhava,[2] appears to have joined the Saṃkīrtana party at Navadvīpa immediately after Caitanya's return from Gayā (*C-C*, Ādi x, 113). He wrote systematic Padas on various incidents ranging from the birth to the Saṃnyāsa of Caitanya ; they were known to Locana-dāsa (p. 34) and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*C-C*, Ādi xi. 16), and were probably utilised by the other biographers. Like most of the biographers, Vāsudeva paints Caitanya as a devout person even from his birth ; and, like Narahari and some other Pada-writers,[3] he believes in the Rādhā-bhāva of the Caitanya incarnation—a doctrine, which is found indeed in the Stotras of the Gosvāmins and in the Rāmānanda Rāya episode described by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, but which must have been a dogma of an earlier Navadvīpa origin. The speciality of Narahari's Padas consists in his exposition of the Nāgara-bhāva ascribed to Caitanya,[4] which attitude

1 See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, 57-60.

2 They were also composers of similar Padas, the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī* assigning to them seven and five Padas respectively. Vāsudeva expresses his indebtedness to Narahari: श्रीसरकार ठाकुरेर पदामृतपाने । पद्य प्रकाशिव वलि हइल मने ॥ Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja eulogises Vāsudeva thus: वासुदेव गीते करे प्रभुर वर्णने । काष्ट पाषाण द्रवे याहार श्रवणे ॥

3 E.g. Narahari : गौराङ्ग ठेकिला पाके । भावेर आवेशे राधा राधा वलि डाके ॥ Vāsudeva: आरे मोर गोरा द्विजमणि । राधा राधा वलि काँदे लोटाय धरणी ॥ Śivānanda-sena: राधा राधा वलि पँहु पड़े मुरछिया । शिवानन्द काँदे पँहुर भाव न बुझिया ॥

4 These devotees conceive themselves as Nāgarīs in love with Caitanya as a Nāgara, who is described as such. The women of Navadvīpa are described as having fallen in love with the young Caitanya at sight. This is of course modelled on the Gopī-legend of

Vṛndāvana-dāsa condemns in unqualified terms. Vṛndāvana, therefore, omits Narahari altogether from his account, while Narahari's disciple Locana-dāsa, seeking to remedy this defect by giving prominence to Narahari in his own life of Caitanya, accepts the doctrine and pays a tribute to his Guru by making him one of the five Tattvas of Caitanyaism (replacing Śrīvāsa). But it is noteworthy that no other biography of Caitanya eulogises Narahari, who must have been older in age, and as such a highly distinguished Parikara of Caitanya in his Navadvīpa-līlā.[1]

Kṛṣṇa. There are about 200 Padas to this effect in the *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*.

1 Other later Bengali (metrical) Vaiṣṇava works, like the *Prema-vilāsa* (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1911) of Nityānanda-dāsa (in 24 chapters, the authenticity of the last four of which is not beyond doubt), and the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and *Narottama-vilāsa* (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1925 ; also ed. Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta with notes and indices) of Narahari Cakravartin (in 15 and 12 chapters respectively, composed towards the beginning of the 18th century), contain some references to Caitanya's life ; but they relate chiefly to the later history of the sect, and their evidence regarding the earlier phase of the movement must be taken with extreme caution (on the historicity of the *Prema-vilāsa*, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-515). Similar remarks apply to the *Karṇānanda*, ascribed to Yadunandana-dāsa (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1926) and supposed to be dated Śaka 1529= 1607 A.D. (!), as well as the *Anurāga-vallī* of Manohara-dāsa, dated 1697 A.D. (ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office 1898). Of all these, the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, inspite of its uncritical attitude, is perhaps the most important.—In modern times, several useful lives of Caitanya have been written by devout Vaiṣṇavas in English and Bengali, but they are often too enthusiastic to be critical or trustworthy. Dinesh Chandra Sen's accounts in his regular histories of Bengali literature (in English and in Bengali), as well as his three works on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism (*Vaiṣṇava Literature of Bengal*, 1917 ; *Caitanya and His Companions*, 1917 ; and *Caitanya and His Age*, 1922, all published by the University of Calcutta), contain much varied, but rather unsifted, information, and often err on the side of uncritical enthusiasm. Mention must also be made of the informative pioneer work of Jagadbandhu Bhadra in the extensive introduction to his *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī* (published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta 1902 ; 2nd ed. by Mrinal Kanti Ghosh

2. LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF CAITANYA

The story of Caitanya's life has thus been told so often and so well that it is not necessary for us to enlarge upon the details. It is a life which is not so rich in striking external incidents as in impassioned religious consciousness, over which his devout biographers love to linger ; but passing over the scenes of ecstasy, madness and miracles, which swell the bulk of his extant authoritative lives in Sanskrit and Bengali, the story can be briefly and plainly told. The abundant fancies, no doubt, envelop the few facts, but even in the orthodox pictures, a forceful religious personality emerges which is not lacking in human interest and appeal.

Caitanya's name before initiation into the monastic order was Viśvaṃbhara. He was the son of Jagannātha Miśra and

1935), from which Dinesh Chandra Sen appears to draw, rather uncritically, much of his material about Caitanya's followers. But Bhadra's work suffers from extreme credulity for legend and hearsay, and as such it is hardly a trustworthy guide. The same remark applies, more or less, to the extensive introduction to Satish Chandra Ray's *Pada-kalpataru*, pt. v., cited above. Other Bengali modern accounts of the movement, such as Murari Lal Adhikari's *Vaiṣṇava Digdarśanī* or Madhusudana Vachaspati's *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Itihāsa*, record orthodox traditions, but they are hardly critical and reliable works. The alphabetical dictionary of Vaiṣṇava lives (*Bṛhat Vaiṣṇava Caritābhidhāna*, Calcutta 1924, Pt. i) compiled by Amulyadhan Ray Bhatta, is a praiseworthy and painstaking attempt, which deserves mention for its copious references to original sources, but unfortunately it does not discriminate between genuine and spurious works, and is left incomplete. Although based chiefly on Dinesh Chandra Sen's works for its information, Melville T. Kennedy's *Chaitanya Movement* (Oxford University Press, 1925), apart from its obvious Christian bias, is perhaps the most sensible and popularly written account available in English. Bimanbihari Majumdar's *Śrī-Caitanya-cariter Upādān*, already mentioned above, does not expressly deal with Caitanya's life, but it examines the materials furnished by the existing records and furnishes a great deal of information on the early aspects of the movement and generally on Caitanya's life ; it also gives a brief account of Assamese and Oḍiyā sources.

his wife Śacī, and was born at Navadvīpa in February 1486 (Phālguna Paurṇamāsī, Śaka 1407) before or during an eclipse of the full moon,[1] in the midst of universal taking of God's name (*haribol*), usual on such occasions. His father Jagannātha Miśra was a pious and scholarly Brahman of Vaiṣṇava faith and disposition and was probably a Rāma-worshipper. Originally an inhabitant of Ḍhākā Dakṣiṇa (Jājapura, according to Jayānanda) in Sylhet, Jagannātha appears to have migrated and settled in the academic city of Navadvīpa situated on the holy Ganges.[2] His modest dwelling house, according to Govinda Karmakāra, was situated at the extreme south of the city, on the banks of the Hooghly, and consisted of five big rooms; and he appears to have been a highly respected and fairly well-to-do middle class householder.[3] The mother, Śacī, was the daughter of a devout and scholarly Brahman, named Nīlāmbara Cakravartin, who had also come from Sylhet to settle at Navadvīpa. She was a deeply religious and sensible woman, who bore the

1 B. Majumdar (pp. 17-21) comes to the conclusion that Caitanya's birth took place in the evening before the eclipse, and that the date would correspond to February 27, 1486 A.D. (Phālguna 23, Śaka 1407). But this is at best conjectural.

2 It is curious that many of the associates and followers of Caitanya (e.g. Advaita, Śrīvāsa, Murāri, Candraśekhara, Tapana Miśra, etc.) were from Sylhet. Famine, political trouble and the temptation of living near the holy Ganges at the great seat of mediaeval learning are supposed to have been the reasons of the migration. Jagannātha and Nīlāmbara were probably settled at Navadvīpa prior to Jagannātha's marriage to Śacī. Caitanya's ancestors are supposed to have come originally from Jājpur in Orissa on account of the persecution (so Jayānanda tells us) of Raja Bhramara who has been identified with Kapilendra-deva of Orissa. The pedigree of Caitanya is given differently. According to Jayānanda, it was Kṣīracandra—Virūpākṣa—Rāmakṛṣṇa—Dhanañjaya—Janārdana—-Jagannātha; but the following, from different sources, is also given: Viśuddha —Madhukara—Upendra—Jagannātha.

3 So Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja; but Murāri and Vṛndāvana-dāsa make him a man of modest means, Vṛndāvana even using the word सुदरिद्र (very poor).

loneliness of her closing years with great patience and resignation.[1] Govinda Karmakāra describes her as a woman "of quiet temperament and of short stature" and very fond and proud of her boy.[2] In the midst of such traditions of piety, scholarship and affection, and with all the social advantages of well-born Brahmanhood, Viśvaṃbhara grew up as a privileged child. The parents, who must have been fairly advanced in life when he was born, had already lost several children ;[3] and their only surviving boy, immediately older than Viśvaṃbhara, named Viśvarūpa, had left home as an Advaita Saṃnyāsin under the name of Śaṃkarāraṇya, and was never heard of again.[4] It is natural, therefore, that all the wealth of their love was lavished, after Viśvarūpa had gone, upon their only surviving boy, whom pitying affection nicknamed Nimāi, but whose personal charm and beauty earned the epithet of Gaura or Gaurāṅga. It is possible that most of the miraculous legends associated with Caitanya's boyhood[5] were piously

1 Kavikarṇapūra in his drama (iv. 27) likens her silent tribulation to those of Kauśalyā and Yośodā.

2 शान्तमूर्ति शचीदेवी अति खर्वकाय ।
निमाइ निमाइ वलि सदा फुकराय ॥

3 Caitanya is said by Locana-dāsa to have been the ninth child (tenth, according to Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra, Kṛṣṇadāsa and Jayānanda).

4 Jayānanda (probably following a hint of Kavikarṇapura, Kāvya ii. 92, that Viśvarūpa crossed the river Ganges and became an ascetic) tells us (p. 20) that Viśvarūpa also was initiated at Kaṭwa by Keśava Bhāratī. It is curious, however, that in the long list, given by Jayānanda (p. 88) of those who were present at Viśaṃbhara's initiation, the name of Śaṃkarāraṇya occurs! He must have been about six or seven years older than Caitanya. According to Kṛṣṇadāsa (*C-C*, Madhya ix, 294-301), when Caitanya came to Pandharpur during his pilgrimage and met there Śrī-Raṅga Purī (an alleged disciple of Mādhavendra) who had once been a guest with his Guru at Jagannātha Miśra's house at Navadvīpa, Caitanya learnt from him that Viśvarūpa, *alias* Śaṃkarāraṇya, had died at Pandharpur.

5 Murāri-gupta does not give much evidence of the divinity of Caitanya actually manifested before his Saṃnyāsa, although he believes that Caitanya had from time to time revealed divine inspiration or

inspired by the Purāṇic stories of the child Kṛṣṇa,[1] but his lively boyish frolics probably had some real foundation, and indicate that the boy Caitanya was a very real boy, healthy,

Āveśa. But Jayānanda makes him a devotee, and Kavikarṇapūra, Locana and Vṛndāvana present him as the Bhagavat himself, from his very childhood. Kṛṣṇadāsa's attitude is almost the same. In the view of his later followers, therefore, Caitanya manifested himself as the supreme god from his very childhood. But Murāri's general attitude appears to suggest that Caitanya's divinity was a matter of gradual acceptance and was not widely and firmly established before his return from Gayā. See a discussion of the question by B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 590-603.

[1] पूर्व शुनिलाम येन नन्देर कुमार। सेइ रूप तोमार पुत्रेर व्यवहार ॥ (*C-bh*, Ādi v); पूर्वे येन व्रजमध्ये कृष्ण क्रीड़ा कैल (Jayānanda, p. 22). Similar sentiments are found also in Murāri-gupta i. 6. 8, 12. But Caitanya's sexual purity, both in youth and manhood, is uncontested, and amorous adventures are naturally barred in his Kṛṣṇa-like exploits. In spite of the emotional and erotic tendencies of his faith, there was something rigidly ascetic in him even before he formally became an ascetic, and his attitude towards women was throughout his life above criticism (सवे परस्त्रीर प्रति नाहि परिहास। स्त्री देखि दूरे प्रभु हयेन एकपाश ॥ *C-bh*, Ādi xiii). Although one section of his followers, headed by Narahari Sarkār and Locana-dāsa represent Caitanya in the erotic light as the Nāgara-vara, the biography cited above distinctly states that in this Avatāra the Lord eschewed the name of women, and one must not speak of Caitanya as a Nāgara (स्त्री हेन नाम प्रभु एह अवतारे। श्रवणओ न करिला विदित संसारे ॥ अतएव यत महामहिम सकले। गौराङ्ग नागर हेन स्तव नाहि वले ॥ *loc. cit.*). On one occasion after his Saṃnyāsa he rebuked his disciple Haridāsa for having accepted alms from a woman of the town. As reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Caitanya once said to Rāmānanda: "I am a man and have taken the ascetic vow. In body and mind, in speech, and in all my dealings I must be spotless." He is reported by Govinda Karmakāra to have warned Rāmānanda Rāya that the passionate longing for women is not love, for love can dawn only on the obliteration or transfiguration of the sexual impulse (अवला लागिया आर्त्ति यदि प्रेम हय। तवे तो ए प्रेमतत्त्व किछुइ ये नय ॥ अभेद पुरुष नारी यखन जानिवे। तखन प्रेमेर तत्त्व उदय हइवे ॥).

light-hearted and full of fun and mischief, which must have kept his parents busy and his neighbours in a state of mild apprehension, but which never gave any ground for offence because of the innate goodness, personal charm and loveliness of the remarkable boy.

The fond parents were at first averse to sending the boy to school for fear that learning would lead him to ascetic life, and he was allowed to grow wild at will. Later on, he was sent to one Viṣṇu Paṇḍita and Sudarśana for elementary education, and then to Gaṅgādāsa, who was chiefly a grammarian,[1] for more advanced studies. Pious imagination invests him with extraodinary precocity of intellect and makes him a youthful prodigy, mastering all branches of Sanskrit learning at the age of fifteen ; but it is probable that he displayed in his younger days a keenness and intelligence much above the average. He does not appear, however, to have, at any period of his life, cared much for deep or wide scholarship ; and it is not necessary to present him as a great scholar when his real greatness lies in other directions. His education was certainly that of a well-born Brahman boy at such a centre of learning as Navadvīpa, but his studies appear to have been chiefly confined to Grammar. especially Kalāpa Grammar, and possibly some literature and Rhetoric to which allusion is made[2].

1 Murāri, i. 9. 1; Kavikarṇapūra, Kāvya iii. 2, 3; Jayānanda, p. 17.

2 His teacher Gaṅgādāsa is said to have been proficient in Grammar व्याकरण शास्त्रेर एकान्त तत्त्वविद् *C-bh.* Ādi vii), and Caitanya's knowledge and teaching of Grammar are more than once referred to. Keśava Kāśmīrī, for instance, speaks contemptuously of his teaching of Grammar, which Caitanya himself admits as a matter of pride (शिशुशास्त्र व्याकरण पड़ाय ब्राह्मण *C-bh*, Ādi xi ; व्याकरणमध्ये जानि पड़ाओ कलाप । ...प्रभु कहे व्याकरण पड़ाइ अभिमान करि ॥ *C-bh*, Ādi xvi. 32-35). It is curious that he taught Kalāpa, and not Mugdhabodha, which is the grammar in general use at Navadvīpa. Reference to Kalāpa is also made by Jayānanda (p. 18). Caitanya himself is reported to have

While Viśvaṃbhara was still a student his father died. His elder brother having become a Saṃnyāsin shortly before this, the burden of the household fell on his young shoulders. He married Lakṣmī, daughter of Vallabha Ācārya,[1] a scholar of Navadvīpa, became a householder, set up a Sanskrit school (*ṭol*) like most learned Brahmans of his time, under the patronage of one Mukunda Saṃjaya, and began to receive pupils. His dialectic exploits of the period are made much of in his two orthodox biographies, but the descriptions of his scholastic triumphs are obviously exaggerated and sometimes

admitted that he made no serious study of Rhetoric (নাহি পড়ি অলঙ্কার করিয়াছি শ্রবণ *C-C*, Ādi xvi. 52), but in his alleged disputation with Keśava he is made to rely chiefly on his stray knowledge of this subject! Although Navadvīpa was famous for its teaching of New Logic, there is, however, little evidence to show that Viśvaṃbhara ever deeply studied or taught this subject. On the contrary, people noticing the keenness of his intellect, are said to have on one occasion wished that he had studied Nyāya and become a great Bhaṭṭācārya (কেহ বলে এ ব্রাহ্মণ ন্যায় যদি পড়ে। ভট্টাচার্য হয় তবে কখন না নড়ে ॥ *C-bh*, Ādi xi, although in another context the same biography speaks of Caitanya's Nyāya-vicāra with Gadādhara). No reliance, therefore, can be placed on the legend narrated in the *Advaita-prakāśa* (the historicity of which work itself and the genuineness of the printed text are not beyond question) that Caitanya wrote a commentary on Nyāya but threw the work into the Ganges out of compassion towards a Brahman who had written a similar work but who was afraid lest it should be eclipsed by the more learned commentary of Caitanya. The legend is obviously inspired by the pious tendency of glorifying Caitanya by imputing scholastic eminence to him. The *Advaita-prakāśa* also speaks of a commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* by Caitanya, but of this there is no mention elsewhere. It is doubtful if Jayānanda's statement that Caitanya read Smṛti and Tarka (স্মৃতি তর্ক সাহিত্য পড়িল একে একে, p. 18) is reliable. On this question of Caitanya's education see S. K. De in *IHQ*, 1934, pp. 301-2 ; B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-49.

1 Not to be confounded (as often done, e.g. in Carpenter, *Theism in Mediaeval India*, p. 438, footnote) with Vallabhācārya, the founder of the Vaiṣṇava sect of that name.

purile.[1] All these Navadvīpa legends, however, tend to indicate that Caitanya's youthful and thoughtless mind was

1 He is said, for instance, in the two orthodox biographies of Vṛndāvana and Kṛṣṇadāsa to have vanquished in disputation Keśava Bhaṭṭa Kāśmīrī, the well-known scholar and commentator of the Nimbārka school. What really happens in Viśvaṃbhara's so-called disputation with this formidable scholar, who was the author of commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the *Vedānta-sūtra* and other works, is somewhat strange. Viśvaṃbhara requests Keśava to compose a hymn to the Ganges, on the banks of which they meet, and on Keśava's reciting *extempore* an astonishing series of verses on the subject, all that Viśvaṃbhara does to silence him is to pick rhetorical flaws of a somewhat fastidious kind in one of the verses recited! This is the whole extent of the learned disputation, and the account in its triviality is extremely disappointing. In the same way Viśvaṃbhara is represented elsewhere as picking trivial grammatical flaws in Īśvara Purī's poem. No concealment is made here of the fact that Viśvaṃbhara was chiefly a teacher of grammar with some stray knowledge of rhetoric. The disputation is omitted in other biographies. It is mentioned for the first time by Vṛndāvana-dāsa, from whom Kṛṣṇadāsa obviously elaborates the legend. One might even suspect sectarian loyalty in making a veteran champion of the Nimbārka school suffer defeat at the hands of the youthful Caitanya; but apart from pious credulity, the attempt is poorly represented. Keśava of Kashmir was the son of Śrīmaṅgala, pupil of Mukunda and pra-śiṣya of Sundara Bhaṭṭa, as he himself tells us in his various Sanskrit works. He was the author of commentaries on the *Brahmopaniṣad*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (sk. x) and other works; but his most well known work for his school was the *Prabhā* sub-commentary on Śrīnivāsa's *Kaustubha* commentary on Nimbārka's *Vedānta-pārijāta* (ed. in the *Pandit* vili, ix; also ed. Nityasvarup Brahmachari, Brindaban 1906). Keśava could not have been, as Aufrecht notes, a pupil of Śrīnivāsa (on whose *Kaustubha* he commented), for Śrīnivāsa's date would be about the 13th century, while Keśava lived in the latter part of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. The meeting with Caitanya, as a fact, is not unlikely, but the account has been grotesquely exaggerated. On this question, see also S. K. De in *IHQ*, 1934, pp. 302-3; B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-10. For an analysis of the academic aspect of this episode, see *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, December 1933, pp. 91-99, in which the writer of the article comes to the conclusion that "the entire episode looks very

filled at this time with the scholastic spirit and pride of learning characteristic of his native place ; and the sprightliness of his boyhood had developed into the pedantic, but harmless, arrogance of a young Pandit. His personal charm, handsome presence, social standing and promise of scholarship, however, disarmed all resentment, and made him a marked figure in the city.

About this time Viśvaṃbhara is said to have made an extensive tour in East Bengal. Although his orthodox biographies represent it in a different light, Murāri, Locana and Jayānanda agree in stating that the professed object of the tour was to acquire wealth,[1] and he seems to have received gratifying gifts from pious householders. The records of the tour are scanty and uncertain, but some tradition[2] extends it up to Sylhet in Assam in order to make him visit his ancestral home there. During his absence his young wife Lakṣmī, whom, he is said to have married out of love at first sight and who is depicted as an ideal wife and daughter-in-law, died of snake-bite. On his return he took the news with great calmness. He was soon married again to Viṣṇupriyā, daughter

suspicious."—The Vallabhācāris also claim Keśava Bhaṭṭa as a disciple of Vallabhācārya!

1 धनार्थं प्रययौ दिशि पूर्वस्याम् Murāri i. 11.5 ; मायेरे कहिल याव अर्थ उपार्जने Locana, Ādi, p. 43 (Amrita Bazar Patrika Ed) ; वङ्गदेश याव आमि अर्थेर छले । अर्थ विना संसार कभु नाहि चले ॥ Jayānanda, Nadīyā Khaṇḍa, p. 47. But this is not admitted by Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Kavikarṇapūra (who, however, speaks of his teaching pupils during the travel) and others. After he came back, he amused every one by mimicking the peculiar pronunciation of East Bengal people: वङ्गदेशी वाक्य अनुकरण करिया वाङ्गालेरे कदर्थेन हासिया हासिया ॥ (*C-bh*, Ādi xii) ; पाषण्डवर्जित देश सर्वलोके गाय । गङ्गा हवा गङ्गा नहे एइ साक्षी ताय ॥ (Locana, p. 47).

2 This is recorded in the last few suspiciously spurious chapters of the *Prema-vilāsa* ; but there is no hint of it in any of the seven old lives of Caitanya; see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 553 f.

of a Navadvīpa Pandit, Sanātana Miśra,—whom Govinda Karmakāra vividly describes as "a smiling, coy and modest girl, always busy serving the Lord."[1] It is noteworthy that while the sect takes little notice of the short-lived first wife, Caitanya's second wife, who survived his Saṃnyāsa and his death, holds a place of considerable honour in its estimation. It is possible, however, that the first wife held a unique place in his affection, and the shock of her death had something to do with his Saṃnyāsa, which occurred not many years later.[2]

As yet the young Pandit, busy with imparting secular instruction, showed no open susceptibility to the religious influences which surrounded him, and all attempts to interest him deeply in religious matters met with a half-jesting, half-sceptical response. But a great change swiftly came over the even tenour of his life ; and when it came, it swept him off with its overwhelming force. At the age of about twenty-two, Viśvaṃbhara, as a dutiful son, undertook a pilgrimage to Gayā[3] for the purpose of performing his

1 विष्णुप्रिया देवी हन प्रभुर घरणी । प्रभुर सेवाय व्यस्त दिवस रजनी ॥ लज्जावती विनयिनी मृदु मृदु हास । मुह इइलाम गिया चरणेर दास ॥ (p. 4). Sanātana Miśra's forefathers are said to have come from Mithilā (*Bhāratavarṣa*, vol. 28, p. 199), although he is usually supposed to have belonged to Sylhet.

2 Although Murāri (i. 15. 4) and, following him Locana, describes Caitanya as deeply attached to his second wife, Vṛndāvana-dāsa (Ādi xii) mentions Viṣṇupriyā only once. But Locana goes further and describes Caitanya's love-sport with Viṣṇupriyā on the night before his Saṃnyāsa!—In his Kāvya, Kavikarṇapūra does not describe Caitanya's marriage to Viṣṇupriyā (iii. 127-144) as elaborately as that to Lakṣmī (iii. 6-81) ; in the drama (i. 23, 24) he incidentally mentions the two marriages.

3 According to Karṇapūra (Kāvya iv. 21) Caitanya was accompanied by his *jananī-bhaginī-pati* (*i.e.* Candraśekhara Ācārya). Murāri mentions no companion. Vṛndāvana-dāsa (Ādi xii) says : याइया करि चलिला अनेक शिष्य लइया (went accompanied by a large number of pupils), while Jayānanda (p. 32) gives a long list of followers who went with Caitanya!

father's Śrāddha at the holy place. What exactly happened there is not known, but the sacred surroundings must have strangely stirred the hidden springs of his religious emotion. He himself could hardly express what he found at Gayā to work a wonderful change[1]; but the principal factor in the transformation, which his biographers also emphasise, was his meeting there with Īśvara Purī,[2] the emotional ascetic, who had on a previous occasion tried fruitlessly to win him over to devout life, but who was now voluntarily accepted as a spiritual guide. Īśvara Purī gave him the Kṛṣṇa-Mantra of ten syllables (*daśākṣara*), but the sudden religious awakening in him could hardly be satisfied by such formal initiation. Of the intensity and transforming quality of his religious experience there can be no doubt. The pride of learning was humbled ; his love of finery, to which frequent allusions are made by his biographers,[3] and care for personal appearance were gone ; scholastic pursuits and worldly concerns lost their interest[4] He had seen one of those mystic visions

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now destined to play, along with him, an important part in the history of the movement. Although one of Vṛndāvana-dāsa's object in his biography of Caitanya is to supply information about Nityānanda,[1] not much is recorded of his earlier life. He is said to have been born at a village named Ekcākā (Ekacakra) in the district of Birbhum, but his birth-date is uncertain. His parents were Hāḍāi Paṇḍita and his wife Padmāvatī, of whom, however, nothing is known. At the early age of twelve (according to Vṛndāvana-dāsa), fourteen (according to the *Prema-vilāsa* vii), or eighteen (according to Jayānanda), Nityānanda left home for homelessness, and as a wandering Avadhūta travelled extensively over Northern and Southern India. He was older than Caitanya by some eight years, and bore such resemblance to his elder brother Viśvarūpa, who had also become a Saṃnyāsin, that Śacī Devī welcomed him as her own son.[2] He was living at that time at Navadvīpa, and his meeting with Viśvaṃbhara was not only providential but mutually

हास्यमुख असीम महत्त्व ॥ is significant, although it was probably meant to indicate that he was an Avatāra of Balarāma (Karṇapūra, Kāvya vii. 19). Locana informs us (Sūtra-khaṇḍa p. 33) that Nityānanda's name before Saṃnyāsa was Kuvera.

1 Curiously enough, there is no standard biography of Nityānanda, although Vṛndāvana-dāsa, who was an enthusiastic partisan of Nityānanda, actually writes a great deal about him in connexion with Caitanya ; while Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja who was inspired by Nityānanda in a dream and Kavikarṇapūra in both the poetical and dramatic biographies, as well as later Vaiṣṇava works in Bengali, only incidentally record some traditions about him. Rūpa, Raghunātha and Jīva do not even mention Nityānanda, although Nityānanda's name occurs in the series of general obeisance at the commencement of Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* !

2 Kṛṣṇadāsa informs us that Caitanya used to address him as Baḍa Bhāi (elder brother). This is probably the source of the curious mistake, repeated by R. G. Bhandarkar (*Vaiṣṇavism*, Strassburg 1913, p. 83) of identifying Nityānanda with Caitanya's elder brother Viśvarūpa. This mistake has been perpetuated in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 190a.

attractive and stimulating. They discovered in each other a kindred spirit, and the stong and instant attraction endured through life.

Viśvaṃbhara now became the centre of the devout Vaiṣṇava group in the city,[1] and came to be regarded as the very incarnation of their spirit of devotion. His extraordinary capacity for emotion had the power of evoking similar emotion in others, and the very reality of his spiritual experience and the irresistible charm of his gifted personality soon made him the natural leader of the group. One of his first and most important act was the stimulation, if not the introduction,[2] of an emotional and unritualistic mode of musical worship, known as Kīrtana, in the daily devotional meetings which were held in the courtyard of Śrīvāsa's house[3]. At first these meetings were private, and the strange doings of the Vaiṣṇava devotees met with scorn and ridicule ; but the increasing fervour displayed in the Kīrtana parties proved contagious by creating a highly emotionalised atmosphere. This method of congregated devotional excitement,[4] by means

1 Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra and Vṛndāvana-dāsa mention about 40 persons who now formed this group, but see the list given by B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

2 Although the antiquity of the Kīrtana is probable, Caitanya's biographies distinctly say that this mode was Caitanya's creation: cf. Murāri i. 1. 5; i. 4. 25-27 ; कलियुगे सङ्कीर्त्तन धर्म पालिवारे । अवतीर्ण हइला प्रभु सर्वपरिकरे ॥ (*C-bh*, Ādi i) ; आरम्भिला महाप्रभु कीर्तन प्रकाश (*op. cit.* Ādi ii). Kavikarṇapūra in his drama (viii. 32) (also in his Kāvya) speaks of the Kīrtana as: *iyam iyaṃ bhagavac-caitanya-sṛṣṭiḥ*. On the superiority of the Kīrtana over other modes of worship, see Sanātana, *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, ii. 3. 146-148, 158.

3 Śrīvāsa was the son of one Jaladhara Paṇḍita, also from Sylhet. He must have been older than Caitanya.

4 Rūpa Gosvāmin defines Kīrtana in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* as: *nāma-līlā-guṇādīnām* (distinguishing three kinds) *uccair bhāṣā tu kīrtanam*. This mode has proved so effective for popular appeal that it has since been accepted more or less by other sects. In modern times the Nava Vidhān Brāhma Samāj revived it, and the salvation Army in Bengal has adopted it for their missionary purpose.

of enthusiastic chorus singing to the accompaniment of peculiar drums and cymbals, along with rhythmical bodily movements ending in an ecstatic abandon of dancing, proved very fruitful indeed in utilising group-emotion, and soon became a distinctive feature of the faith. Grotesquely absurd as the practice may seem, it succeeded in creating a whirlpool of emotionalism from which there was no escape. As the tireless exertions of Kīrtana grew higher and higher, they worked upon the emotions as well as on the senses, and produced ecstatic thrills and copious perspiration, wild fits, trembling and weeping, hysterical orgy of dancing, raving, stupefaction or dementia, until they brought on exhaustion and unconsciousness, ending in mystic trances. Viśvaṃbhara soon realised its possibilities ; and under his guidance it became something more than the highly emotional service of a secluded band of devotees. Its enthusiastic physical and emotional appeal was not only congenial to the essentially emotional faith, but it was also utilised effectively for spreading the contagion of Bhakti. Very soon Kīrtana processions (Nagara-kīrtana) were organised for parading the streets with lusty music, singing and dancing, and carrying the appeal from door to door.

But there was a very large and influential section of people, consisting chiefly of the proud scholars and the self-satisfied élite of the city, who looked upon the uproarious movement as a public nuisance ; and their initial attitude of scornful indifference soon became one of active opposition. The aid of the Muhammadan Kāzi of Navadvīpa was invoked, but the sight of a Nagara-kīrtana, organised and led by Caitanya himself, is said to have convinced the Muhammadan magistrate of its spiritual nature, and he acknowledged it by joining the party himself![1] At any rate, the opposition appears to have

1 Murāri alludes to the incident briefly (ii. 17. 11), but Vṛndāvanadāsa (Madhya xxiii) makes it a fighting affair, which Kṛṣṇadāsa considerably tones down.

proved an obstacle to the movement. We are told in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Ādi viii. 10-11 ; xvii. 262-268) that Viśvaṃbhara at last resolved to win over these unbelievers by severing all local ties and embracing the universally honoured life of a Saṃnyāsin. The motive which influenced him to adopt asceticism was probably diverse and complex ; at best, it is left obscure.[1] He is reported to have said:[2] "As I must save these men, I have to adopt the life of asceticism. When they see me as an ascetic, they will bow down to me, and in bowing their guilt will be destroyed, and I shall rouse Bhakti in their purified hearts. Then will these godless men be saved. There is no other means, and this is the best way." But the real reason was probably much deeper. It must have been his innate predilection to asceticism and the more imperious urge of passionate devotion which drove him to a complete abandonment of self to the service of his deity ; and there is a hint of such an inner motive in the report of his statement made elsewhere (*C-C*, Madhya iii. 7-9) that the life of an ascetic would give him opportunities for an exclusive devotion to Kṛṣṇa. He, therefore, induced Keśava Bhāratī to initiate him as a Saṃnyāsin under the name of Śrīkṛṣṇa-caitanya, usually abbreviated to Caitanya, which now became the

1 Sārvabhauma, in Kavikarṇapūra's drama (Act vi), for instance, is made to wonder whether the Māyāvādin Saṃnyāsin was a Vaiṣṇava in his previous Āśrama ; for he replies to the usual greeting not by नमो नारायणाय but by कृष्णे रतिः कृष्णे मतिः ! This incident is copied by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja.

2 मोरे निन्दा करे ये ना करे नमस्कार । ए सब जीवेर अवश्य करिब उद्धार ॥ अतएव अवश्य आमि सन्न्यास करिब । सन्न्यासी बुद्धे मोरे प्रणत हइब ॥ प्रणतिते हबे इहार अपराध क्षय । निर्म्मल हृदये भक्ति करिब उदय ॥ ए सब पाषण्डीर तबे हइबे निस्तार । आर कोन उपाय नाहि एइ युक्ति सार ॥ (Ādi xvii. 264-267). Also Govinda-dāsa Karmakāra: शिखासूत्र त्याग करि सन्न्यास लइब । ताहा ना करिले किसे जीव उद्धारिब ॥ (p. 6).

universally accepted name. The initiation took place, in the presence of his three followers (Nityānanda, Candraśekhara Ācāryaratna and Mukunda-datta), at Katwa, not far from Navadvīpa on the other side of the Ganges, towards the end of the month of Māgha, in Śaka 1431 (=January, 1510 A.D.), when Caitanya was barely twenty-four years old.[1] Keśava Bhāratī lived at Katwa, and as there was very little personal intercourse between him and Caitanya, he does not appear in any way to have influenced the spiritual disposition of his disciple either before or after the initiation. He was perhaps chosen as the Saṃnyāsa-guru because he happened to be a well-known Saṃnyāsin near at hand, who was capable of performing the ceremony. The particular order that Caitanya joined probably made as little difference to his religious consciousness as even his very act of becoming a Saṃnyāsin itself.[2] He never strictly conformed to the severe passionless life of an Indian ascetic, to which he imparted a new spirit by his emotional faith. He went beyond his ascetic teachers in matters of belief and practice ; and, unlike the founders of some other Vaiṣṇava sects, he gave Rādhā a prominent place

1 Only Kavikarṇapūra explicitly tells us in his Mahākāvya (iv. 76) that Viśvaṃbhara returned from Gayā in the month of Pauṣa, that his manifestation began from Māgha in the same year, that he taught pupils for four months more, *i. e.* till Vaiśākha of the next year (v. 24), and that he spent eight months from Jyaiṣṭha to Pauṣa in Saṃkīrtana, so that his Saṃnyāsa occurred in Māgha. Both Vṛndāvana-dāsa (Madhya ii) and Kṛṣṇadāsa (Ādi xvii. 30) generally speak of one year's interval between Caitanya's return from Gayā and his Saṃnyāsa. Kṛṣṇadāsa also says: चब्बिस वत्सर शेष येइ माघमास। तार शुक्लपक्षे प्रभु करिल सन्न्यास ॥ (Madhya iii. 3) ; in this he follows Kavikarṇapūra.

2 As Caitanya's reply to Advaita on this occasion, in Kavikarṇapūra's drama (v. 21), implies. Meeting Caitanya for the first time, Sārvabhauma asks whether the young ascetic belongs to the Bhāratī-saṃpradāya (Act vi), to which Gopīnātha Ācārya replies that Caitanya's belonging to a Saṃpradāya is only an outward form (*bāhya*) ; but the orthodox Sārvabhauma replies: *samīcīnaṃ nocyate, āśramaujjvalyaṃ na bāhyam*!

in his thought and his worship, although in matters of personal purity and self-denial he kept rigidly to his ascetic vow.

After paying a visit to the venerable Advaita's house at Śāntipur, where he look a pathetic farewel from his heart-broken mother and the assembled Vaiṣṇava devotees of Navadvīpa, to whom his renunciation came as a terrible blow, he resolved to leave for Vṛndāvana. But he yielded to his mother's entreaties to reside permanently at Puri, where his friends and followers could visit him and whence pilgrims would frequently bring his news.[1] If Śacī Devī rose to the occasion and reconciled herself to her son's abandoning the life of the householder, her worthy son honoured his mother by allowing her word to determine his place of residence for life, and by relinquishing his cherished object of reclamation of the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana, of which we will speak presently. It reminds one of the story of the great Śaṃkara, who, Saṃnyāsin as he was, is said to have performed the funeral obsequies of his mother, and thus risen superior to the strict code of the recluse. Commending the care of his mother, wife and faithful followers to Advaita and other associates,[2] Caitanya departed within a month for Puri with only four disciples (Nityānanda, Dāmodara Paṇḍita, Jagadānanda and Mukunda) accompanying him.

Although a close connexion was kept up between the Master and his Bengal followers by their annual visits to Puri,

1 Of this story of Śacī's request, there is no trace in Murāri and Kavikarṇapūra, who state that Caitanya himself declared his own intention to go to Puri.

2 Murāri (iv. 14. 3-11), and following him Locana, tells us that Caitanya once again visited Navadvīpa in later years during his visit to Gauḍa. Other biographers are silent on this point, possibly because such a visit would be contrary to the usual practice of a Saṃnyāsin, but Vāsu Ghoṣa in one of his Padas alludes to it (*Gaurapada*, 2nd ed. p. 271).

his departure must have been a great loss[1] to a cause which had hardly had time yet to establish itself firmly. The later disruption of the sect, the organisation of which was left in the hands of Advaita and Nityānanda, was partly due to this lack of direct contact with the Master, whose personality was not only the strongest asset of the community but also the only powerful influence which could unify and organise it into a compact body. While the movement in Bengal fell into disorder after his death,[2] the influence of his personal presence for long years at Puri has made Orissa a stronghold of the Vaiṣṇava faith even up to the present day. If the legend (for legend it appears to be!) about the original migration of Caitanya's ancestors from Orissa were true, then Orissa had enough warrant for claiming Caitanya as her own, but she succeeded at least in proving her claim indirectly by a wide-spread and enduring belief in his faith.

The first short stay at Puri[3] was marked by two important incidents. The first was the conversion of a famous Vedāntist, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, and the other was the homage of Gajapati Pratāparudra, ruler of Orissa, who is also said to have come under the spell of Caitanya's influence. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, some of whose devotional verses are cited in the *Padyāvalī*,[4] was a Navadvīpa scholar, born

1 Kavikarṇapūra in his drama (iv. 36) makes Caitanya's followers lament over it as *sarvasva-nāśo hi naḥ*.

2 Apart from the general bifurcation into the devotees of Navadvīpa (Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Jayānanda and some early Pada-composers on Caitanya) and Vṛndāvana (the six Gosvāmins, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Narottama and Śrīnivāsa) respectively, who looked at Caitanya from different angles, we know that even at the time when Vṛndāvana-dāsa wrote, there were other small groups, *e.g.* Gaura-nāgara-vādins (Narahari, Locana and some Pada-composers, Ādi x). Advaita-bhaktas (Madhya x; Antya iv), followers of Gadādhara (Madhya xiii), disciples and detractors of Nityānanda (Madhya iii).

3 Kavikarṇapūra in his Mahākāvya (xii. 94) states that Caitanya stayed only 18 days at Puri before he set out on his Southern pilgrimage.

4 Altogether seven verses are cited in the anthology under the name of Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, by which title the great scholar appears

about the middle of the 15th century. His father was (Maheśvara ?) Viśārada, whom Vāsudeva mentions reverentially at the close of his commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda*,[1] and to whom the so-called *Pratyakṣa-maṇi-māheśvarī* on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, is dubiously ascribed.[2] There is a legend that Vāsudeva went to Mithilā to study Nyāya at the school established by Pakṣadhara Miśra.[3] As his teachers in Mithilā, it is said, would not allow any outsider to copy out their famous manuscripts on Nyāya, Vāsudeva committed the entire *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, as well as the metrical portion of the *Kusumāñjali*, to memory, and brought them in this manner to Bengal. This is said to have transferred the study of Navya Nyāya from Mithilā to Bengal,

to have been known and generally referred to in the Bengal Vaiṣṇava works. Locana alone gives the full name Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. On Stotras and Ślokas ascribed to Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, i, 1934, pp. 22-29 ; also S. K. De, *Padyāvalī*, Dacca 1934, pp. 228-230.

1 Rajendralal Mitra, *Notices* viii, pp. 291-2, no. 2854. The colophon designates the author as Gauḍīyācārya-sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya. The terms of reference to his father Viśārada indicate that Viśārada was also a Vedāntist (*vedānta-vidyā-maya*). The name occurs as Narahari, although Bengal Vaiṣṇava works make it Maheśvara! He was a Vandyaghaṭīya Brahman (*śrī vandyānvaya*).—The work was written under the patronage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa.

2 By Gopinath Kaviraj in *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, iv, p. 60. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya (*Bhāratvarṣa*, xxviii, pt. 2, 1347 B.E., p. 423 f) points out that the name of the work is missing in the fragmentary MS, but was supplied by Vindhyesvariprasad Dvivedi ; and the author's name also does not occur. It is a commentary on Pakṣadhara's *Āloka* and probably belongs to Maheśa or Maheśvara of Mithilā.

3 Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma must not be confounded (as done by Aufrecht) with Vāsudeva Miśra Nyāya-siddhānta, who was a nephew and pupil of Pakṣadhara Miśra and wrote a commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*. Pakṣadhara's date is uncertain. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan (*Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1921, pp. 455-56) would place him in the last quarter of the 13th century, but Gopinath Kaviraj (*Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, iv, pp. 62 f) would shift the date to the third quarter of the 15th century.

which now became possessed of the original books to work upon. Returning to Bengal, he set up a dialectic school of Navya Nyāya at Navadvīpa; but his fame is said to have been eclipsed by that of his more distinguished pupil, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the great champion of the Bengal school of Logic.[1] This legend, however, is also told in connexion with Raghunātha Śiromaṇi himself, and there is nothing to show that Raghunātha was ever a pupil of Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva was perhaps more of a Vedāntist than a Naiyāyika, as his learned commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda*, written at Puri, indicates; and Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja represent him chiefly as teaching Vedānta at Puri. Jayānanda tells us that Vāsudeva was driven from Navadvīpa by Muhammadan persecution and settled at Puri, where he passed the closing years of his life under the patronage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa.[2]

1 It is noteworthy that Raghunātha, in his *Anumāna-dīdhiti* quotes and refutes *sārvabhauma-mata*.—A work on Nyāya by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, called *Samāsa-vāda*, is mentioned in Aufrecht i, 698 a, but the work is now known to have been composed by Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma. Tradition ascribes to him a *Sārvabhauma-nirukti*, apparently a glossorial commentary, on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*; but nothing is known about this alleged work. Gopinath Kaviraj (*op. cit.*, p. 63), however, informs us that Vāsudeva's commmentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, called *Sārāvalī*, is available only in fragments. The MS does not contain the names of the work or the author; but D. C. Bhattacharya (*loc. cit.*) believes that the author was Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, and conjectures the real name of the work to have been *Anumāna-maṇi-parīkṣā*.

2 There is nothing to support the accuracy of Jayānanda's story of Vāsudeva's exodus from Navadvīpa. Jayānanda tells us that in his adoration of Caitanya, Sārvabhauma composed then and there a *Caitanyāṣṭaka* Stotra (चैतन्याष्टक श्लोक करिला प्रबन्धे। सार्वभौम ध्यानस्तुति करि गौरचन्द्रे ॥ p. 125), and a *Caitanya-sahasra-nāma* (चैतन्यसहस्रनाम श्लोकप्रबन्धे। सार्वभौम रचिल केवल प्रेमानन्दे ॥ p. 3), also in hundred verses (चैतन्येर शत श्लोक सार्वभौम-मुखे p. 125). Vṛndāvana-dāsa also

There are different versions of the story of Caitanya's first meeting at Puri[1] with this venerable Bengali scholar ; but one of the orthodox accounts gives a dramatic setting to the whole incident.[2] While beholding for the first time the image of Jagannātha, Caitanya is said to have been so much overpowered by his ecstatic emotions that he made a frenzied attempt to embrace the holy image and dropped senseless on the ground in his effort. The priests of the temple, mistaking him for a mad man, began to ill-treat him. Vāsudeva, who

refers to Sārvabhauma's *Śata-śloka* (hundred verses) in praise of Caitanya. So far, a work, entitled *Caitanya-dvādaśa-nāma-stotra*, by Vāsudeva, is known to exist at Tübingen (Roth's *Tübingen Catalogue*, p. 10). Jayānanda also says: सार्वभौम करिलेन अष्टोत्तरशतनाम (p. 125). An anonymous *Caitanyāṣṭottara-śata-nāma* is mentioned in *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1865, p. 139, which list also enters an *Advaitāṣṭaka* by Sārvabhauma. Sārvabhauma might have also written something on the life of Caitanya, for Jayānanda states: सार्वभौम भट्टाचार्य व्यास अवतार। चैतन्यचरित आगे करिल प्रचार ॥ p. 3. The verses put in Sārvabhauma's mouth in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya* (vi. 43-44), as well as in his Mahākāvya (xii. 86-87), have been, as tradition alleges, directly taken from his own composition. From what is implied by Karṇapūra and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Sārvabhauma probably spent his last days, after Caitanya's passing away, at Benares.

1 Tradition delights to make a great academic figure out of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and assigns to him four distinguished pupils, who achieved great success in four different spheres, viz. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the Naiyāyika ; Raghunandana, the Smārta ; Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, the Tāntrika ; and lastly, Caitanya. But Caitanya's pupilship, even though plausible, appears to have no foundation in fact ; for Caitanya's first meeting with Vāsudeva, as described by Kavikarṇapūra and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, appears to have taken place at Puri. Probably the venerable old scholar had already left Navadvīpa before Caitanya was old enough to be his pupil. In the accounts of Caitanya's early life no reference is made to Vāsudeva's teaching Caitanya, whose attitude at Puri was hardly that of a pupil towards his teacher.

2 This is narrated by Vṛndāvana-dāsa, whom Kṛṣṇadāsa substantially follows. But both Murāri and Kavikarṇapūra give a somewhat different account. See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-57.

had by chance come to the temple and witnessed the scene, had the unconscious youth carried to his house, where he must have been interested to learn that the charming young man belonged to Navadvīpa and was a grandson of Nīlāmbara Cakravartin, a friend of his own father Viśārada. The story of the interview, which followed, is shrouded in the pious accounts by a cloud of miraculous and theological legends, but the facts are fairly obvious. Struck by Caitanya's youth and personality, the compassionate old scholar sought at first to dissuade him from the difficult path of renunciation and tried to make him a Vedāntist. After listening to his learned discourse for seven days (the entire episode in one account lasting at least for twelve days!), Caitanya observed that the *Vedānta-sūtra*, like the *Upaniṣads*, was clear to him, but the views of Śaṃkara, as expounded by Sārvabhauma, obscured the real meaning of the Sūtras. A learned discussion followed in which Caitanya advanced a series of abstruse exposition of dualistic Vaiṣṇava tenets, diametrically opposed to Advaita Vedānta. The result of the disputation was that Sārvabhauma became a convert to Caitanyaism. In the course of the debate, however, as described in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, quotations are freely made and interpreted, with an evident theological relish, from the *Bhāgavata*, as well as from such works as Rūpa's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* which, as we shall see presently, was not composed till several years after Caitanya's death![1] In the orthodox account, however, it appears that the great

1 While the details of the debate are omitted in other accounts, Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to have elaborated it, not from Vṛndāvana-dāsa's brief account of one day's disputation, but mainly from Kavikarṇapūra's poetical description in his Kāvya. See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-66. It is curious that one of the well known Bhāgavata verses is said to have been interpreted by Caitanya ingeniously in different ways —the number of ways being given as nine by Kavikarṇapūra, more than thirteen by Vṛndāvana-dāsa, and eighteen by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, while during Sanātana's teaching (Madhya xxiv), sixty-one different interpretations of the same verse are mentioned!

Vedāntist was not fully convinced by the metaphysics of the young enthusiast, but that he was finally overpowered when Caitanya revealed himself to his vision as the divine Kṛṣṇa. Apart from miracles, what probably happened was that Sārvabhauma was finally won over from the path of dry doctrines to that of passionate devotion, not so much by theological arguments as by the irresistible appeal of Caitanya's impassioned religious personality.[1]

The conversion of the great scholar from his confirmed Vedāntic convictions of a life-time must have been a notable and significant triumph for the young religious revivalist. Nothing like this had been achieved before. It is not difficult to understand the impression he had made on the rank and file of his Navadvīpa followers and their exuberant adoration of him. After he had accepted the traditional sanctity of the ascetic ideal and turned his face towards Puri, this adoration naturally deepened. Both distance and cherished memories of his wonderful devotion actually deified him in their eyes, and created a mass of pious legends which to-day obscure his

1 Sārvabhauma is reported to have acknowledged: तर्कशास्त्रे जड़ आमि यैछे लौहदण्ड । आमा द्रवाइले तुमि प्रताप प्रचण्ड ॥ (*C-C*, Madhya. vi. 214). Kavikarṇapūra's accounts, both in his drama and in his poem, also suggest a similar process, in spite of miracle and extravagant description.—At the time when Sārvabhauma wrote his commentary on *Advaita-makaranda*, which is distinctly Advaita Vedāntic, he could not have accepted Caitanya's dualistic faith. In this work he refers to the vanquishing of Kṛṣṇa-rāya of Karṇāṭa by his patron Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa ; but Kṛṣṇa-rāya did not come to the throne till 1510 A.D., and his expedition against Orissa did not begin till 1513, so that the work could not have been composed before this date. And yet the biographies of Caitanya represent Sārvabhauma's conversion to have occurred at about 1510 A.D., immediately after Caitanya's arrival at Puri!—It should also be noted that Sārvabhauma's son, Jaleśvara Vāhinīpati, author of *Śabdālokoddyota* on Pakṣadhara's *Āloka*, and his grandson Svapneśvara, author of the well known Bhāṣya on the *Śāṇḍilya-sūtra* (in which the genealogy is given), do not appear to have accepted Caitanyaism.

real religious personality. But in a veteran logician and philosopher like Sārvabhauma one would expect a less susceptible and more alert mind, although it must be admitted that the renowned scholar was at that time already much advanced in years. There can be no doubt that his rationalistic mind must have found something real and arresting in the religious attitude of Caitanya, and recognising its intensity and power he quickly fell under its mystic spell. It was an important achievement, not only for Caitanya himself at the outset of his life as a Saṃnyāsin, but also for the movement which he represented and which in this way made its first deep impression in Orissa. It was this conversion of Sārvabhauma, who was held in high respect, as well as the actual sight of Caitanya's rapturous devotion, which first awakened the curiosity and homage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa, that assured the future of Caitanyaism in Orissa, although there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith.[1]

After a short stay at Puri, Caitanya started on a long and extensive pilgrimage to Southern and Western India, which occupied a little less than two years. The orthodox accounts, based chiefly on the reminiscences of Caitanya's immediate disciples, do not, however, furnish first-hand information, as none of these disciples accompanied him in the pilgrimage.

1 Pratāparudra appears to have ruled at Cuttack from 1497 to 1540 A.D. His *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* has in the beginning an invocation of Śiva, although in some manuscripts there is also an invocation of Viṣṇu Hayagrīva. This work is an authoritative compilation of orthodox Smṛti, and has nothing to do with the special Vaiṣṇava Ācāra. Pratāparudra's connexion with Caitanyaism has probably been much exaggerated. As a man of devout inclinations, he was probably impressed by the religious personality of Caitanya and paid a willing homage; but beyond this there is no evidence of Pratāparudra's actual conversion. For a discussion of the account of this alleged conversion as given by Caitanya's biographers, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-83. The spread of Caitanyaism in Orissa is due chiefly to the personality and influence of Śyāmānanda-dāsa and others, who flourished much later.

They are also considerably overlaid by curious legends, and present a somewhat exaggerated and frankly incomplete picture[1] which cannot be accepted too literally. If the notes of the tour left by Govinda Karmakāra, who as a personal servant is said to have accompanied his Master,[2] be genuine, they perhaps offer a more unvarnished record, in which excessive sectarian bias has not entirely obscured the facts. It is not necessary for our purpose to trace the course of his wanderings in detail and describe the places and temples he visited, his various acts of devotion and miracle, his preachings and his theological discourses, and the extraordinary effects which his visit is said to have instantly produced on temple-crowds, on whole villages and cities and entire communities. If we are to accept these orthodox accounts as they stand, we are to believe in a wholesale conversion of the South at the mere sight and sound of Caitanya. It is highly probable

1 Murāri-gupta's present text devotes only two short and imperfect cantos (iii. 14-15) to the subject, while Kavikarṇapūra's poetical account in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta-kāvya* (xii-xiii) is even more meagre and unsatisfactory. Vṛndāvana-dāsa has no detailed information to offer. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja professes to derive his information from Dāmodara Svarūpa's previous work: (दामोदर स्वरूपेर कडचा अनुसारे Madhya viii. 312) and regrets that he cannot give a full systematic account (कहिते ना पारि तार यथा अनुक्रम Madhya ix. 6) ; but in reality he elaborates, with the addition of miracles and legends, the accounts of Murāri and Karṇapūra. Locana-dāsa and Jayānanda, who are confused and vague do not add much. An English version of Kṛṣṇadāsa's account will be found in *Caitanya's Life and Teachings* by Jadunath Sarkar (2nd ed. Calcutta 1922), which consists of free translation of a considerable portion of the text.

2 In the orthodox *C-C* (as well as in Kavikarṇapūra's poem), however, the only companion of Caitanya during his pilgrimage was one Kālā (deaf) Kṛṣṇadāsa, while Murāri says that the companion was one Kṛṣṇadāsa. On this point, see the references to Govinda collected together from the texts by Dinesh Chandra Sen in his introduction to his edition of the *Kaḍacā* (pp. 55, etc.) ; also B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-423 ; S. K. De, *Padyāvalī*, p. 201.

that the striking religious personality of the young Saṃnyāsin drew large crowds at every place he went and received willing and enthusiastic homage. But the impression of his visit could not have been so very deep and lasting as his naturally credulous biographers appear to imagine. The later history of the sect does not testify to an extensive following of Caitanyaism in Southern, and Western India ; and if Caitanya's visit actually produced such tremendous effect as his faithful followers claim, it must have died out very quickly. One important result, however, of Caitanya's visit might have been that at many points, his living faith touched, stimulated and left its general impress upon Southern and Western Vaiṣṇavism, in its tendency towards a more emotional form of worship. A reference is sometimes made to the almost contemporaneous outburst of Kanarese hymnology, for which credit is given to the alleged Southern visit of Mādhavendra and his disciple Īśvara Purī ; and emotional singing in the South, obtaining from the time of the Tamil Alvars, may have received a fresh impetus from the personal example of Caitanya.[1] It is probable also that he left behind some general influence in the Maratha country, which survived, as it did, through a century to the days of Tukārām, who acknowledges his debt to "Caitanya teachers."[2]

One or two interesting items of his pilgrimage may, however, be noted here. His meeting with a scholarly and devout Vaiṣṇava, named Rāmānanda Rāya, near Rajamundry on the Godavari, has occupied a great deal of the attention of his orthodox biographers. Rāmānanda is said to have been a Śiṣya of Rāghavendra Purī and a Praśiṣya of Mādhavendra. Rāmānanda's father Bhavānanda Rāya, described in Rāmānanda's *Jagannātha-vallabha* Nāṭaka[3] as Pṛthvīśvara, was

1 Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, pp. 12, 59.

2 J. Nelson Fraser, *The Poems of Tukārām*, vol. i, no. 80, p. 31, and p. 404, note.

3 Ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad, 1921, with a Bengali trs. and the Bengali metrical Padas of Locana-dāsa. Only one devotional

probably a local chief, feudatory to Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa ; and Rāmānanda himself appears to have held some high official position under Pratāparudra. He composed the operatic drama (*saṃgīta-nāṭaka*) on Kṛṣṇa-lilā, mentioned above, containing a glorification of Rādhā and songs on the model of Jayadeva; and the work was enacted at the direction of Pratāparudra, The meeting took place at the bathing ghat on the river bank, and Caitanya, who had already heard a great deal about Rāmānanda from Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma,[1] hailed him as a kindred spirit, in whose piety he found an unfailing delight. Rāmānanda also recognised the intensity and power of Caitanya's devotion, and eagerly joined the circle of his intimate and faithful followers. A warm attachment sprang up between them and Caitanya passed several days at the place. The scholarly and theologically minded Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who loves to depict Caitanya as a scholar and founder of a school of theology, devotes a long and learned chapter of his biography to the detailed description of a systematic scholastic discourse between Rāmānanda and Caitanya, lasting for ten days and nights, on the whole theme of Bhakti. In the course of the conference the interlocutors quote and discuss, with the evident relish and precision of trained theologians, texts from the works of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, and even from Kṛṣṇadāsa's own *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, all of which had not yet been written![2] That some such

verse (*nānopacāra-kṛta-pūjana*) of Rāmānanda is quoted in the *Padyāvalī*, but it is not found in his drama. This verse is also given in Kavikarṇapūra's Kāvya, and following it, in Kṛṣṇadāsa's biography in the course of Caitanya's discussion with Rāmānanda (Madhya viii. 70). —An account of this work will be found below under Ch. vii.

1 The meeting is generally said to have taken place on the outward journey to the South at its earlier stage ; but, curiously enough, Kavikarṇapūra in his Kāvya represents Caitanya as deliberately avoiding a meeting with Rāmānada at the earlier stage, and the meeting is stated to have taken place on the return journey!

2 The absurdity is carried not only to the length of attributing a Bengali (or rather Brajabuli) song (*pahilahi rāga*, also quoted in the same

momentous discussion, to which reference is also made by Kavikarṇapūra and Govinda Karmakāra, took place is probable; but it is perhaps significant that Caitanya in Govinda's account does not appear to be much interested in abstract discussion and stops Rāmānanda with the exclamation: "Rāya, I do not know anything about all this. Speak, speak about Kṛṣṇa, of whom I should like to hear from you. Let this console my heart."[1]

connexion in Kavikarṇapūra's Kāvya, and under Rāmānanda Rāya's *bhaṇitā* in *Pada-kalpataru* no. 576) to Rāmānanda, but also to the citation by Rāmānanda of the *Brahma-saṃhitā*, which work, we are told, was one of the two rare Vaiṣṇava productions which Caitanya discovered at a later stage of this very tour and brought back with him! Some doctrines are imputed to Rāmānanda which are Kṛṣṇadāsa's own, and are only suggested but never discussed explicitly by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, *e.g.* the dual incarnation of Caitanya as both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, which is stated here for the first time with its full theological implication, (Madhya viii. 278-81, 287-88). It must, however, be noted that the Rādhā-bhāva of Caitanya is not an entirely original conception of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, but is also referred to in Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta* and occasionally in other works and in the contemporary Padas of Vāsu Ghoṣa, Narahari Sarkār, Śivānanda and others. The *Caitanya-candrodaya* of Kavikarṇapura characterises Rāmānanda as a Sahaja Vaiṣṇava. In spite of this Rādhā-bhāva, sometimes assigned to Caitanya himself, it is curious that later Vaiṣṇava hagiology, for some unexplained reason, regards Gadādhara Paṇḍita, a friend and disciple of Caitanya, as an incarnation of Rādhā. It appears, however, that before the Pañca-tattva doctrine was fully established, the faith believed, as the composers of Padas on Caitanya indicate, in the Caitanya-Gadādhara Tattva in Navadvīpa Līlā. Gadādhara, we are told, used to put on the dress and realise the state of Rādhā. Naturally Advaita and Nityānanda had also their groups of followers; while Śrīvāsa was replaced by Narahari deliberately in Locana's biography. We hear also of a Gadādhara-saṃpradāya, as well as Saṃpradāyas of Advaita and Nityānanda from Vṛndāvana-dāsa.

1 राम राय आरो सार वलिवारे चाय। अमनि वदन चापि धरे गोरा राय ॥...प्रभु कहे राय आमि किछुइ ना जानि। कह कह कृष्णकथा तव मुखे

After this delightful experience Caitanya proceeded further south. His religious attitude was catholic enough to allow homage to all kinds of deities irrespective of their sectarian connexion. Among the places and temples he visited, it is interesting to note that he spent some months with Śrīvaiṣṇava devotees at Śrīraṅgam on the Kaveri, visited the Śṛṅgeri monastery in Mysore founded by Śaṃkarācārya, and stayed for a few days at Udipi in South Kanaḍa district, the home of Madhva where he worshipped the image of Kṛṣṇa said to have been installed by Madhva himself, and discoursed on Vaiṣṇavism with Madhva worshippers. He went up to Pandharpur, at that time a great centre of Maratha Vaiṣṇavism. He is then said to have proceeded north beyond Bombay up to Somnāth, Dvārakā and Prabhāsa,[1] and turning back, struck across Central India until he came again to the place of Rāmānanda Rāya on his way back to Puri.

Soon after his return, his Bengal disciples organised the first of a series of twenty annual pilgrimages to Puri to pay homage to Caitanya ; and the two hundred who came at the time of the Car Festival of Jagannātha organised a monster processional Kīrtana, parading the street in several groups and encircling the Car as it proceeded. After a few months of ardent fellowship and daily adoration, they were sent home with a message directing Advaita and Nityānanda to organise propagation of the new faith in Bengal.

शुनि ॥ विरक्त वैष्णव तुमि ओहे राम राय। कह कह कृष्णकथा जुड़ाक हृदय ॥ (p. 22). In spite of the fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja himself states that he had based his account of Rāmānanda-Caitanya on Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaḍacā*, it is clear, as B. Majumdar shews (*op. cit.*, pp. 33 f), that he mainly follows Kavikarṇapūra's hints given in his drama (Act vii), but adds to it theological matters developed from the works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins. There is no trace of a theological discussion in Murāri's rather brief account (iii. 15. 1-5), nor any Bhakti-catechism and description of the types, stages, qualities and passions of the devotion to Kṛṣṇa.

1 This part of the journey is mentioned by Govinda Karmakāra.

The rather uneventful course of Caitanya's life of worship and ecstasy which now began at Puri was broken twice during the many years he settled there ; and this was to realise his long cherished desire to visit the great temple-city of Vṛndāvana, the holy centre of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The recovery of the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana by the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas and its erection into one of the religious centres of Northern India form one of the most interesting events in the history of mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism ; for the modern Vṛndāvana, eclipsing to-day the glory of the adjacent city of Mathurā by its fine temples, groves, seminaries and bathing ghats, is the creation chiefly of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. We are told that the inspiration originated from Mādhavendra Purī, but it culminated in the constructive enthusiasm of Caitanya and his faithful followers. The sacred Vṛndāvana, with its romantic associations of the Kṛṣṇa-legend, must have charmed the devotional fancy of Caitanya ; but the place had been long neglected even by Kṛṣṇa-worshippers. At an early stage of his career he had selected Lokanātha Ācārya[1] and entrusted him with the

1 Lokanātha's life is held up as a fine example of the spirit of selfless devotion and service to the cause, which the personality of Caitanya could inspire in his disciples. Particulars about his life are hardly to be found in the standard biographies of Caitanya, but later Vaiṣṇava works in Bengali, especially the *Bhakti-ratnākara* i, p. 21 f, *Prema-vilāsa* vii and the *Narottama-vilāsa* i, give some details. He was the son of Padmanābha Cakravartin, a Brahman of Tālgaḍi or Tālkheḍā in Jessore, and his wife Sītā. A fellow-student of Caitanya at Gaṅgādāsa's *ṭol* (*Advaita-prakāśa*), he showed religious tendencies in early life and became a disciple of Advaita. He wrote a commentary on the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavata* at the direction of Advaita (H. P. Sastri, *Cat. of Skt. Mss in ASB*, vol. v. Purāṇa, no. 3624). Commissioned by Caitanya to a life-long task of pioneering at Vṛndāvana, he left the more attractive life of ardent fellowship at Navadvīpa and set out on the difficult journey. According to the *Prema-vilāsa*, this despatch of Lokanātha occurred at about the time of Caitanya's Saṃnyāsa. Reinforced later on by Rūpa and Sanātana, he succeeded in fulfilling the mission proposed to him by Caitanya and lived there, much respected for his piety and austerity. He is mentioned with respect by Sanātana

mission of reclaiming the holy city which was then lying desolate. The site of the old mythical Vṛndāvana is perhaps lost, like that of the old historic Mathurā, but the present sacred sites were identified by the disciples of Caitanya, and a new city was built up as their seminary and their stronghold, invested with a new sanctity and glory.

Two years after his return from his pilgrimages, Caitanya set out again, at about Śaka 1435 (=1513 A. D.), to visit the newly restored Vṛndāvana ; but, passing through Bengal,[1] his journey never extended beyond Rāmakeli, near Gauḍa, the ancient capital of North Bengal. At this place an incident occurred which came to possess a deep significance in the later history of the cult. Here he met and won over two scholarly brothers who, with their nephew, were destined to become the acknowledged theologians of the faith and thus play an important part in its future development. They were two gifted men, originally Karṇāṭa Brahmans, settled for some generations in Bengal, who had adopted the Muhammadan name or title of Sāker Malik (Sanātana) and Dabir Khās (Rūpa)[2] and were employed as high officials at the Muham-

and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa at the commencement of the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* and the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* respectively. One of Lokanātha's well known disciples was Narottama, who played an important part in the later history of the sect.

1 Murāri-gupta (iv. 14. 3-11) alone, among Caitanya's biographers, and following him Locana-dāsa, inform us that Caitanya during this visit came once to Navadvīpa ; this is confirmed by a Pada of Vāsu Ghoṣa cited in *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī* (p. 271).

2 It is often alleged that the two brothers were converts to Muhammadanism ; but of this there is no evidence. It is true that they were high officials at the Muhammadan court at Gauḍa, and they are reported (*C-C*, Madhya i and iv) to have considered themselves impure because of their contact with and service in the Muhammadan court ; but this does not of itself prove the fact of their conversion to Islam, of which there is no direct and reliable evidence (see Amarnath Ray in *Indian Culture* v, 1938-39, p. 202 and S. K. De in *ibid*, pp. 68 footnote and 205). On the contrary, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* account (ch. i) makes it probable that they retained their original faith. This work says that the two

madan court at Gauḍa. They were enthralled by Caitanya's deep faith, became his followers, and ultimately abandoned wealth and eminence for the ascetic and scholarly life of a Vṛndāvana Gosvāmin. Caitanya gave them new names, Sanātana and Rūpa, by which they are better known. He directed them later on to make Vṛndāvana the academic as well as the religious centre of the new faith and produce in Sanskrit the entire body of theological, philosophical and emotional literature for the sect. The works they produced under his inspiration have ever since formed the most authoritative foundations of the cult.

brothers, whose descent is traced (after Jīva's account) from a Karṇāta Brahman family brought over many Bhaṭṭa Brahmans from Karṇāta and made them settle in a village (near Rāmakeli) which was named *Bhaṭṭa-vāṭi* or settlement of the Bhaṭṭas after them. With these Bhaṭṭas they kept up their inherited social and religious observances and always showed respect to Vaiṣṇavas from Navadvīpa (रामकेलिग्रामे से सब विप्र लइया। व्यवहार कार्य सब साधे हर्ष हइया॥ वैष्णवसम्प्रदायगणे रूप सनातन। येरूप आदरे ताहा ना हय वर्णन॥), only considering themselves impure because of their contact with the Mlecchas. That they kept themselves in touch with the Navadvīpa Vaiṣṇavas is probable from their eagerness to meet Caitanya of whom they had heard so much. It is also highly probable that they possessed considerable Śāstric knowledge before they met Caitanya, Sanātana having been a pupil of (Ratnākara ?) Vidyāvācaspati, a brother of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma ; and the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (pp. 42-43) also informs us that they spent considerable time in Śāstric studies (सदा सर्वशास्त्रचर्चा करे दुइ जन). Sanātana's pupilship of Vidyāvācaspati, referred to by himself in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, would have been out of the question if he had been a convert to Muhammadanism. Of Sanātana, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja says (Madhya xix. 17): भट्टाचार्य पण्डित विश तिश लञा। भागवत विचार करे सभाते वसिञा॥ This is surely not the description of an outcast. The stupendous Śāstric learning, as well as the Vaiṣṇava disposition of the two brothers, which undoubtedly prompted Caitanya to select them as the apologists of his faith, could not have been acquired in a day ; and they point to the retention of their ancestral faith from the very beginning.

Surrounded as he always was by a big crowd, Caitanya now prepared to leave for Vṛndāvana. But the frank and incisive criticism of his new follower Sanātana that it was not proper for a devotee to start on a pilgrimage accompanied by a million men,[1] made him abandon his project and return to Puri. Soon after, within a few months, he set out once more at about Śaka 1436 (=1514 A.D.), but this time he stole away with only one follower accompanying him. His northern tour was not so extensive as his southern and western pilgrimage. We need not linger over the scenes of devotional ecstasy which the sacred associations of Vṛndāvana naturally produced on a devotee of his emotional capacity ; but the visit to Vṛndāvana is otherwise devoid of any striking external incident. On his way back he spent a few days at the Kumbha Melā, the great bathing festival, at Prayāga (Allahabad) where he must have met many saintly ascetics and scholars. Here he appears to have met a Vaidika Brahman named Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, who cannot be the famous Vallabhācārya, and a Vaiṣṇava scholar of Tirhut, named Raghupati Upādhyāya, some of whose devotional verses are cited in the *Padyāvalī*[2] and in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa.[3] He was also joined by one of his two new Bengal recruits, Rūpa, who had now, with his younger brother Anupama (*alias* Vallabha), left home to follow him. Rūpa's elder brother Sanātana came to

1 Murāri, iii. 18. Kavikarṇapūra in his poem and drama omits the account of Caitanya's meeting the two brothers at Rāmakeli. The description of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (p. 45) that Jīva, their nephew, also saw Caitanya at Rāmakeli does not appear chronologically possible.

2 Ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1934, nos. 82, 87, 91, 98, 126, 301. Also see under Tairabhukta in the same text.

3 হেনকালে আইলা রঘুপতি উপাধ্যায়। তিরোহিতা পণ্ডিত বড় বৈষ্ণব মহাশয় ॥ *C-C*, Madhya xix. 92. Raghupati's verses (nos. 82, 98, 126 in the *Padyāvalī*) are given in *C-C* as if they were uttered and discussed before Caitanya himself. Jayānanda (p. 148) refers to him as রঘুপতি বৈদ্য উপাধ্যায় মহামতি, but his title Upādhyāya shows that he was a Brahman and not a Vaidya by caste.

meet Caitanya later on at Benares. With the exeption of the so-called conversion of a leading Vedāntist, Prakāśānanda[1]. Caitanya's presence at Benares does not appear to have been very fruitful, and made little impression in that great centre of Śiva-worship and Advaita Vedānta.[2] At Benares, as well as at Puri, Caitanya is represented by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja as giving elaborate instruction to Sanātana and Rūpa in the dogmas and doctrines of the cult, but the six long chapters of the biography which are devoted to this detailed theological exposition merely give a direct summary, with free quotations, of the learned works which the two brothers themselves composed later on.[3]

1 This Prakāśānanda may be the famous author of the *Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī*, but there are hardly any data to identify the two. The so-called conversion, no doubt, is given as a proof of Caitanya's successful missionary effort and power of learned argumentation, but even from the missionary point of view the conversion did not prove very effective in a city like Benares. The fact of the conversion, however, is rendered rather suspicious by the somewhat vague account of Kṛṣṇadāsa, as well as by the denunciation, in a fairly immoderate language, of Prakāśānanda, put more than once in the mouth of Caitanya himself by Vṛndāvana-dāsa (*C-bh*, Madhya iii and xx), who, however, does not expressly mention the fact of conversion. These biographers do not appear to be very amiable to this Vedāntist scholar of Benares,—a fact which is somewhat unusual, indicating an extraordinary unvaiṣṇava attitude towards an alleged Vaiṣṇava convert. The story of Prakāśānanda is not mentioned by Murāri nor by Kavikarṇapūra in his two works, nor by Jayānanda and Locana-dāsa. The identity of Prakāśānanda with Prabodhānanda is given for the first time in the spurious *Advaita-prakāśa* (ch. xvii). See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-45 for references.

2 This fact, though overlaid in the pious accounts with an ostentatious description of Prakāśānanda's conversion, is clear from Caitanya's own regret recorded in these very accounts that his sentimental wares did not sell at Kāśī (काशीते वेचिते आमि आइलाम भावकालि । काशीते ग्राहक नाइ वस्तु ना विकाय ॥ *C-C*, Madhya xxv). That Caitanya's visit produced little effect is also implied by Kavikarṇapūra's reference in the drama (ix. 32) to envious Saṃnyāsins of Benares.

3 The works themselves prove the extensive learning of a life-time.

Thus passing six years, after his Saṃnyāsa, in pilgrimages till about Śaka 1437=1515 A.D., Caitanya settled permanently at Puri at about the age of thirty. According to Kavikarṇapūra and Jayānanda, he lived at Totā Āśrama of Kāśīśvara Miśra. With a chosen few about him he spent the remaining eighteen years in a comparatively uneventful life of worship and daily adoration of Jagannātha. The monotony was broken by the annual exodus of his Bengal disciples, as well as by occasional visits of scholars, devotees and admirers.[1] The history of this

It is unbelievable that they could learn them all by a few months' instruction. We have noted that the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (ch. i) speaks of their great Śāstric knowledge before they accepted Caitanyaism. This might have been one of the reasons which led Caitanya to select them for the special work of producing Vaiṣṇava Śāstras. See below.

1 It is often stated too sweepingly (D. C. Sen, *Caitanya and His Age*, p. 239 ; *Caitanya and His Companions*, p. 200f, repeated by Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 49) that Vallabhācārya (or Vallabha Dīkṣita as his name was), the founder of the Vaiṣṇava sect of that name, came to meet Caitanya at Allahabad (*C-C*, Madhya xix. 61-113) and at Puri (Antya vii). There is no satisfactory evidence to establish this as a fact. Caitanya's biography gives the name of a Vaiṣṇava visitor at Allahabad and at Puri as Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, a Vaidika Brahman of the village Aḍāil, but (in spite of the fact that the visitor proudly informs Caitanya that he has written a gloss on the *Bhāgavata*) there is nothing to show that he was the famous Vallabhācārya. Vallabhācārya was probably an older contemporary of Caitanya, but if such a meeting actually occurred between the founders of the two sects, it is almost unbelievable that sectarian loyalty should have omitted to mention it distinctly, and give it its due prominence and importance. In *C-C*, Vallabha is initiated by Gadādhara ! The *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* counts him as a Parikara of Caitanya, but this is obviously on the basis of some such account as that of Kṛṣṇadāsa. The editor of the Kalnā edition of the *C-C* (Antya vii. p. 752) is perhaps right in stating that the Vallabha Bhaṭṭa mentioned in the text must not be confounded with the Vallabhācārya of the Viṣṇusvāmin or Vallabha Saṃpradāya. But see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 407 (also *Proc. Indian History Congress*, Third Session, Calcutta 1939, p. 760f), although he admits that there was no love lost between the Vallabhācāris and the followers of Caitanya, p. 397. Majumdar, however, believes (chiefly on the basis of 17th century legends) that Caitanya also met Nānak, Kabir and Śaṃkaradeva!

period of Caitanya's life is made up of these small incidents, as well as by the description of his religious ecstasies. His emotions grew in intensity, and became characterised by excesses of stupor, trances and frenzied energy, verging upon hysteria and dementia. To the faithful the last twelve years of his life consist of an orgy of devotional passion, of an exclusive madness of divine love (*premonmāda*). Day by day he became incapable of taking care of himself, but he was watched and tended with loving solicitude by Svarūpa Dāmodara and other intimate disciples. His prolonged emotional experiences of religious rapture must have made extraordinary demands on his highly wrought nervous system, and brought on exhaustion and constant fits of seizure.[1] Under this increasing strain of an impossible emotionalism his physical frame broke down, and he passed away in Āṣāḍha, Śaka 1455 =June, July, 1533 A.D The piety of his followers has drawn a veil of mystery over the manner of his end; but various legends exist of disappearance in the temple and in the image of Jagannātha, as well as of his accidental drowning in the sea during one of the frequent fits of ecstasy, and even of assassination in the Guṇḍicā temple. One of the less authoritative biographies[2] records perhaps the actual fact of a less sensational but rather common human death by attributing the end to a wound in the left foot, which he received from a stone during one of his usual outbursts of frenzied dancing, and which brought on septic fever resulting in an untimely death.

1 On one occasion, while returning from Vṛndāvana, Caitanya himself is said to have described these seizures as epileptic fits (मृगव्याधिते मुइ कभु हइ अचेतन *C-C*, Madhya xviii. 148).

2 Jayānanda, p. 150. For a discussion of the various views about Caitanya's disappearance (*tirodhāna*) see D. C. Sen, *Caitanya and His Age*, pp. 259f. The exact date of Caitanya's death is uncertain, but B. Majumdar (pp. 21-23, 277-279) believes it to be Aṣāḍha 31, 1455 Śaka=July 9, 1533 A.D.

3. CAITANYA'S RELATION TO THE SECT AND THE CULT

Although Caitanya possessed great qualities of leadership and extraordinary power over minds of men, he did not at any time of his career concern himself directly with the organisation of his followers. Absorbed in his devotional ecstasies, he hardly ever sought to build up a cult or a sect. If such a cult or sect gathered itself round him, it was due to the charm of his personality and the powerful appeal of his evident devotion. The enthusiasm of some of his more practical, or more scholastically inclined, followers would feign to see in him a great organiser and expounder of a system, but neither propagating zeal nor theological ambition ever entered his simple life of intense religious emotion. If some notable conversions were achieved, they were not the result of any direct missionary effort on his part but, as the records themselves indicate, they were due to the powerful impression he could create on receptive minds by his outstanding religious personality. Even admitting that he could employ philosophy or theology as a weapon in argument, it was yet his intimate and vivid sense of spiritual truth which cast a mystic spell and called forth a deep and lasting response.[1] One must indeed admire Caitanya's wonderful religious enthusiasm which could enthrall men of great capacity and inspire them with a life-long zeal for sectarian pioneering,

1 Kavikarṇapūra states that people became Caitanya's devotee *vinopadeśena*, without instruction, by the very sight of Caitanya's devotion. But Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja never misses an opportunity of making Caitanya a veteran scholar and logician ! This is one of the differences of attitude between Caitanya's Navadvīpa and Vṛndāvana followers. The Gosvāmins saw Caitanya for the first time as a Saṃnyāsin, but not so his Navadvīpa disciples who met him first on terms of fellowship ; the impression was naturally different. The duration and intimacy of contact, as well as time, place and circumstances, were also divergent. Kṛṣṇadāsa never saw Caitanya, while the Gosvāmins had only brief association with him, Jīva probably never meeting him in person.

laborious scholarship and devotional austerity ; but to attribute this achievement to any conscious effort or purpose is to misread the whole trend of his life.

The later development of the sect and the cult, therefore, is chiefly the work of his chosen disciples and associates. At the same time, one must guard against the error of supposing that the cult and the sect were entirely created by his followers, to whom Caitanya was a mere figurehead or a willing instrument. Caitanya's personal relation to his leading disciples, as borne out by the orthodox records, clearly demonstrate that on the main lines of its growth and expansion the movement was directly inspired by the example of his life and experience, even if he did not actually persevere at the task. If he possessed the capacity, he never had, in his emotional absorption, either the time or the willingness to found a sect or a system ; but from the very beginning the movement bore the impress of his individuality and developed on the lines of his spiritual experience, which formed its greatest and most powerful asset. This was the driving force by which the movement organised and propagated itself during his lifetime, and which inspired his leading disciples to organise and propagate it after his death. As such this was his highest contribution to the sect and the cult. The standard of Vaiṣṇava life and devotion set up by his own life, the new spirit of emotionalism which he imparted to traditional piety, the wide-spread emotional appeal of the new mode of Saṃkīrtana which he developed, the sincerity and contagious passion of his realisation of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, the expansive and liberating power of his catholic and simple ideas of worship, his devotional fancies about the Vṛndāvana settlement, his winning over of scholars and devotees who were to be the future organisers of the sect both on its practical and doctrinal sides, and inspiring them with a selfless love for the task,—in one word, his great religious life and personality clearly gave an initial direction and an impetus to the movement, which gradually organised itself

in the hands of his capable followers into a definite sect and cult.

We are concerned here not so much with the practical organisation of the sect as with the crystallisation of its dogmas and doctrines; and for our purpose it is not necessary to refer to the later history of the sect and its creed. We are not sure, however, if there was at any time any systematic organisation of the sect. When the movement started at the courtyard of Śrīvāsa after Caitanya's return from Gayā, it started, without any premeditation or previous preparation, among a small band of men in the city who cherished religious aspirations, and who instantly hailed him as the very embodiment of these aspirations. The new and spontaneous enthusiasm proved contagious, and the ranks were quickly filled; but there was as yet hardly any definite idea of establishing a cult or a sect. Nor was the very brief interval between Caitanya's return from Gayā and his Saṃnyāsa enough for a movement to establish itself firmly. When he left Bengal immediately after his Saṃnyāsa, he commended the growing group of his followers at Navadvīpa to the care of the venerable Advaita, as well as to Nityānanda, but the intimate personal contact of the Master, which was essential to its solidarity, was gone. So completely had he been the very life and soul of its activities, that his sudden renunciation and departure from Bengal must have proved a great blow to an incipient movement. No doubt, the annual reunion at Puri and its common enthusiasm and adoration of Caitanya afforded an inspiration and a bond of unity, but the movement grew and expanded somewhat haphazardly in Bengal; and there was no one on the spot who had the same power of personality and influence. Advaita was growing old, and the energy necessary for controlling the movement could not be expected of him. It is also said in the *Prema-vilāsa* that for a time Advaita gave up the way of Bhakti and reverted to the doctrine of Jñāna. No one else, not even Nityānanda, could effectively replace

Caitanya in the leadership of the sect. After Caitanya's death this became even more patent. Although they were a kind of church fathers of the faith, the six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana were in fact scholars and recluses, living, as they did, far away from Bengal, and engaged in the absorbing task of preparing the authoritative books of the cult. Their theology was a matter of later deliberate development ; and except in their Stotras or Namaskriyās in their dramas and poems, they seldom refer to Caitanya, and speak little of his life and his teaching. If they were devotees they were also theologians ; and the disciples of the Vṛndāvana circle, as evidenced also by Kṛṣṇadāsa's biography, looked at Caitanya somewhat differently from the followers of the Navadvīpa circle whose faith was naive, simple and direct. It is true that Rūpa and Sanātana (but seldom their associate Gosvāmins) are mentioned with respect in the earlier biographical records of Caitanya, inspired by the Navadvīpa circle ; but it is at the same time noteworthy that, before Kṛṣṇādāsa produced his biography at the inspiration of the Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana themselves, not much is recorded of them by the Bengal writers, and they do not appear to have received as yet exclusive homage and ascendancy as the acknowledged law-givers of the faith. The phrase 'Six Gosvāmins' (*ṣaḍ gosvāminaḥ*) is not used before Kṛṣṇadāsa. It was the later effort of Jīva Gosvāmin's pupil Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, and Lokanātha's disciple, Narottama-dāsa Ṭhākura, as well as that of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, which propagated the views of the Gosvāmins in Bengal ; but these were different from the original ideas of the Bengal devotees and biographers, who mention Sanātana and Rūpa indeed but never speak collectively of the Six Gosvāmins.

If we are to rely on orthodox accounts, Advaita appears to have now exceeded the allotted span of three score years and ten. The leadership at Navadvīpa and adjoining places naturally fell upon Nityānanda and was almost entirely left to him. But the records of the sect themselves indicate that

Nityānanda could hardly occupy the same place in the estimation of the heterogenous sect or possessed the same compelling power of character and personality as Caitanya did. He had also views which were perhaps far ahead of those of Caitanya. His somewhat unconventional life, about which complaints appear to have been made to Caitanya at Puri,[1] his renouncing of ascetic vows and his espousing simultaneously of two wives late in life[2] might have had something to do with the unpopularity against which his enthusiastic champion Vṛndāvana-dāsa takes so much pains to defend him.[3] He took also the revolutionary step of admitting under the banner of Caitanyaism all classes of men without any discrimination. Opinions differ in the records as to whether

1 *C-bh*, Antya vi.

2 He married Vasudhā and Jāhnavī, daughters of Sūryadāsa Sārkhel. This was done, it is said, with the permission of Caitanya himself. Jayānanda (p. 3) speaks of another daughter of Sūryadāsa, named Candramukhī as a beloved of Nityānanda ! The ascetic Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins apparently never liked all this.

3 कोन चैतन्येर लोक नित्यानन्द प्रति। मन्द बले हेन देख से केवल स्तुति ॥...इथे एकजनेर हइया पक्ष से। अन्य जनेर निन्दा करे क्षय याय से ॥ (*C-bh*, Ādi vii). एत परिहारेओ ये पापी निन्दा करे। तवे लाथि मारोँ तार शिरेर उपरे ॥ (Ādi xv ; Antya vi). एइ अवतारे केह गौरचन्द्र गाय। नित्यानन्द नाम शुनि उठिया पलाय ॥ (Madhya iii). ए सव वचने यार नाहिक प्रतीत। सद्य अधःपात तार जानिह निश्चित ॥ (Madhya x). देखि नित्यानन्द महाप्रभुर विलास। केह सुख पाय कारो ना जन्मे विश्वास ॥ (Antya vi), etc. It is noteworthy that the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins (with the exception of Sanātana) never refer to Nityānanda, nor do they mention Advaita in the same terms as they do obeisance and pay their homage to Caitanya. Only in the long list of Caitanya's associates and followers, given at the commencement of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* does Sanātana mention Nityānanda and Advaita along with others. As we have already pointed out, the doctrine of Pañca-tattva, which includes Nityānanda and Advaita as two of the five objects of adoration of the sect, is not acknowledged by the Gosvāmins, but the idea appears to have originated in the Bengal works.

Nityānanda's bold action received the entire approval of Caitanya himself ; but it seems likely that it was in conflict with Caitanya's inherited regard for the established social order.[1] There is enough evidence to show that Caitanya, in

1 Caitanya's attitude towards questions of caste and social order in general appears to be rather complex. No doubt, Caitanya is reported to have discarded his tuft of hair and sacred thread (*Śikhā* and *Sūtra*) at the time he took Saṃnyāsa, and his staff, symbolical of asceticism, was broken by Nityānanda on his way to Puri. He felt no hesitation in embracing Haridāsa, Rūpa and Sanātana and admitting them to fellowship ; but separate living quarters were arranged for them, and there was some discrimination about eating food with them. All these disciples of questionable social status scrupulously kept away from the Jagannātha temple, and Caitanya himself appears to have approved of their action in doing so (*C-C*, Antya iv. 118-132 ; Madhya xi. 164-168, 206). Even if he himself might not have any prejudice against caste, he upheld the prejudice of others ; and the story of his commendation of Sanātana's action in avoiding the temple road is thus given by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*C-C*, Antya iv. 130-132): "The Lord was very pleased in his mind and expressed his satisfaction by saying this to Sanātana: 'It is the nature of a Bhakta to observe propriety, for the maintenance of propriety is the ornament of a truly pure man. People ridicule when propriety is transgressed, and both worlds are lost. You have observed propriety and my mind is pleased. If you do not act thus, who will ?" Much of this conservatism is apparent, as we shall see, in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa,* which recognises caste restrictions in ritualistic worship. On the other hand, Caitanya is reported to have said to Sanātana and Rūpa that there is no consideration of caste or family in the worship of Kṛṣṇa ; but this appears to mean only religious, and not social, fellowship. This is perhaps what is meant when he is reported to have declared that worship, or Saṃkīrtana, or reciting of name is open to all from a Caṇḍāla to a Brahman ; and women as well as men, have an equal right here. In this respect there is no exclusiveness. Caitanya never, for instance, encouraged any particular caste or person to the monopoly of the function of a spiritual guide or teacher, himself selecting men like Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-dāsa for the task of propagating the faith. But admitting all this, a somewhat curious distinction appears to have been implied between religious and social spheres ; the broadening of religious privileges was not taken necessarily to mean enlargement of social rights. There is no evidence that Caitanya ever wanted to inter-

proclaiming obliteration of distinctions, never meant a total disruption of social usage and tradition. Catholicity and equality in matters of worship, which Caitanya certainly upheld, did not perhaps imply nor permit a vigorous practical application of the idea in social matters. At any rate, most of his associates and followers, inclusive of Advaita, appear to have adopted the conservative attitude ;[1] and they either did not approve of the step or stood aloof from it. Thus, an important difference arose early in the sect which had enduring consequences. It was aggravated by the fact that there was no real co-ordination between the different groups which had sprung up spontaneously and independently around Caitanya or around some of his immediate associates. We hear of the adorers of Caitanya's Nāgara-bhāva, followers of Advaita, admirers of Gadādhara, devotees as well as detractors of Nityānanda. Each of Caitanya's associates and devotees appears to have developed a considerable community

fere actively with the established social order, with the time-honoured Varṇāśrama Dharma ; his sole concern with caste or other social restrictions was that they should not interfere with community of worship, but this did not imply community in eating or other social concerns, which should be governed by the established rules. If such community of worship did often break down social or caste convention, it was inevitable, but incidental. This never appears to have been his real object ; and it is doubtful if Caitanya fully recognised the logical implications of such an attitude of common worship. There is nothing to show that he did, or that he sympathised with the radicalism of some of his followers (like Nityānanda) who wanted to work out the implications. The much talked of universal brotherhood which Caitanya is often said to have promulgated must be understood in this sense ; what he wanted was not social, but religious, freedom and fellowship. It should be frankly admitted that the indications of the texts are somewhat confusing ; but one need not emphasise only some of the anti-caste inclinations of Caitanya's religious (and never social) attitude, and unnecessarily make him out to be (in the light of modern ideas) a great social reformer, which he never pretended to be.

1 In recent years the sect appears to have gone back, more or less, to conservatism in social matters.

of disciples of his own, and taught the cult of Bhakti according to the light each had received in his own way from the Master.

In spite of this lack of solidarity in the history of the sect, there was a certain agreement on the doctrinal and theological side. Some of the old dogmas were, no doubt, modified and new dogmas were developed, while a definite cult of the worship of Caitanya himself was established ; but the creed and tenets as fixed by the Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana prevailed and ruled the whole community. To these six Gosvāmins,[1] therefore, and their work we must look for the fundamental doctrines of the cult.

1 The origin of the term 'Gosvāmin' is obscure and uncertain. It is employed in Middle Bengali (Ghanarāma and Kavikaṅkan) in the general sense of 'lord' or 'master', as well as in the sense of 'religious mendicant or teacher.' Literally, it means 'lord of cows'. It is used as an honorific title by the Caitanya sect to signify an authoritative religious teacher or guide. The term may have originated or at least obtained currency from the peculiar theory of Caitanyaism that the only and original form, dress and occupation of Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being is that of a Gopa ; his faithful devotee is necessarily a 'cow-lord'.

CHAPTER III

THE SIX GOSVĀMINS OF VṚNDĀVANA

1. GENERAL REMARKS

If Caitanya did not concern himself actively in the work of organising his followers, still less did he take upon himself the work of a thinker or writer. However much intellectual pride he is reported to have possessed in his youth, he gave up his scholastic pursuits almost entirely after his return from Gayā. A man of his great emotional capacity was hardly ever fit for serious or sustained intellectual effort, for which he never showed any particular bent, and which became more and more impossible as years went on. To him spiritual realisation was not a matter of speculative discussion ; and on one occasion he confessed to Raghunātha-dāsa[1] that his follower Svarūpa Dāmodara knew more about theology than he himself did. In spite of the fact that some of his scholastic biographers delight in depicting Caitanya as a trained theorist expounding with precision[2] a whole theological system, we are not sure that he had any settled system in his mind, or ever relished mere theological discourses. The theology that is attributed to him by Kṛṣṇadāsa is clearly the theology of a later day, in which Kṛṣṇadāsa himself was severely trained. This is, however, not the impression given by Murāri-gupta Vṛndāvana-dāsa and other biographers of the Navadvīpa circle, who avoid the exaggerated scholastic colouring and enlarge more upon Caitanya's ecstatic devotion and power of

1 *C-C*, Antya vi. 233-34.

2 In one place he is represented as explaining a text in 61 different ways. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, no doubt, loves to invest Caitanya with the omniscience of a Śāstric Paṇḍita, but he also indicates that in his ecstatic absorption Caitanya was careless of mere Śāstric knowledge.

working miracles. It must not also be forgotten that the significance of Caitanya's teaching lies not so much in his special interpretation of this or that text, but in the reality and force of his inner spiritual experience, which gave him an extraordinary power over the minds of men. The whole trend, indeed, of Caitanya's life was against his being an exact scholar or thinker, and his practice of a highly wrought emotionalism stood in the way of serious intellectual pursuits. When Caitanya closed his *ṭol* after his return from Gayā, he shut up his books and said to his pupils that for him lessons were finished from that day.[1] The words became almost literally prophetic, for in after-years he hardly ever opened a book for serious study, and hardly ever wrote anything. The scholarly pursuits of a Pandit, the pride of learning, the zest for dialectic disputations—all passed out of his life, which now began to move in a new atmosphere of entirely different interests. Outside the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the newly discovered *Brahma-saṃhitā*, the Saṃgīta-nāṭaka of Rāmānanda, and the devotional lyrics of Līlāśuka, Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa,[2] he appears to have relished next to nothing.[3] It

1 तोमा सभास्थाने मोर एइ परिहार। आज हइते आर पाठ नाहिक आमार ॥···एइ बोल महाप्रभु सभारे कहिया। दिलेन पुथिर डोर अश्रुसिक्त हइया ॥ (*C-bh*, Madhya i).

2 चण्डीदास विद्यापति रायेर नाटकगीति कर्णामृत श्रीगीतगोविन्द। स्वरूप रामानन्द सने महाप्रभु रात्रिदिने गाय शुने परम आनन्द ॥ (*C-C*, Madhya ii. 77). विद्यापति चण्डीदास श्रीगीतगोविन्द। एइ तिन गीते करे प्रभुर आनन्द ॥ (*C-C*, Madhya x. 115). विद्यापति चण्डीदास श्रीगीतगोविन्द। भावानुरूप श्लोक पड़े राय रामानन्द ॥ मध्ये मध्ये प्रभु आपने श्लोक पड़िया। श्लोकेर अर्थ करेन प्रभु प्रलाप करिया ॥ (*C-C*, Antya xvii. 6-7).

3 It should be recognised that the extremely emotional mode of Caitanya's religious devotion never made any demand upon the intellect, nor wanted the nourishment of any other interest. There was no study, and no production. He lived in and for mystic ecstasies and trances;

is misdirected zeal which invests him with the false glory of scholastic eminence ; his true greatness lies in other directions, and his power over men came from other sources.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Caitanya wrote nothing with the exception perhaps of eight Sanskrit verses which are given as the *Śikṣāṣṭaka*, and which are nothing more than expressions of his simple and passionate faith.[1] Kavikarṇapūra in his *Caitanya-candrodaya*[2] appears to negative the idea that Caitanya ever wrote anything about his doctrines. Ānandin, in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*, distinctly states that Caitanya never composed any work ; but he meets the objection of those, who maintain the impossibility of propagating any devotional doctrine without such means, by stating that even if Caitanya wrote

they consumed all his energies. Questions of social or ethical import, the welfare of society, seldom impinge upon his ecstatic consciousness ; nor does intellectual consideration guide his practice. Although Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja would make an attempt to figure Caitanya as a subtle logician, he would also admit to Caitanya's life of 'divine madness' in later years. The other biographical records, however, clearly indicate that as days went Caitanya's life became marked by progressive nervous instability ; and in proportion to the excess of frenzied emotionalism there was steady deterioration of his intellectual gifts. It is not surprising, therefore, that in Caitanyaism itself, which was inspired by and modelled on Caitanya's life, there is a great deal of intellectual subtlety, but intellectual virility is never a marked feature.

1 These verses are given as the *Śikṣāṣṭaka* in the last chapter of the *C-C* where Caitanya himself is represented as uttering and explaining them. All these verses are to be found under Caitanya's name (as Śrī-bhagavatin) Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1934) nos. 22, 31, 32, 71, 93, 94, 324, 337. For a discussion of their authorship and of other doubtful works ascribed to Caitanya, see S. K. De in *IHQ*, 1934, pp. 310-17.

2 Pāripārśvikaḥ: *Bhāva, kiṃ teneha tene hariṇā svābhimatas cyañjako granthaḥ.*

Sūtradhāraḥ: *Yadyapi ko na veda veda-kartṛtvaṃ bhagavatatathāpi khalvantaryāmīti yām īhate preraṇāṃ na khalu sā bāhyopadeśato deśato vā kālataś ca paricchinnā bhavitum arhati* (Act i,Prastāvanā).

nothing, he transferred his own energy into his disciples like Rūpa and inspired them to reveal the doctrines.[1] The attribution to him, therefore, of any specific work or specific doctrine is more a matter of pious belief than a positive historical fact. It is indeed difficult to say how much of the elaborate theologising, which is piously put in his mouth, was actually uttered by him ; for his reported utterances are in fact faithful summaries of the highly scholastic texts of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins themselves, who, as leisured recluses, could devote their keenly trained minds to the construction of elaborate system. In chapter after chapter of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, Caitanya is credited with stupendous Śāstric learning, highly philosophical discourses, great scholastic ingenuity, marvels of interpretation in expounding finely finished theological and rhetorical systems of Bhakti ; but the general impression, given by the orthodox accounts themselves, of Caitanya's life of continuous and absorbing devotional ecstasies, as well as his own disclaimer (explained as the result of his humility) of all such pretensions, certainly throw considerable doubt upon his personal responsibility in such scholastic pursuits. It is not clear, therefore, how far these tenets of a later time actually represent Caitanya's own views. No doubt, Caitanya is represented as commissioning Rūpa and Sanātana to prepare these learned texts as the doctrinal foundations of the faith, and suggesting to them elaborate outlines and schemes ; but these outlines and schemes are so suspiciously faithful to the actual and much later products of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins themselves that they take away whatever truth there might have been in the representation. That some such relation existed between Caitanya and his Vṛndāvana followers is highly probable, but excessive zeal

1 *Nanu granthādi-racanāṃ vinā līlādi-vistāraṇaṃ na syāt, granthādiḥ ko'pi na kṛtaḥ Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyena, kathaṃ tad vastu-prathanam iti vācyam/ bhagavatā sākṣād grantha-karaṇābhāvad hṛdā brahmaṇi brahma-prakāśitavac chrī-rūpādiṣu sveṣu hṛdi śaktiṃ saṃcārya tat-tad-dvāreṇa sarvaṃ prakāśitam iti.* (pp. 107-8).

has represented it in a distorted perspective. It is also noteworthy in this connexion that the actual personal contact of Rūpa and Sanātana with Caitanya was indeed very brief,[1] while there is no evidence to show that Jīva ever had this good fortune. It is almost unbelievable that within the period of a few months at most they could have been instructed in the whole range and depth of the Bhakti-śāstra and in every such detail of doctrine as they set it forth in their elaborate and voluminous works. It is certainly true that Caitanya inspired these men of great talent with a life-long zeal for the task, which made them scorn delight and live laborious days ; he might have also suggested to them his own ideas of devotion, born out of his own religious realisation ; and above all, his life itself must have furnished them a vivid text to enlarge and comment upon.[2] But to hold him

1 Rūpa was sent by Caitanya to Vṛndāvana immediately after meeting him at Prayāga (Allahabad), but he came to Puri later on and stayed only for ten months (*C-C*, Antya i and iv. 26). Sanātana met Caitanya at Benares and later on came to Puri for a short while. Locana-dāsa is not supported by any other biographer in the statement that Sanātana was present at the time of Caitanya's passing away. Kavikarṇapūra's account, in his poem, that all the three brothers (including Vallabha) came to Puri together and adored Caitanya lacks corroboration, for it is not accepted by Kṛṣṇadāsa who otherwise draws liberally upon Kavikarṇapūra's account. It is Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, as their disciple and associate at Vṛndāvana, who supplies the longest and best information about Sanātana and Rūpa, the other Bengal biographers knowing little of them at first hand.

2 We have seen that, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, Sanātana and Rūpa were already well versed in Śāstric learning as well as predisposed towards Vaiṣṇavism when Caitanya met them ; and this must have been one of the reasons why Caitanya selected them for the special task of systematising the theology of the sect. It is noteworthy that Sanātana Gosvāmin in the 11th verse of his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* states:

bhagavad-bhakti-śāstrāṇām ayaṃ sārasya saṃgrahaḥ /
anubhūtasya caitanya-deve tat-priya-rūpataḥ //

The word *anubhūtasya* here is significant. Sanātana does not say that

responsible for every fine point of dogma and doctrine elaborated by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins would indicate an undoubtedly pious, but entirely unhistorical, imagination.

Whatever might have been the case, the fact remains that Caitanya never thought it necessary to emulate the founders of other Vaiṣṇava sects in the writing of religious or speculative works himself, nor did he care much about putting together all that he taught and practised. He left his own life and personality as an inspiring example of devotion, and as his best legacy to his faithful followers. On his immediate and intimate disciples, therefore, fell the laborious task of systematising the doctrines and practices of the faith and defining

he actually received any direct instruction in these matters, but that he is compiling what he has felt about the character of Bhakti in Caitanya himself. Again, at the end of the *Digdarśanī* commentary to the same work, Sanātana states:

svayaṃ pravartitaiḥ kṛtsnair mamaital likhana-śramaḥ/
śrīmac-caitanya-rūpo'sau bhagavān prīyataṃ sadā//,

which speaks indeed of inspiration received from Caitanya, but not of direct instruction by him. This is perhaps what is meant by the reference to Rūpa in the well known line: *Śrī-caitanya-mano'bhīṣṭaṃ sthāpitaṃ yena bhūtale.* Rūpa himself similarly speaks of inspiration from Caitanya (*hṛdi yasya preraṇayā pravartito'haṃ varāka-rūpo'pi*). But in the works of the Gosvāmins there is nowhere any acknowledgment of direct instruction by Caitanya, as alleged by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Had it been a fact, they must have prominently mentioned it. Nor is this fact mentioned in any other biography of Caitanya than that of Kṛṣṇadāsa. It is also noteworthy that, with the exception of the usual Namaskriyā in their various works and of a few hymns by Raghunātha-dāsa and Rūpa which we shall discuss below, the Gosvāmins nowhere speak directly of Caitanya nor give expression to their views about Caitanya. They are chiefly concerned with the exposition of Kṛṣṇa-līlā and never describe Caitanya-līlā. No doubt, they accept the divinity of Caitanya (*e.g.* in the Namaskriyā in Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*: *vande śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyaṃ bhagavantaṃ kṛpārṇavam/ prema-bhakti-vitānārthaṃ gauḍeṣvavatatāra yaḥ//*; verse 2 of *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*: *tasya hareḥ pada-kamalaṃ vande caitanya-devasya*); but beyond this they hardly ever speak directly about his life and personality. Caitanya-worship does not appear to have been a creed with them.

its creed. This his Navadvīpa followers had not done; perhaps they had not the training and capacity to do it properly. Caitanya, therefore, chose Sanātana and Rūpa for the highly technical and difficult task for which they appeared fully competent. How much of these teachings is Caitanya's and how much their own will never be definitely known; but it is probable that much of them, written within a few years after his death, was directly inspired by his personal example and teaching. Upon the two brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, Caitanya himself is said to have imposed the special task of expressing its theology and its Rasa-śāstra, in which they were very materially reinforced by the mystical-metaphysical scholarship of their nephew Jīva. They were men of great literary capacity, acute theologians and passionate poets, as well as ascetic devotees. Their authoritative position as the fit and chosen disciples especially instructed and commissioned for the exacting task, their austere and saintly character, their selfless devotion to the cause, and their laborious and life-long scholarship gave them a unique influence as the three authoritative Gosvāmins or teachers of the cult. As such, they had been held in the highest veneration in the later history of the sect. With these was closely associated Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, alleged to have been a South Indian Brahman, whose name and attainments are held with almost equal veneration. His chief task appears to have been the codification, probably in collaboration with Sanātana, of the Vaiṣṇava social and religious practices in a voluminous compilation, which forms the most authoritative ritualistic text of the cult. To these four Gosvāmins were added Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, who does not appear to have written much, and Raghunātha-dāsa, whose passionate devotional sensibilities produced a Sanskrit poetical work of the Campū type on Kṛṣṇa-līlā and a series of fervent Sanskrit poems and panegyrics, as well as Bengali lyrics on the same erotic-mystic theme.

These were the six Gosvāmins to whom belongs the credit of working out and defining the whole system of tenets pecu-

liar to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The works of the Navadvīpa and Vṛndāvana circles of followers respectively were produced at about the same time, but the 'Six Gosvāmins' as such are never, for obvious reason, spoken of by Murāri, Karṇapūra, Vṛndāvana, Jayānanda and Locana, although individually Sanātana and Rūpa are men ioned, as well as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha-dāsa.[1] By the middle of the 17th century, however, the learned Bengali biography of Caitanya by Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja, as well as the zeal of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya and Narottama-dāsa, made the views of the Six Gosvāmins accepted as authoritative in Bengal, so much so that they came almost to eclipse every other point of view. It was the inspiration and teaching of the six pious and scholarly Gosvāmins which came to determine finally the doctrinal trend of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism which, however modified and supplemented in later times, dominated throughout its subsequent history. To them was due the building up of modern Vṛndāvana as the chief intellectual and religious centre of the sect, where its philosophy, its theology, its ritualism and its Rasa-śāstra were created. They reclaimed the sacred sites, identified them, and gave to each a distinctive name ; they made their wealthy disciples and admirers build the great temples, groves, and bathing places, and thus laid the foundations of its modern glory and sanctity. It was indeed their eminence and influence which gave a marked primacy to the Bengal school over other rival schools in the holy city associated with the name of Kṛṣṇa.[2]

1 Before Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (i.e. before 1615 A.D.), the term 'Six Gosvāmins' is never used in the previous biographies of Caitanya. The name of Jīva does not appear at all. Murāri mentions Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (iii. 15. 15-16), Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa (iv. 1. 17), Raghunātha-dāsa (iv. 17-21), and Sanātana and Rūpa (iii. 18. 1-2 ; iv. 13. 6, 11 f). Vṛndāvana-dāsa only mentions Rūpa and Sanātana. Kavikarṇapūra in his poem (xvii. 7-24) and drama (ix. 28, 29, 34, 37) refers to Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-dāsa.

2 Growse in his *History of Mathura* (p. 241) relates a story of Emperor Akbar's visit to these Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana in 1573 A.D.

Not much is known about the details of their life, but most of their works have survived.[1] Without exception they adopted Sanskrit as their medium of expression. The adoption of the almost obsolete and pedantic classical language was probably prompted by the idea of the sanctity and authority attached to the learned Deva-bhāṣā as befitting their classical works. But perhaps there was also the temptation of appealing to a larger learned public, as well as of emulating the standard Sanskrit texts of other schools and obtaining equal recognition.

2. RAGHUNĀTHA-DĀSA

Of Raghunātha-dāsa, who lived with Caitanya for many years at Puri, a great deal is known from Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (Antya vi), who was his intimate friend and disciple at Vṛndāvana, and who must have made a considerable use of the personal reminiscences of this venerable Gosvāmin in his account of the last phase of Caitanya's career. Raghunātha-dāsa's life presents yet another example, not rare in this period of religious revival, of the renunciation of worldly eminence and fortune for the sake of spiritual advancement. He was the son of a rich Kāyastha, named Govardhana, a zamindar of Saptagrāma in the district of Hooghly, who is said to have enjoyed a princely income of twelve lakhs of rupees ; but the heir to this immense fortune evinced deep religious tendencies from his boyhood, which proved disquieting to his father. On the occasion of Caitanya's visit to Śāntipur on his way to Rāmakeli, Raghunātha is said to have met Caitanya for the first time. Raghunātha's meeting with

and of his recognition of their spiritual activities. The wealthy Rajas of the West, who were their disciples, contributed towards the building of the fine temples, seven of the oldest and finest of which are ascribed to these Gosvāmins. See Growse, *op. cit.*, for details.

1 Most of these works have been published in Bengali characters at Berhampur-Murshidabad by the Radharaman Press. In the lists given below, these have been marked with an asterisk. Those printed at Vṛndāvana and elsewhere are separately indicated.

Nityānanda later on[1] at Pānihāṭi, near Calcutta, stimulated his spiritual longings further, and very soon he escaped the vigilance of his apprehensive father and left, as Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us, wealth befitting Indra and a wife like an Apsaras (इन्द्रसम ऐश्वर्य्य स्त्री अप्सरासम). This is confirmed by Raghunātha's own statement in his *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru* that Caitanya saved him from the influence of wealth and wife (*mahāsaṃpad-dārād api*).[2] After an arduous journey, he reached Caitanya at Puri, where he was handed over for spiritual training to Svarūpa Dāmodara. The extreme austerities which Raghunātha practised was a thing of wonder even to the devout Vaiṣṇavas, and Caitanya himself is said to have acknowledged their depth and sincerity.[3] According to Kavikarṇapūra (*Caitanya-candrodaya*, x. 3), Raghunātha's Dīkṣā-guru was Yadunandana Ācārya ; but Raghunātha himself in some of his poems[4] pays homage to Rūpa Gosvāmin

1 This meeting is commemorated by an annual festivity, called Daṇḍa-mahotsava. The origin of the festivity and its quaint name are thus explained. Perceiving that Raghunātha was filled with a desire for ascetic life, but outwardly engrossed in worldly concern, Nityānanda laughingly called him a "dissembler" and pronounced a punishment (*daṇḍa*) on him that he should feed all the assembled Vaiṣṇavas. The rich young man, in obedience, gave a sumptuous feast and distributed large sums of money among the Vaiṣṇava guests. The account is to be found in *C-C*, Antya vi. It is curious, however, that Raghunātha nowhere mentions Nityānanda in his works, although in his *Caitanyāṣṭaka* and *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru*, he refers to Īśvara Purī, Govinda, Kāśī Miśra and Svarūpa. It is also noteworthy that, with the exception of Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Raghunātha is not mentioned by the other biographers of Caitanya.

2 The alternative reading is *mahāsaṃpad-dāvād api* ('from the consuming fire of great wealth').

3 रघुनाथेर वैराग्य (v. l. नियम) हय पाषाणेर रेखा (*C-C*, Antya vi. 309).

4 *Abhīṣṭa-sūcana*, Śl. 2 ; *Manaḥ-śikṣā*, Śl. 11, 12 ; *Sva-niyama-daśaka* Śl. 10 ; *Radhā-kṛṣṇojjvala-kusuma-keli*, Śl. 44 ; *Viśākhānanda-stotra*, Śl. 134 ; *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi*, Śl. 174-175. But *Abhīṣṭa-sūcana* Śl. 13 says: मां पुनरहो श्रीमान् स्वरूपोऽवतु, but the commentator apparently reads स रूपोऽवतु ।

as his Śikṣā-guru. After Caitanya's death he is said to have left Puri for Vṛndāvana, where he joined Rūpa and Sanātana and lived a self-imposed life of hard asceticism near Rādhā-kuṇḍa till his death. Caitanya had entrusted him with a Govardhana-śilā, a dark-coloured stone used as an emblem of Kṛṣṇa, which he nourished and tended with deep devotion, daily bathing it, feeding it and worshipping it with elaborate service. From his *Vraja-vilāsa-stava* (Śl. 2), it appears that he became blind in his old age ; and his *Dānakeli-cintāmaṇi* (Śl. 2 and 173) was composed after he had become blind. He was the only non-Brahman (Kāyastha) disciple among the Six Gosvāmins, but the honour paid to him is no less on that account.

His literary works,[1] which deal, in impassioned Sanskrit verse and prose, with the mystic-erotic aspects of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship, are not very extensive. They are mostly in the nature of fervent lyrical hymns, Stavas or Stotras, which have been collected together and published under the title **Stavāvalī*.[2] They are either devout praises of Caitanya (*e. g. Caitanyāṣṭaka*, nine stanzas in Śikhariṇī ; *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru*, twelve stanzas also in Śikhariṇī), but most of them give an emotional treatment in highly erotic imagery of the various aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The total number of these hymns is twenty-nine, and they are of varying lengths and are

1 For the literary works of Raghunātha see below under ch. vii.—Yadunandana Ācārya is mentioned in *C-C*, Antya vi. 161 as Advaita's disciple and Raghunātha's Guru.

2 As already indicated above, works marked with an asterisk (as here) have been published at Murshidabad (Berhampur) by the Radharaman Press, in Bengali characters and generally with a Bengali translation. The *Stavāvalī* has been printed with a Sanskrit commentary by Vaṅgeśvara (or Vaṅgavihārī) whose title is differently given in the work itself as Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Vidyālaṃkāra. A commentary, or rather gloss, ascribed to Raghunātha himself, is noticed in Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue*, vii, pp. 1466-7 (no. 1177). From the extracts quoted as specimens, this appears to be different from the commentary of Vaṅgeśvara.

composed in a variety of metres, although Śikhariṇī and Mālinī appear to have been the author's favourite metres. Some of the longest and best known are: the *Vilāpa-kusumāñjali* (104 stanzas in diverse metres), *Rādhā-kṛṣṇojjvala-kusumakeli* (44 stanzas in Śikhariṇī), *Viśākhānanda-stotra* (134 verses in Śloka metre) and *Vraja-vilāsa-stava* (107 stanzas in various metres[1]). The purely poetic merit of these Stavas cannot be estimated very highly, but their evident erotic mysticism, consisting of a deeply emotional spiritualisation of sensuous forms, gives them a rich and luscious charm and a sweet ring of passion, which bear a striking testimony to an interesting feature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The original inspiration of these poems comes, of course, from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and from Jayadeva's highly finished lyrical *Gīta-govinda*, which, we are told, were the constant sources of the ecstatic emotions of Caitanya himself; but the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka, which Caitanya is said to have discovered in his Southern tour and commended in superlative terms to his

1 The printed Stotras in the collection, besides those mentioned above are: *Prārthanā* (4 verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mālinī, Śikhariṇī and Sragdharā), *Govardhanāśraya-daśaka* (11 verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita); *Govardhana-vāsa-prārthanā-daśaka* (11 verses in Mālinī), *Rādhākuṇḍāṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Prema-pūrābhidha stotra* (11 verses in Mālinī), *Prārthanā* (4 verses in diverse metres), *Sva-niyama-daśaka* (11 verses in Śikhariṇī), *Rādhikāṣṭottara-śata-nāma* (in Śloka metre, 47 verses), *Rādhikāṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Premāmbhoja-marandākhya-stavarāja* (13 verses in Śloka metre), *Sva-saṃkalpa-prakāśa* (21 verses in Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Śikhariṇī, etc.), *Prārthanāmṛta* (20 verses in Śikhariṇī, Mandākrāntā, Pṛthvī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Upendravajrā, Sragdharā etc.), *Navāṣṭaka* (9 verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita), *Gopāla-rāja-stotra* (15 verses in Mālinī), *Madanagopāla-stotra* (22 verses in Mālinī), *Mukundāṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Utkaṇṭhā-daśaka* (11 verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita), *Nava-yuva-dvandva-didṛkṣāṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Abhīṣṭa-prārthanāṣṭaka* (8 verses in Śikhariṇī), *Dāna-nirvartana-kuṇḍāṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Prārthanāśraya-caturdaśaka* (14 verses in Śikhariṇī, Vasantatilaka, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā, etc.), *Abhīṣṭa-sūcana* (13 verses in Indravajrā, Vasantatilaka, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā, Sragdharā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, etc.).

disciples, must have had a great deal of influence on this type of writing in Bengal. Raghunātha's only sustained composition, however, was his *Muktā-caritra*,[1] a Sanskrit Kāvya of the Campū type written in prose and occasional verse, but interspersed with witty dialogues. The theme is Kṛṣṇa's early sports at Vṛndāvana, its object being to show the superiority of his free love for Rādhā over his wedded love for Satyabhāmā. On Satyabhāmā's somewhat naïve enquiry as to whether pearls grew on trees, Kṛṣṇa himself relates a fanciful story of his sowing pearls at Vṛndāvana and producing pearl-creepers, which bore pearls as fruits, of the failure of Rādhā and her companions at a similar effort, of their offer to buy Kṛṣṇa's pearls, of their subsequent raillery, of the witty repartee, amorous dialogues and adventures following upon the incident. In this work, as well as in some of the Stotras mentioned above, Raghunātha pays homage to the kindness and affection shown to him by Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, and in the last verse of the *Muktā-caritra* he speaks of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in whose company at Rādhā-kuṇḍa he passed his last days in Vṛndāvana. Raghunātha probably wrote some other poetical works, for the three verses cited with his name in the *Padyāvalī* are not traceable in the poems mentioned above. A work called *Dāna-carita*,[2] is ascribed to him in the

1 Ed. Nityasvarup Brahmacari, in Bengali characters, with a Bengali translation, Vṛndavan 1908.

2 This is not the nameless Sanskrit work noticed in Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue* (vii, p. 1470b, no. 1184d) and ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, perhaps wrongly. The India Office work is written in prose and verse, and consists of four chapters, the descriptive titles of which will indicate their respective themes: (*i*) Vasana-caurya-keli, (*ii*) Bhāra-khaṇḍa, (*iii*) Pāra-khaṇḍa, and (*iv*) Dānakhaṇḍa, which form the various well known aspects of Kṛṣṇa's sport. From the passages quoted in Eggeling's *Catalogue* it appears that this work, attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, is identical with the *Rādhā-premāmṛta* (ed. Murshidabad, Radharaman Press, B.S. 1335=1929 A.D.; the name of the author being given here as one Mohinīmohana Lāhiḍi Vidyālaṃkāra of the village Mālaṅga !), the authorship of which is sometimes also ascribed to

Bhakti-ratnākara (ch. i, p. 59). This appears to be the *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi*,[1] which in 175 highly erotic stanzas in different metres, gives an imaginary account of the Dāna-līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, a theme which is also treated under the caption Dāna-khaṇḍa by Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa[2] in a somewhat different strain and which finds another expression in Rūpa's *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us (*C-C* Antya xiv. 7) that like Svarūpa Dāmodara, Raghunātha also wrote some biographical account of Caitanya in the *Kaḍacā* form,[3] but of this there is no information. There are also three Bengali Padas assigned to him in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava anthology, *Pada-kalpataru* of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.[4]

Caitanya himself. The work is also known as *Gopāla-caritra*. It cannot be the composition of a modern author, for two verses from it are cited in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* and assigned to Manohara (see S. K. De, ed. of *Padyāvalī* p. 216).

1 Ed. Haridas Das, Navadvīpa 1937, in Bengali characters.

2 Ed. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta 1916, p. 33 f.

3 In *C-C*, Madhya ii. 84, 93, Raghunātha is said to have committed Svarūpa's Kaḍacā to memory and thus preserved it; but in Antya xiv. 7-10, Svarūpa is called the Sūtrakāra and Raghunātha the Vṛttikāra, pointing to collaboration.

4 The commentary on Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* is wrongly ascribed to Raghunātha-dāsa in Aufrecht. It was composed by Jīva. To Raghunātha-dāsa, as well as to his namesake Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, is sometimes wrongly attributed the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* which was really the work of their friend and disciple Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who is described in xxiii. 95 as "a bee to the lotus-feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha" (see *Ind. Ant.*, 1928, p. 208). *A Sārāt-sāra-tattva-saṃgraha* is ascribed also to Raghunātha in a manuscript noticed in Mitra, *Notices*, vi, no. 2153, p. 214. It proposes to deal with the five Tattvas, viz., Guru, Kṛṣṇa, Nāman, Bhakti and Bhakta, for these are regarded as *sārāt sāraṃ parāt param*. But the colophon simply says: *iti sārāt-sāra-tattva-saṃgrahe pañcākhyāne ṣaṣṭha-vivekaḥ*. The topic is dealt with also by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in *C-C*, Ādi vii. 3-17. As Svarūpa Dāmodara is credited by Kavikarṇapūra with the doctrine of Pañca-tattva, it is not unlikely that Svarūpa's disciple Raghunātha also wrote a work on the subject. Ānandin (p. 125) refers to Svarūpa's work on Pañca-tattva as *Gaura-tattva-nirūpaṇa*.

3. RAGHUNĀTHA BHAṬṬA

Of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa nothing much is known, and he does not appear to have left any work. Murāri (iv. 1. 15-17) tells us that Caitanya met his father Tapana Miśra at Benares, where Caitanya became his guest on his journey back from Vṛndāvana and revealed his grace to the boy Raghunātha. Later on Raghunātha came to Caitanya at Puri and stayed there for eight months. At Caitanya's direction he returned home ; and after four years, on the death of his parents, he came again to Puri and stayed for eight months. He was then directed by Caitanya to join Rūpa and Sanātana at Vṛndāvana, where he appears to have lived thereafter. Caitanya is said to have given him a Tulasī garland. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us that the Bhaṭṭa was well read in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and Rūpa used to take delight in his reading of that scripture.[1]

4. GOPĀLA BHAṬṬA

Apart from uncertain legends, there is no full nor satisfactory account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Nothing practically is recorded of him by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who refers to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (Ādi i. 37) as one of his Śikṣā-gurus,[2] and must have known him quite well during the last phase of his life at Vṛndāvana. Narahari Cakravartin, in the first half of the 18th century, explains[3] this extraordinary silence as due to an express prohibition, befitting his Vaiṣṇava humility, by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself, and undertakes to remedy this deficiency by a curious account in his own *Bhakti-ratnākara*.[4]

1 *C-C*, Antya xiii. 117, 126-29.

2 Other references to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa occur at Ādi x. 105, xi. 4 ; Madhya xviii. 49.—On Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, v, 1938-39, pp. 57-71.

3 श्रीगोपाल भट्ट दृष्ट हैया आज्ञा दिल । ग्रन्थे निज प्रसङ्ग वर्णिते निषेधिल ॥
केन निषेधिल इहा के बुझिते पारे । निरन्तर अति दीन माने आपनारे ॥
कविराज तार आज्ञा नारे लङ्घिवार । नाममात्र लिखे ना करे प्रचार ॥

4 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, ch. i, pp. 6-16.

The tradition recorded by Narahari informs us that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the son of Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, a learned Brahman of Southern India, at whose house Caitanya was a guest for four months during his South Indian pilgrimage ; but no information is given regarding the place where Veṅkaṭa lived. Veṅkaṭa's elder brother was Trimalla and younger Prabodhānanda ; they were worshippers of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa and belonged to the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect ; but through the grace of Caitanya, they, as well as young Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, were inspired with a devotion for Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa further receiving Caitanya's direction to leave later for Vṛndāvana and meet Rūpa and Sanātana there.[1] He was educated by his uncle Prabodhānanda and, in a short time, went to Vṛndāvana with the permission of his parents. Narahari tells us that of all this there is a special account in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (चैतन्यचरितामृते विशेष-वर्णन) meaning Kṛṣṇadāsa's biography ; but he acknowledges that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name does not appear there in this connexion (गोपाल भट्टेर नाम अव्यक्त तथाय). But as an explanation he further states that 'elsewhere' it is found that Gopāla was the son of Veṅkaṭa (अन्यत्र व्यक्त गोपाल वेङ्कटतनय).

What is actually found in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and 'elsewhere' about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa can be summarised as follows. Murāri-gupta (iii. 15. 14-16) mentions the hospitality of Trimalla (and not of Veṅkaṭa) during the rainy season, and describes Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, then a young lad, giving up his boyish sports and turning into a Bhakta by the touch of Caitanya, as the son of Trimalla ; but no other details are

1 This would imply that Rūpa and Sanātana were already in Vṛndāvana when Gopāla Bhaṭṭa arrived there ; so Narahari says elsewhere: लिखिलेन पत्रीते श्रीरूपसनातन । गोपाल भट्टेर वृन्दावन-आगमन ॥. But in another place Narahari says again: रूप आर सनातन यवे आइला वृन्दावन भट्ट गोसाञि मिलिला सवाय ॥ implying that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was already there when Rūpa and Sanātana arrived for the first time! When did Gopāla Bhaṭṭa actually arrive?

given. In his Sanskrit Kāvya on Caitanya (xiii. 4), Kavikarṇapūra states that Caitanya spent four months in the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa at Śrīraṅgam during his South Indian pilgrimage, but no mention is made of Veṅkaṭa, Prabodhānanda or Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in this connexion. Nor is this incident referred to in Karṇapūra's better known Sanskrit drama on Caitanya. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja makes matters worse confused[1] by speaking separately (Madhya i. 108-10 and ix. 82-166) of the hospitality of Trimalla and Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, at Śrīraṅgam, respectively for four months ; both of them are described as Śrīvaiṣṇavas, but their connexion is not stated ; and, as Narahari says, the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa does not appear. In other biographies of Caitanya there is no reference to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa or to this incident at all.

By 'elsewhere,' therefore, Narahari may be referring to some such works of later date as the *Prema-vilāsa*[2] of Nityānanda-dāsa, where a similar but much briefer account is found ; while the *Anurāga-vallī*[3] of Manohara-dāsa records in some detail a somewhat similar tradition. According to Nityānanda-dāsa, Caitanya spent four months in the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa at Śrīraṅgam and directed Trimalla's younger brother Prabodhānanda to educate the young Gopāla (apparently Trimalla's son, for Veṅkaṭa is not mentioned), who would in time become a very learned man, and commanded Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to go to Vṛndāvana after his parents'

1 This has not escaped the notice of Manohara-dāsa who comments in his *Anurāga-vallī* (Mañjarī i): सेखाने त्रिमल्ल भट्टेर घरे भिक्षा लैला। भट्टेर प्रार्थनामते चातुर्मास्य रैला॥ नवम परिछेदे सेइ सूत्र विस्तारिल। ताहे तार छोट भाइ वेङ्कट लिखिल॥ त्रिमल्ल भट्टेर पुत्रादि आत्मसात् परिपाटी। रहि गेल ते कारणे लिखनेर त्रुटि॥

2 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 2nd ed., 1911, in the 18th Vilāsa. In the work itself its date of composition is given as Śaka 1522=1600 A. D., but the internal evidence of some parts conflicts with this date.

3 Ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta 1898, pp. 8-12. The work is dated at Vṛndāvana in Śaka 1618=1696 A.D.

death. Manohara-dāsa accepts this story, believes that Gopāla was Trimalla's son, and states that Veṅkaṭa was the eldest and Prabodhānanda, who was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's teacher, the youngest of the three brothers. In his account Gopāla was apparently a grown-up and learned young man at the time of Caitanya's visit ; Caitanya commanded him to stay at home and tend his father and uncles but directed him to join Sanātana and Rūpa later at Vṛndāvana. Monohara adds that sometime after Caitanya's visit, the three brothers, with their wives, set out on a pilgrimage and came to Caitanya at Puri, where after religious intercourse, they were bidden to return home.

It will be seen at once that there is a great deal of discrepancy and uncertainty in the accounts, meagre in themselves, which the records of the sect give of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Narahari is not unaware of this fact, but he exhorts the faithful not to indulge in vain arguments.[1] It is clear, however, that those writers, who have at all recorded anything about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, agree about his South Indian origin, but they do not agree about his ancestry and personal history. The account of his meeting with Caitanya is also enveloped in the uncertainty of legends ; and it is curious that at the time when Caitanya is alleged to have directed Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to meet Sanātana and Rūpa at Vṛndāvana, he himself had not yet met them nor directed them to proceed to Vṛndāvana! The fact is that none of Caitanya's well known disciples accompanied him during his South Indian pilgrimage ; it is, therefore, not strange that the accounts of it, written in much later times and based more upon hearsay than direct knowledge, should be meagre and conflicting.[2]

1 श्रीगोपाल भट्टेर ए सब विवरण। केह किछु वर्णे केह ना करे वर्णन ॥
ना बुझिया मर्म इहे कुतर्क ये करे। अपराधबीज तार हृदये सञ्चारे ॥ (p. 15)

2 Some modern writers (Ramnarayan Vidyaratna, introd. to the Berhampur ed. of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* ; Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Vaiṣṇava Literature of Bengal*, Calcutta University 1917, p. 57 ; etc.)

The mention of Prabodhānanda as the uncle of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is also curious ; but it occurs nowhere else but in the three late works of Nityānanda-dāsa, Manohara and Narahari. At the commencement of his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, no doubt, describes himself as the disciple (Śiṣya) of Prabodhānanda, but he is silent regarding his own parentage and makes no mention of his alleged relationship to Prabodhānanda. Gopāla describes Prabodhānanda as *bhagavat-priya*,[1] an epithet of which the commentary gives alternative explanations as a Bahuvrīhi and as a Tatpuruṣa compound. The latter sense would imply that Prabodhānanda was a favourite disciple and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa the disciple of this favourite disciple of Caitanya ; and yet it is somewhat strange that the biographies of Caitanya preserve no account of Prabodhānanda[2] and very little of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa! Some Stotra-kāvyas exist bearing Prabodhānanda's name ; they testify to their author's Vaiṣṇavite inclination and to a feeling of deep devotion to Caitanya as the supreme object of adoration. Of these the more well

add to the confusion by proposing to identify Gapāla Bhaṭṭa's alleged father, Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, with Veṅkaṭanātha of Velaguṇḍi, whom Dharmarājādhvarin mentions as his Guru in his *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* ; but of this there is not the slightest evidence. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's native place, again is given by some as Bhaṭṭamāri ; but in Kṛṣṇadāsa's description of Caitanya's South Indian pilgrimage, Bhaṭṭamāri occurs not as the name of a place but as the name of a gang of false ascetics whom Caitanya is said to have met in Mallāra land (Malabar?).

1 The stanza runs thus: *bhakter vilāsāṃś cinute prabodhā-/ nandasya śiṣyo bhagavat-priyasya/ gopāla-bhaṭṭo raghunātha-dāsaṃ/, saṃtoṣayan rūpa-sanātanau ca//*. The verse is known to Nityānanda-dāsa, Narahari and Manohara.

2 The omission is sometimes explained as due to Prabodhānanda's alleged defection from the orthodox views of the Gosvāmins, but this is unconvincing in view of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's direct mention of him as his Guru, along with the mention of Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-dāsa in the same stanza.

known is the *Caitanyacandrāmṛta*. The printed text[1] of the poem consists of 143 devotional verses in various metres distributed over twelve Vibhāgas. They are panegyrics of Caitanya, and the names of the Vibhāgas, such as Stuti, Nati, Āśīr, Bhakta-mahiman, Abhakta-nindā, Dainya, Upāsya-niṣṭhā, Utkarṣa, Avatāra, Loka-śikṣā, Rūpollāsa and Śocana, would roughly indicate their content. Several stanzas (especially 38, 129, 131, 135 and 136) suggest that the author must have seen Caitanya at Puri and had been in close contact with him: which would support the inference of his having been a disciple. The stanzas lament the passing away of the Lord and possibly of some of his great disciples ; and the consequent disruption of the sect is also implied. This Stotra-kāvya is also interesting as one of the early works which openly inculcate Caitanya-worship, to which, however, the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins do not appear to have lent any direct *theoretical* support.[2] The poem undoubtedly reflects what is called the Gaura-pāramya attitude of his Navadvīpa devotees, which is not explicit in the works of the Gosvāmins, but which regards Caitanya in himself, and not as an image of Kṛṣṇa, as the highest reality or Parama Tattva. The theory that all the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa became incarnated along with Caitanya (a doctrine which probably originated at Navadvīpa and is fully described in 1576 A. D. by Kavikarṇapūra in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*,[3] but which found little encouragement from the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins!) is referred to in stanza 118 ; while the belief, first utilised by the contemporary composers

1 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad 1926, in Bengali characters, with the Sanskrit Rasikāsvādinī commentary of Ānandin, and a Bengali prose translation. For MSS of the work see Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, and *Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, p. 223. In some Catalogues the total number of stanzas is given as 141 or 144, and the texts in the cited extracts do not always correspond exactly.

2 See below chapter v, on Caitanya-worship as a cult.

3 See above p. 45, fn 3.

of Bengali Padas,[1] that Caitanya was an incarnation of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā finds expression in stanzas 13 and 109. What is more remarkable is that in stanza 132 there is a reference to Caitanya as Gaura-nagara-vara, which apparently subscribes to the Nāgara-bhāva doctrine of Narahari Sarkār and Locana-dāsa, a doctrine which hardly found favour in the orthodox circles.[2] It is no wonder that the poem is not quoted with approval by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, but it is somewhat strange that its author, with his unorthodox views, could have been the Guru of one of the venerable Gosvāmins! From stanza 19 it is probable that Prabodhānanda was an Advaita Saṃnyāsin before he met Caitanya ; and the commentator Ānandin describes him as Parivrājakācārya Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, which description is often found in the colophons of the MSS of the poem. The other work ascribed to Prabodhānanda is entitled *Saṃgīta-mādhava.*[3] It gives in fifteen cantos a treatment of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa ; and in imitation of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda,* which is its obvious model, it includes melodious Padāvalīs or songs. A third work, called *Vṛndāvana-mahimāmṛta,*[4] is also ascribed to him ; it describes with

1 See above p. 63.

2 See above p. 65.

3 Printed from the Bhakti-prabhā Office, Hugli 1936, in Bengali characters. There is a MS of the work in the Dacca University Library (no. 1402) in Bengali script, with 17 folios. The MS contains 15 cantos and a total of 141 verses, excluding songs which are separately numbered (the 16th canto of the printed text really consists of four extra Namaskriyā verses, which are added after the colophon by the Dacca University MS, but which are not taken as forming an extra canto, there being no formal colophon after them naming a 16th canto). One of the opening (no. 6) and one of the concluding (no. 138) verses pay homage to Caitanya as Gaura and Sacīnandana respectively.

4 A. B. Kathvate, *Report on the Search of Skt. MSS, 1891-95,* Bombay 1901, p. 38, no. 577 ; the number of verses is not mentioned, but since the MS contains only 11 folios (with 11 lines on a page) it cannot be a very long poem. It is, however, said that Prabodhānanda composed this work in one hundred Śatakas, of which seventeen

elaborate devotional fancy the glories of Vṛndāvana as the abode of Kṛṣṇa and the scene of his sports. A Sanskrit commentary[1] on the *Gopāla-tāpanī* Upaniṣad by Paramahaṃsa Parivrājakācārya Śrī-Prabodha Sarasvatī also exists, while a *Viveka-śataka*[2] on dispassion or indifference to worldly attraction is found ascribed to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī.[3]

Śatakas have been printed in Bengali characters at Vrindavan (1933-37) by Harendra Kumar Chakravarti and others; some of the Śatakas in this collection contain more than a hundred stanzas.—A *Vṛndāvana-śataka* (ed. Haeberlin's Kāvya-saṃgraha, 1847, p. 430 f; reprinted in Jivananda Vidyasagara's Kāvya-saṃgraha, pt. ii, 3rd ed., Calcutta 1888, pp. 333-384; 126 stanzas) is often ascribed to Prabodhānanda; but the name of the author is missing in the printed text. There are, however, two opening verses (nos. 2, 3), containing references to Caitanya, which raise the presumption that it was written by a Bengali Vaiṣṇava. In most of the catalogues and reports of Sanskrit MSS, where MSS of the *Vṛndāvana-śataka* are noticed, it is generally assigned to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī (e.g. R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, vi, p. 188, no. 2122; Peterson, *Three Reports*, p. 396, no. 351; *Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, p. 205; but no name of the author is found in MSS noticed in Stein, *Jammu Catalogue*, p. 74, no. 816 and in R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report 1887-91*, p. 32, no. 468). If it is a genuine work of Prabodhānanda, it might have formed a part of the bigger *Vṛndāvana-mahimāmṛta* as one of its constituent Śatakas; but the parts of the latter work, which have so far been printed, do not contain this series of verses.

1 *Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library*, vol. x, pp. 158-59.

2 R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, vii, p. 261, no. 2510; in 180 Sanskrit 'Ślokas.'

3 The title Sarasvatī is mentioned in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.—The Stotra-kāvya, named *Rādhā-rasa-sudhānidhi*, printed in two parts from the Bhakti-prabhā Office, Hugli 1924, 1935, is wrongly ascribed to Prabodhānanda. The first and the last verses of the printed text pay homage to Caitanya, but these verses are missing in the MSS noticed by Eggeling (*India Office Catalague*, vii, pp. 1464-65), Aufrecht (*Bodleian Catalogue* p. 131, no. 239), Haraprasad Sastri (*Descriptive Catalogue of ASB Collection*, vii, p. 230 and *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 384), while the work is uniformly ascribed in these and other MSS to Hitaharivaṃśa, son of Vyāsa. It is obviously a case of appropriation by the Caitanya sect of a work composed by Hitaharivaṃśa of the Rādhāvallabhī sect!

Whether this Saṃnyāsin and Stotra-writer is identical with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's Guru Prabodhānanda yet remains to be proved ; and the allegation that he was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's uncle is found only in the legend, clearly of a later date, narrated by Nityānanda, Manohara and Narahari.[1]

From what has been said above, it is clear that the account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa found in the records of the sect itself is not only meagre but also uncertain and unsatisfactory. But here the matter does not end. Another work is definitely ascribed to our Gopāla Bhaṭṭa by Narahari Cakravartin and Manoharadāsa, but the ascription is falsified by what is recorded in the ascribed work itself! And this is a good commentary on the trustworthiness of the traditions recorded by these writers. Narahari informs us[2] that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa composed a Ṭippaṇī on Līlāśuka's *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, which became a source of delight to devout Vaiṣṇavas ;[3] while Manohara not only

1 The proposed identification of Prabodhānanda with Prakāśānanda (of which one hears for the first time in the spurious *Advaitaprakāśa*, see above p. 100, note 1), whom Caitanya met at Benares, is still more unfounded and unjustifiable. There is also no evidence for the statement (Jadunath Sarkar, *Caitanya's Life and Teachings*, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1922; misled by Dinesh Chandra Sen and others) that Caitanya changed the name of Prakāśānanda into Prabodhānanda ; and nothing is said anywhere of a change of names. Caitanya is alleged to have met Prabodhānanda in Southern India long before he came across the scoffing unbeliever of Benares. Apart from the dubiousness of the fact of conversion of Prakāśānanda itself, we do not know if and when Prabodhānanda was actually converted by Caitanya.

2 करिलेन कृष्णकर्णामृतेर टिप्पणी । वैष्णवेर परमानन्द याहा शुनि ॥

3 The importance of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is explained by the legend, narrated by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, of Caitanya's discovery of this work during his South Indian pilgrimage. Caitanya was so struck by its high devotional value that he brought back the work with him, and it became the source of the emotional religious experience of himself and his disciples. There can be no doubt that it exercised a great influence on the emotionalism of the Bengali faith. It not only inspired similar lyrics and is quoted in the

mentions and characterises this commentary but also quotes and comments on its two Maṅgala-ślokas and declares Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship of the work.[1] These verses do indeed occur, as they are quoted, in the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary[2] of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, as its first two opening verses. The first verse is an invocation of Kṛṣṇa, there being no Namaskriyā to Caitanya, while the second

treatises on Rasa-śāstra composed by Rūpa, but several commentaries came to be written on it, explaining its significance from the standpoint of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Kṛṣṇadāsa, who eulogised (Madhya ix. 307-8) the work thus:

कर्णामृतसम वस्तु नाहि त्रिभुवने । याहा हइते हय कृष्णप्रेमरसज्ञाने ॥
सौन्दर्य माधुर्य कृष्णलीलार अवधि । से जाने ये कर्णामृत पडे निरवधि ॥

himself composed a *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* commentary in Sanskrit, while Caitanya-dāsa wrote yet another commentary entitled *Subodhanī*. Yadunandana-dāsa translated the work into Bengali verse.—These three commentaries have been edited in S. K. De's edition of the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* (Dacca University Oriental Publication Series, Dacca 1938), which see for further information about the commentaries.

1 श्रीभट्टगोसाञि कर्णामृतेर टीका कैल । अशेष विशेष व्याख्या ताहाते लिखिल ॥
याहार दर्शने भक्तपण्डिते चमत्कार । रसपरिपाटी याते सिद्धान्तेर सार ॥
से टीकार मङ्गलाचरण दुइ श्लोक । लिखियाछे याहा देखि शुनि सर्वलोक॥
आपना पासरे रहे चकित हइया । पुलकादि अश्र वहे मुख वुक वाञा ॥
तथा हि श्लोकौ—चूडाचुम्बितचारुचन्द्रक, etc.

2 Ed. in S. K. De's edition of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* mentioned in the foregoing footnote. The introduction to this ed. contains a discussion of the problem raised here, and reviews the commentator's conformity to ideas of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism (p. xxxix and xli). There is nothing in the commentary which does not subscribe to the tenets of Caitanyaism, and it quotes directly from Rūpa's two works on Rasa-śāstra. It is curious, however, that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in spite of his homage to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as one of his Śikṣā-gurus, does not anywhere refer to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's commentary; nor does he, in his own commentary, follow the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā*, but he accepts and expands Caitanya-dāsa's *Subodhanī*.

verse[1] names the author and the work, and informs us that the commentator was a Drāviḍa Brahman. But in one of the closing verses,[2] which, however, is not quoted by Mahohara, the commentator informs us that he was the son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Nṛsiṃha of the Drāviḍa country![3] Narahari, Nityānanda and Manohara, we have seen, give an entirely different ancestry, and it is needless to add that no such description occurs in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. The conclusion is, therefore, inevitable that *either* this commentator is a different person, *or*, if the two Gopāla Bhaṭṭas are (following Narahari and Manohara) to be taken as identical, then nothing remains of the Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda legend! Of this commentary nothing is said in other Bengal Vaiṣṇava works.[4]

1 कृष्णकर्णामृतस्यैतां टीकां श्रीकृष्णवल्लभाम् ।
गोपालभट्टः कुरुते द्राविडावनिनिर्जरः ॥

2 श्रीमद्द्राविडनीवृदम्बुधिविधुः श्रीमान्नृसिंहोऽभव-
द्भट्टश्रीहरिवंश उत्तमगुणग्रामैकभूस्तत्सुतः ।
तत्पुत्रस्य कृतिस्त्वियं वितनुतां गोपालनान्नो मुदं
गोपीनाथपदारविन्दमकरन्दानन्दिचेतोऽलिनः ॥

3 The colophon confirms the reading as follows : इति श्रीद्राविडहरिवंशभट्टैकचरणशरणश्रीगोपालभट्टविरचिता श्रीकृष्णकर्णामृतटीका श्रीकृष्णवल्लभा समाप्ता ॥ (The readings of both of our complete MSS agree, the date of one of them being Saṃvat 1662=1606 A.D.).

4 Of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and author of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary, two or three other works are known. That he was also an Ālaṃkārika, interested in erotic Rasa-works, is clear from the fact that he also wrote a commentary, entitled *Rasika-rañjanī*, on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī*. The second opening verse of this commentary states that its author Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a Brahman of the Drāviḍa country (श्रीमद्गोपालभट्टेन द्राविडब्रह्मसूपवर्णा । क्रियते रसमञ्जर्याष्टीका रसिकरञ्जनी ॥), and the first of the two concluding verses, which is identical with the concluding verse of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* quoted above (श्रीमद्द्राविड०), gives the names of his father and grandfather

On the other hand, the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which goes under the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect, contains no such colophon or self-descriptive verse giving the

respectively as Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and Nṛsiṃha (On MSS of this work and readings of these verses see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, v, 1938-39, p. 64, footnote). This commentary contains no reference to or citations from Bengal Vaiṣṇava works on Rasa-śāstra, as the *Kṛṣṇa-vallābhā* does; and no MSS of it in Bengali characters have yet been found. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa appears to have written another exegetic work of a similar type. The Kāvyamālā edition of Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (Gucchaka iii, p. 11 footnote) mentions an incomplete commentary on this work by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, which is called *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* ; but nothing is known of this commentary and no other MSS of it are known to exist. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa, appears to have written yet another (ritualistic) work, called *Samaya-* or *Kāla-kaumudī*, which is noticed by Rajendralal Mitra (*Notices*, vii, p. 254, no. 2501, with a résumé of its contents). Here also the author, in one of the opening verses (श्रीमद्गोपालभट्टेन द्राविडक्ष्मासुपर्वणा। क्रियते विदुषां प्रीत्यै रम्या समयकौमुदी॥) describes himself in almost similar terms as a Brahman of the Drāviḍa country, while the colophon to the work, which is almost similar in wording to those of the works mentioned above, describes him as 'one whose refuge is the feet of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa, (इति श्रीहरिवंशचरणशरण-श्रीगोपालभट्टकृता कालकौमुदी समाप्ता॥). The work appears to have been written in Sanskrit prose and verse ; and from the enumeration of its content, its chief object appears to be the determination of auspicious times or Tithis suitable for religious rites and observances, including the Saṃskāras, the Dīkṣā, the various Vratas, festivals (e.g. Janmāṣṭamī), the installation of the image of the Bhagavat and so forth. The work is not yet printed, and the MS is not available ; but the notice of the only known MS, written in Bengali characters, makes it clear that it was a fairly extensive compilation (folios 128 ; 9 lines on a page) and dealt with the subject in some detail. From some of the topics treated, it may be presumed that it was written by a Vaiṣṇava author.—So much about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa. But the question is further complicated by the discovery of another Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who wrote another, but entirely different, commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, entitled *Śravaṇāhlādinī*, and who appears also to have belonged to Bengal. For details about this work, see S. K. De, introd. to ed. of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, cited above, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvii. In one of

author's ancestry.[1] The second opening verse[2] distinctly states that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a disciple of Prabodhānanda, who is dear to the Bhagavat, is compiling the work for the satisfaction of Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa and Sanātana. In the fourth verse, again, mention is made of Kāśīvara and Lokanātha. It contains Namaskriyās to Caitanya at the commencement of each of its twenty chapters, called Vilāsas. It is a voluminous and almost exhaustive metrical compendium in Sanskrit of the corpus of Vaiṣṇava ritual and religious practices. We shall have occasion to deal with this work in detail ; but it may be said here that it is a work of patient and extensive Purāṇic and Tāntric erudition, and each rule is copiously illustrated and supported by large quotations from the Purāṇas, Saṃhitās, Tantras and other scriptures and sectarian religious treatises. It is, in brief, a complete guide to the Vaidhi Bhakti, in which devotional acts proceed from Vidhis or Śāstric injunctions. Some omissions, however, are

the opening verses the author bows to his Guru, named Nārāyaṇa, and in two of the concluding verses supplies information about himself. The name of the author's father is given as Bhaddat- (?Bṛhat- or Udyat-), phaṇa ; and we are informed that the commentary was composed to please the author's friend Vanamāli-dāsa and younger brother Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa. The Bengal origin of the commentary is indicated by the fact that, like the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā*, it follows the Bengal (as distinguished from the South Indian) recension of the text, and cites not only Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, but also the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, earlier than which last work (i.e., earlier than 1541 A.D.) it could not, like the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* again, have been composed. It follows the views of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism.—For the mention of yet another Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, belonging to Bengal, see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, v. 1938-39, p. 71.

1 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 2nd ed. in two parts, 1889, 1891, in Bengali characters, with the Digdarśanī commentary. The work is sometimes also called Bhagavad-bhakti-vilāsa, or simply Bhakti-vilāsa. A detailed survey of the work will be found below under ch. vi.

2 Cited above, p. 129, fn 1.

remarkable. No treatment is accorded to the purificatory rites, known as Saṃskāras,[1] although a section is devoted to initiation or Dīkṣā, in which the incorporation of Tāntric ideas is a noteworthy feature. While festivals connected with

1 The deficiency is sought to be remedied in a work called *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā*, which is undoubtedly a much later fabrication passed off in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name. It was published in Bengali characters in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava journal, *Sajjana-toṣaṇī*, vol. xv-xvii, by Kedar Nath Datta, and reprinted by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta 1935. MSS of the work are, however, noticed in Haraprasad Sastri, *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 397, no. 395 ; ii. pp. 209-10, no. 235. We shall deal with this work in ch. vi. below. The reprint contains another work, entitled *Saṃskāra-dīpikā*, meant as a supplement, on the duties of Saṃnyāsa, also ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa ; but the authority for this attribution is not known, and no MS of this work has yet been noticed. The *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā* contains no account of the author or his family, but the opening passages name Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author and pay homage to Caitanya. The fourteen Saṃskāras dealt with in this work begin with Vivāha, Garbhādhāna etc., and end with Samāvartana, following the order of treatment of Bhavadeva's *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* ; but it omits the important ceremony of Antyeṣṭi or Śrāddha as a ceremony forbidden to a true Vaiṣṇava. The Bhagavad-dharma being, in the author's opinion, superior to every other Dharma, the Smārta rules are excluded from application to a Vaiṣṇava (but Tāntric ceremonies and rules are preferred!) ; and yet the author acknowledges as his source the works of such Smārta writers as Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Govindānanda, Bhīma Bhaṭṭa, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, besides the older works of Manu, Hārīta etc. There are a few other minor works on Vaiṣṇava ritualism, but they are neither well known nor authoritative. Haraprasad Sastri notices (*Notices*, 2nd Series, iii, pp. 223-25, no. 343) a *Sāra-saṃgraha-dīpikā* by Rāmaprasāda Devaśarman, which among other miscellaneous Bhakti topics, deals generally with Dīkṣā and appears to have a section on Śrāddha, which is omitted by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. In the Calcutta Sanskrit College (*Descriptive Catalogue*, x, Calcutta 1907, pp. 65, 123, 141, 145, 154, nos. 52, 102, 114, 116, 130) there are anonymous Vaiṣṇava ritualistic works, entitled *Rādhikā-pūjā-vidhi* (folios 3), *Śrī-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-pūjā-paddhati-nibandha* (7 fol.), *Saṃkṣepa-bhakti-sādhana-paddhati* (17 fol.), *Vaiṣṇavāhnika-paddhati* (5 fol.), *Gaurāṅga-bhakta-vaiṣṇava-pūjā-paddhati* (5 fol.), all of which appear to be late works belonging to the Bengal school. A *Laghu*

deities other than Kṛṣṇa are excluded, an exception is made in favour of Śiva-rātri ; but the most important Vaiṣṇava festival of Rāsa-yātrā, which the Smārta Raghunandana also omits in his *Yātrā-tattva*, is conspicuous by the absence of all reference. It is also important to note that this ritual authority does not recognise the cult of Caitanya-worship or the worship of Caitanya's image. There are no directions for the construction of images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, although there are rules for those of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, and other forms of the deity. The work departs in many details from the accepted views of the sect. The Kṛṣṇa in this work is Caturbhuja Cakradhara, and not Dvibhuja Muralīdhara; and the Rādhā-cult does not figure as prominently as it should, Rādhā being even omitted in the Dhyāna of Kṛṣṇa. As the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is quoted by name in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (dated Śaka 1463=1541 A. D.), it must have been composed some time before that date.[1]

Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, ascribed to Rūpa Gosvāmin, is mentioned in *Proc. of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1865, p. 140, but as the list given there contains numerous wrong ascriptions, not much reliance can be placed on the entry. Some other Sanskrit ritualistic texts of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava sect are also registered in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad* (Calcutta 1935), but most of them are anonymous, modern and unimportant: *e.g. Viṣṇu-pūjā-vidhi* (p. 233 ; 4 folios), *Vaiṣṇavīya-pūjā-paddhati* (p. 234 ; 10 fol.), *Janmāṣṭamī-vrata-vidhi* (p. 126 ; 5 fol.), *Rādhāṣṭamī-vrata-vidhi* (p. 134 ; 4 fol.), etc. There is also in this collection (p. 122) an incomplete MS of *Kṛṣṇārcana-candrikā* of Rādhāmohana Śarman (dated Śaka 1776=1854 A.D.), which deals with topics like Dīkṣā and ceremonies connected with festivals like Janmāṣṭamī, Rāsa-yātrā etc. The author may be the same as the author of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-sudhārṇava*, who is said to have flourished in the early part of the 19th century. The *Bhakti-candrikā*, ascribed to Lokānanda Ācārya (ed. Rakhalananda Sastri of Śrīkhaṇḍa, Satyaratna Press 1920) deals generally with Caitanya-worship, but contains a great deal of ritualistic matter.

1 As we have stated above, the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* quotes this work of Rūpa Gosvāmin, as well as its supplement, the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* ; it was therefore written sometime after 1541 A.D.

The work must have become an authoritative source of the ritualism and devotional practices of the sect ; and its popularity is indicated by the fact that an abridged Bengali metrical adaptation was made by one Kānāi-dāsa, a manuscript of which (no. 1231) exists in the Dacca University Library.

On the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* there is a Sanskrit commentary, named *Digdarśanī*, which is attributed to Sanātana Gosvāmin ; but there is also the tradition that the original work itself was composed, not by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but by Sanātana. The story of its origin, as given by Narahari Cakravartin, relates[1] that the idea of composing a Vaiṣṇava Smṛti originated in the mind of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but the work was actually composed by Sanātana in Gopāla's name. Manohara-dāsa also believes[2] that Sanātana wrote the work itself, but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was responsible for the illustrative passages culled from

1 करिते वैष्णस्मृति हैल भट्टमने ।
सनातन गोस्वामी जानिला सेइ क्षणे ॥
गोपालेर नामे श्रीगोस्वामि सनातन ।
करिल श्रीहरिभक्तिविलास-वर्णन ॥

2 श्रीसनातन गोसाञि ग्रन्थ करिल ।
सर्वत्र आभोग भट्टगोसाञिर दिल ॥
श्रीरूप सनातन रघुनाथ दास ।
इहा सवाय सुख दिते हरिभक्तिर विलास ॥
संग्रह करिल श्रीभागवतप्रधान ।
सर्व पुराणेर वाक्य करिया सन्धान ॥

This is apparently a conjecture ; but an examination of the commentary does not appear to lend support to it. There is, for instance, a very long passage quoted in the commentary from the Matsya-purāṇa (covering 6 printed pages in small type) which might have been easily included among the numberless lengthy quotations in the text. Nityānanda-dāsa is not clear on the point ; but he says that at the command of Rūpa and Sanātana, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa undertook the work. After it was completed he gave it to Sanātana, who took it as his own ; but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa put his own Guru's name in it!

Purāṇas and other scriptures. As the statements of Narahari and Manohara are not always beyond question, the extraordinary reverence paid to Sanātana's learning and piety may be held responsible for this attribution. But Sanātana's authorship of both the text and its commentary is also recorded by no less an authority than his nephew and associate, Jīva Gosvāmin, in the list he gives of Sanātana's works at the end of the (*Laghu*) *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. This is also confirmed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who was a disciple of the Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana ; for he makes Caitanya teach a rapid summary (Madhya xxiv) of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* to Sanātana with an express command to write a Vaiṣṇava Smṛti on the basis of the outlines taught. Moreover, Kṛṣṇadāsa expressly ascribes this work to Sanātana in two passages (Madhya i. 35 ; Antya iv. 221). These testimonies cannot indeed be lightly set aside ; but in the text of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* itself, on the other hand, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship is unambiguously declared, and there is nothing to show that the opening verses, which declare it, are spurious. If Sanātana's authorship was known from 1582-83 A. D. (the date of the *Laghu-toṣaṇī*) and expressly recorded by Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa, there could be no point in gratuitously adding such verses in favour of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship ; and the very uneasiness of later authors, who never reject them, but try to explain them away, would imply their genuineness. If Manohara's proposed solution of the difficulty implies that Sanātana wrote an outline of the work, which Gopāla Bhaṭṭa elaborated with copious illustrative passages, the presumption is ingenious but is entirely without evidence.[1] That Sanātana had, besides writing the commentary, a direct connexion with the text, seems highly probable,

1 Equally unfounded and unconvincing is the suggestion of some modern writers (Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Vaiṣṇava Literature*, Calcutta University, 1922, p. 290, followed by Kennedy, *Chaitanya Movement*, Oxford University Press 1925, p. 137) that Sanātana's name was not officially associated with the work because his defection from Hinduism

even if we do dot know exactly what this connexion was ; but at the same time, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship, expressly stated in it, cannot be easily dismissed. It is undisputed that Sanātana, with his equally able brother Rūpa, was the

to Islam before becoming a Vaiṣṇava, had created a prejudice which stood in the way of its acceptance as an authoritative ritualistic work. Apart from the fact that there is no satisfactory evidence of Sanātana's alleged conversion to Muhammadanism (see above p. 97, note 2), we may assume from the testimony of orthodox records that Sanātana might have considered himself lowered in status because of his contact with and service in the Muhammadan court. But it is not intelligible why the alleged prejudice, arising from this circumstance, should have stood in the way of acceptance only of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which was a work on Ācāra fortified at every step by profuse citation from scriptural authorities, and did not stand in the way of acceptance of Sanātana's more doctrinal and more fundamental *Bhāgavatāmṛta* and *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, nor of his name being associated, officially and reverentially, with the works of Rūpa, Jīva, Kṛṣṇadāsa and others. If Sanātana's anthorship of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* was a matter of doubtful acceptance, how could have his authorship of its commentary been accepted ? Sanātana's supposed "impurity," therefore, could not have been the motive of the alleged suppressing of his name and the declaring of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship ; and there is no question of the genuineness of the verses which declare Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author. Sanātana was certainly a more important and authoritative writer of the group than Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. If there was any other reason (the question of "impurity" apart) for transferring authorship, the transfer would have been openly made from Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to Sanātana, and not otherwise ; and Sanātana's name would have occurred in the work itself as its author, instead of that of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. The supposition is unconvincing that Sanātana's authorship was suppressed by a deliberate addition (in the face of Jīva's express testimony) of verses naming Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author. It is also hardly amiable imagination which believes that Sanātana deliberately passed off his own composition in the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, or that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa appropriated, whatever may have been the reason, a work of Sanātana. This would be imputing a shrewd motive and unworthy act to the Gosvāmins in question, whose purity of intentions is otherwise never disputed. If it is a fact that the sect for some time looked askance at the injunctions laid down in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (Amar Nath Ray in *Indian Culture*, v, 1938-39, p. 202), it goes only to strengthen the point

acknowledged centre of inspiration of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava group at Vṛndāvana; but, if Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is presumed to have merely elaborated a previous work of Sanātana, it is extremely unlikely that he should have failed to acknowledge this basis of his labours and appropriated the work to himself, especially as he actually mentions that he wrote the work for the satisfaction of Sanātana and others. In a similar case, Jīva Gosvāmin does not fail to express his indebtedness to an outline prepared by an unnamed Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa (by which reference he is supposed to mean Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself), on which he based his elaborate *Ṣaṭ-saṃdarbha*. It seems probable, therefore, that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as stated in the work itself, was the actual author of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, but the attribution to Sanātana might have arisen from a kind of close collaboration, which will remain undetermined, between this doyen of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, in making this voluminous compilation.

From the above discussion it will be clear that the various legends and traditions about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa should be taken with extreme caution. Apart from pious belief, the following conclusions arise inevitably from the available facts:

(1) According to the description given of himself, the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who composed the ritualistic work *Kāla-kaumudī*,[1] as well as the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and *Rasika-rañjanī*[1] commentaries, was the son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and grand-

that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the real author; for some of the views, stated in the work itself, could not have been the strictly orthodox views of Sanātana, but of one who had some lingering Śrī-vaiṣṇava leanings. Sanātana's other works are never known to have met with disrespect. On the contrary, it is possible to argue that the legend of Sanātana's authorship may have been a pious afterthought meant to impart greater authoritativeness to a work which did not meet with the entire approval of the orthodox circle.

1 See above p. 136, footnote.

son of Nṛsiṃha, and belonged to Drāviḍa. It is not known what connexion he had with the Caitanya sect ; but if the Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda story is excluded, there are some facts in favour of his identification with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect. The absence of Namaskriyā to Caitanya in the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and other works, though suspicious in view of the profuse Namaskriyās in every chapter of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, is not decisive ; for the two Dūta-kāvyas, the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* and the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin do not also contain such Namaskriyā. The commentary *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā*, if not the other works, gives ample evidence that this Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa, was a devout Vaiṣṇava ; and we have already stated that there is hardly anything in it which does not subscribe to the tenets of Caitanyaism. At the very commencement, the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* refers, for instance, to the characteristic doctrine of the Bengal school that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the Avatārin, the supreme deity himself in his essential character. It also believes in the other important doctrine of the Bengal school that the deity possesses a supersensuous and blissful form, which is adolescent (Kiśora) quasi-human (Narākṛti) and always sporting at Vṛndāvana, and which is the highest object of adoration ; it is somewhat strange, on the other hand, that the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, as we have noted above, does not fully subscribe to this doctrine. With very minor modifications, the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* comments upon the Bengal recension of the text of the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, and does not accept the South Indian text, in spite of the author's declared Dravidian origin. It also quotes directly from the two authoritative Rasa-treatises of Rūpa Gosvāmin. Against these arguments in favour of identity of the two Gopāla Bhaṭṭas, the somewhat curious fact may be urged that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in spite of his homage to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as one of his Śikṣā-gurus, does not anywhere refer to or make use of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* in his own *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*. This circumstance, how-

ever, need not present a serious difficulty ; but it will be seen that the arguments for identity are not conclusive. They only prove that the author of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and possibly of the *Kāla-kaumudī* was a Vaiṣṇava who accepted the views of the Bengal school, and nothing more.

(2) There is, therefore, no direct or decisive evidence to identify him with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who was one of the six Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins of the Caitanya sect. The personal history of this Gosvāmin is at best scanty and fatuous ; his lineage, as given in the records of the sect is vague, conflicting and obviously legendary. In his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, the authorship of which also is shrouded in mystery, he describes himself as writing for the satisfaction of Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-dāsa, and as the Śiṣya of Prabodhānanda ; but he does not give his own ancestry or place of origin, as the other Gopāla Bhaṭṭa does in every work. The history of this Prabodhānanda is not clear ; and in the works ascribed to him he reflects strangely the views of Caitanya's Navadvīpa disciples rather those of Vṛndāvana! It is doubtful if he was (as alleged by Nityānanda, Monohara and Narahari) an uncle of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa ; for the story of Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda is suspiciously legendary and uncorroborated by the earlier records of the sect.

Exactly how and when the Gosvāmin Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was admitted into discipleship is, thus, uncertain. There is no record that he ever came to Caitanya at Puri. He must have survived Caitanya ; for he was already at Vṛndāvana when Kṛṣṇadāsa arrived. We are also told that when Śrīnivāsa Ācārya came to Vṛndāvana, he found Rūpa and Sanātana dead, but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Jīva Gosvāmin were still living. Śrīnivāsa is said to have become a disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, studied the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra with him and Jīva, and received the title of Ācārya from the latter.[1]

1 In the *Padyāvalī* we have only one verse (no. 38) assigned to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but see notes on Dākṣiṇātya in S. K. De's ed. of the

5. *Sanātana, Rūpa* and *Jīva*

Of the two brothers, Sanātana and Rūpa, and their nephew Jīva, whose literary productions far outweigh those of other Gosvāmins in range, depth, quality and magnitude, there exists a more detailed and reliable record. Jīva himself at the close of his abridgment (*Laghu-toṣaṇī*) of Sanātana's commentary on the *Bhāgavata*,[1] gives us the genealogy of the family, as well as a list of the principal works of Sanātana and Rūpa. This list, which can be generally corroborated from other sources, is quoted with approval in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, which together with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's biography and the *Prema-vilāsa*, supplies additional information about these three venerable Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana. From these accounts we learn that they were originally Karṇāṭa Brahmans,[2] who had migrated at about the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century and settled in Bengal. It is somewhat curious that the work of the four Gosvāmins, whose ancestors are said to have belonged to Karṇāṭa or the South, far excelled in extent and importance the work of the two who belonged strictly to Bengal. The previous history of the

Padyāvalī (Dacca 1934). Two Brajabuli songs (nos. 1088, 2833) are attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava anthology, *Pada-kalpataru*, compiled by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.

1 Printed at the end of the 10th Skandha of the Murshidabad (Radharaman Press) edition of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and also quoted in full in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*. In the Dacca University collection there is a complete MS of *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* (*laghu*), which agrees substantially with the printed text. This account by Jīva occurs at the end, after the colophon to Sanātana's work, as a supplement or epilogue. This portion is missing in the India Office MS no. 387-388 (Eggeling, *Catalogue*, vi, p. 1266), but is contained in the MS noticed in Mitra, *Notices*, vi, p. 290.

2 For other references to their being Brahmans, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 123 f. Yet, why is it that Sanātana is made by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to say repeatedly: नीचवंशे मोर जन्म (Antya iv. 28), नीचजाति देह मोर अत्यन्त असार (*ibid*, 6), मुइ नीचजाति किछु ना जानों आचार (Madhya xxiv. 320) etc ?

family of Rūpa and Sanātana is thus given by Jīva. There was a prince of Karṇāṭa, named Sarvajña Jagadguru of the Bharadvāja-gotra of Brahmans, who is said to have added to his other princely qualities a knowledge of the three Vedas. His son Aniruddha, who succeeded him, was also a renowned prince, but he fancied only the Yajur-veda. Of Aniruddha's two sons, Rūpeśvara and Harihara, by his two wives, the first became an accomplished scholar, but the second took to evil ways and turned out his elder brother from his principality. Rūpeśvara, who fled to some country in the east, had a son, named Padmanābha, who was well versed in the Yajur-veda and the Upaniṣads. Padmanābha settled on the banks of the Ganges at Navahaṭṭa (modern Naihati, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*), performed a Yajña (sacrifice) and had five sons, of whom Mukunda was the youngest. On account of a quarrel with his relations Mukunda left Navahaṭṭa and went to Vaṅga (East Bengal) settling, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, at Fatoyabad, near Jessore, under the Bāklā Candradvīpa Pergunna. Mukunda had a son named Kumāra. Kumāra appears to have several sons of whom we are concerned here with three ; to them Caitanya gave the names of Sanātana, Rūpa and Anupama.[1]

The eldest Sanātana appears to have learnt Sanskrit from (Ratnākara?) Vidyāvācaspati,[2] a scholar of Navadvīpa, who is said to have been a younger brother of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and whom Sanātana reverentially mentions as his

1 Anupama's original name is given as Vallabha, but our information is uncertain with regard to the original names of Rūpa and Sanātana. It is sometimes said that their original names were Amara and Santoṣa, but there is nothing about this in the earlier records of the sect.

2 On Ratnākara Vidyāvācaspati, see Gopinath Kaviraj, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69. He is said to have written a commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka* of Pakṣadhara.—It is noteworthy that in Jīva's account Padmanābha is said to have been honoured by prince Danujamardana-deva.

Guru in the opening verses of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*.[1] He became a high official (a Mahāmantrin, we are told) at the Muhammadan court at Gauḍa, acquired considerable wealth and power, and settled with his brothers at the village of Rāmakeli, near Gauḍa, where he met Caitanya for the first time. Rūpa also appears to have held some official position at the same court. Although Sanātana and Rūpa were widely known by their Muhammadan name or title of Sāker Malik and Dabir Khās respectively, before Caitanya gave them new names, there is no evidence to show that they actually adopted the Muhammadan faith. On the contrary, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* tells us that they invited a colony of Karṇāṭa Brahmans to settle near Rāmakeli and apparently kept up their inherited social and religious practices, only considering themselves impure because of their contact with the Mlecchas. They kept themselves in touch with the Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvīpa, and had from the beginning an obviously Vaiṣṇava disposition. Rūpa's *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*, apparently composed in 1495 A.D. before he met Caitanya, as well as his two early *Dūta-kāvyas*, bears testimony not only to their retention of ancestral faith but also to their early interest in Kṛṣṇa-līlā. At any rate, their anomalous position, as well as their innate Vaiṣṇava proclivities, must have made them spiritually dissatisfied, and they welcomed Caitanya's presence at Rāmakeli as a means of escape and salvation. After some

1 B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 and 131, is certainly incorrect in thinking that all the six persons to whom Sanātana pays homage in the two stanzas (भट्टाचार्यं सार्वभौमं विद्यावाचस्पतीन् गुरून्। वन्दे विद्याभूषणं च गौड़देशविभूषणम्॥ वन्दे श्रीपरमानन्दभट्टाचार्यं रसप्रियम्। रामभद्रं तथा वाणीविलासं चोपदेशकम्॥) were all his Gurus; for the word *gurūn* in the passage expressly qualifies *vidyāvācaspatīn* only, and the plural is honorific. Majumdar holds that Caitanya himself was Sanātana's Dīkṣā-guru; this may have been so, but the passages cited in support are hardly conclusive.

time Rūpa[1] left home with his younger brother Anupama (*alias* Vallabha) and joined Caitanya at Allahabad on the latter's way back from Vṛndāvana. After ten days' stay Rūpa wanted to accompany Caitanya to Benares, but he was directed to go to Vṛndāvana. Sanātana came to Caitanya at Benares, and requested Caitanya's permission to accompany him to Puri ; but he was also directed to go to Vṛndāvana first and then come to him at Puri. Having visited Vṛndāvana, Rūpa left for Puri with his brother Anupama, who, however, died on the way in Bengal on the banks of the Ganges. Rūpa stayed for about ten months at Puri and returned to Vṛndāvana. Caitanya is represented as giving him at Allahabad, as well as his brother Sanātana at Benares, detailed instructions regarding the composition of various Śāstric works for the sect. Soon after Rūpa left, Sanātana also visited Caitanya at Puri. After these short visits, Sanātana and Rūpa settled at Vṛndāvana till their death, carrying on with selfless devotion the laborious work which was entrusted to them by Caitanya himself and for which they were eminently fitted by their great learning[2] and piety. Jīva tells us that such was their sincerity of devotion that Kṛṣṇa revealed himself to them on one occasion as a young Gopa boy bringing milk to them.[3]

Jīva Gosvāmin was the only son of their untimely deceased brother Anupama. He must have been very young when his uncles turned hermits and his father died. After staying at home at Fatoyabad for some time, he was also filled with the same desire for ascetic life, and the story of his Vairāgya is told

1 The story of Rūpa and Sanātana's Vairāgya is romantically told in the *Prema-vilāsa.*

2 Caitanya himself is reported (*C-C*, Antya i. 200) to have said that "there is not a greater learned man than Sanātana" and his brother ; and it was this qualification which probably led him to choose them among all his followers for the special task.

3 *gopāla-bālaka-vyājād yayoḥ sākṣād babhūva ha/*
sākṣāc-chrīyuta-gopālaḥ kṣīra-haraṇa-līlayā// (*Laghu-toṣaṇī*).

picturesquely in the *Bhakti-ratnākara.*[1] After a short visit to Nityānanda at Navadvīpa,[2] he left for Benares, where he is said to have studied under Madhusūdana Vācaspati, who appears to have been an accomplished grammarian, Smārta and Vedāntist.[3] He joined his uncles at Vṛndāvana, where he lived thereafter the arduous life of a recluse and scholar. He must have been carefully instructed by them in Bhakti-śāstra, and afterwards taken in as a worthy collaborator in their literary efforts for the cause of Caitanyaism. With the exception of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja who, however, mentions Jīva only a few times[4], other biographers of Caitanya are silent about him. Jīva's birth-date is uncertain, but he does not appear to have seen Caitanya. Towards the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, however, his reputation was well established ; and it was through him and his pupils Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, Narottama and Śyāmānanda, that the Bhakti-śāstra of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins was widely propagated and established in Bengal. Jīva became the highest court of appeal in doctrinal matters so long as he lived. The Caitanyaism, as it is known to-day, is mainly the product of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva and their disciple Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, its metaphysics being mainly Jīva's

1 Also in the spurious 23rd chapter of the *Prema-vilāsa.*

2 *C-C,* Antya iv. 232-235.

3 He appears to be identical with the Madhusūdana Vācaspati who wrote an *Advaita-maṅgala* (Oppert, *Lists,* no. 3422), an *Aśauca-saṃkṣepa* (Mitra, *Notices,* ii, no. 987) and a *Madhumatī* commentary on the *Mugdha-bodha* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue,* nos. 1078, 1164). He appears to have been a Bengali, and the colophon to the *Aśauca-saṃkṣepa* calls him a Mahāmahopādhyāya. In Haraprasad Sastri's *Notices,* ii, nos. 93, 201, 225, three Smṛti works, entitled respectively *Durgārcā-kāla-niṣkarṣa, Vrata-kāla-niṣkarṣa* and *Śrāddha-kāla-nirūpaṇa* are ascribed to him. He could not have been the famous Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, author of the *Advaita-siddhi* ; see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 150-151.

4 Adi i. 36, iii. 4, x. 85 ; Madhya i. 42-45, xviii. 50 ; Antya iv. 228-235.

contribution. We have already noted that, like most great religious teachers, Caitanya appears to have refrained from discussing metaphysical problems (or writing about them) with his followers, who took his metaphysics according to their own light. But the view of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins ultimately prevailed.[1]

The following list of Vaiṣṇava treatises, composed by Sanātana and Rūpa respectively, is given by Jīva:

Sanātana's works:[2] (*i*) (*Bṛhad-*) *bhāgavatāmṛta* (with its *Digdarśanī* commentary)[3], (*ii*) *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, on the authorship of which we have spoken above, with its commentary entitled also **Digdarśanī*, (*iii*) *Līlā-stava*, also called

1 It is our impression (and the reasons have been given above) that Caitanya could not have been such an anti-Śaṃkara as depicted by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. The Kavirāja, however, is careless enough to give us a rough idea as to what Caitanya's metaphysics could possibly have been, when he makes Caitanya ridicule Vallabha Bhaṭṭa for differing from Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* and say that Śrīdhara was 'Jagad-guru'. In his commentary on Jīva's *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, Rādhamohana Gosvāmin says that the Śaṃkara sect was divided into two main branches—(*i*) the Smārtas, possibly the pure Advaitins who did not care about Bhakti and (ii) the Bhāgavatas, who tempered the idea of Mukti with Bhakti ; and that Śrīdhara belonged to the latter branch. Possibly Caitanya was a Śaṃkarite Saṃnyāsin of the Śrīdhara type, although he was far ahead of Śrīdhara in what he understood to be the implications of Bhakti, and the Bhakti, which he practised may have been very much like what Rūpa and Jīva say about it. For Śrīdhara's treatment of Bhakti see his brief comment on Bhāgavata x. 43. 17.

2 *athāgraja-kṛteṣvagryaṃ śrīla-bhāgavatāmṛtam/*
hari-bhakti-vilāsaś ca taṭṭīkā-dikpradarśanī//
līlāstava-ṭippaṇī ca seyaṃ vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī/
yā saṃkṣiptā mayā kṣudra-jīvenāpi tadajñayā//. —Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja also gives a general list of Rūpa's and Sanātana's works in *C-C* (Madhya i, and Antya iv), which is not exhaustive, but which substantially agrees with Jīva's enumeration.

3 Ed. Nityasvarup Brahmachari, Vṛndāvan 1905 (in Devanāgarī characters).

Daśama-carita by Narahari (*Bhakti-ratnākara*, p. 57) and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*C-C*, Madhya i. 30-31)—now lost, and (*iv*) a commentary on the 10th Skandha of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, entitled *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, of which an abridged (**Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* or briefly *Laghu-toṣaṇī*) edition was prepared in Śaka 1504 (=1582 A. D.) by Jīva himself.[1]

Rūpa's works[2]: (*i*) *Haṃsa-dūta* (Kāvya), (*ii*) *Uddhava-*

1 On this abridgment, see below. Works mentioned under Sanātana Gosvāmin in Aufrecht, i, 693a are almost all instances of mistaken or doubtful ascription, with the exception of (*Bṛhad-*) *bhāgavatāmṛta* and *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* (wrongly entered as *Viṣṇu-toṣaṇī*). No descriptions of *Bhakti-bindu* and *Ujjvala-rasa-kaṇā* mentioned in the *Oudh Catalogue* are available ; but they cannot be Sanātana's. They look suspiciously like summaries of the two works of Rūpa's on Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, and are probably the same as Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu and Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa, which are summaries of Rūpa's two works by Viśvanātha Cakravartin. The *Yoga-śataka-vyākhyāna*, quoted by Rāyamukuṭa as Sanātana's, cannot be assigned to our Sanātana ; for Rāyamukuṭa, whose *Pada-candrikā* commentary on *Amara-kośa* was composed in 1431 A.D., must have been an earlier writer. The remaining works entered by Aufrecht are either by Rūpa, Jīva or Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. The mistakes arise, of course, from the insufficient or wrong descriptions given in the original catalogues, as well as from wrong scribal ascriptions in the MSS themselves. Instances of such confusion are frequent with regard to the works of the six Gosvāmins, and some have been noted in S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 1st. ed. i, p. 255, and in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, x, p. 117. Some have also been noted below.

2 *tayor anuja-sṛṣṭeṣu kāvyaṃ śrī-haṃsa-dūtakam/*
śrīmad-uddhava-saṃdeśaś chando'ṣṭādaśakaṃ tathā//
stavaś cotkalikāvallī govinda-birudāvalī/
premendu-sāgarādyaś ca bahavaḥ supratiṣṭhitāḥ//
vidagdha-lalitāgrākhya-mādhavaṃ nāṭaka-dvayam/
bhāṇikā dāna-kelyākhyā rasāmṛta-yugaṃ punaḥ//
mathurā-mahimā padyāvalī nāṭaka-candrikā/
saṃkṣipta-śrī-bhāgavatāmṛtam ete ca saṃgrahāḥ//.—A survey of Rūpa's literary works will be found below under ch. vii.

saṃdeśa (Kāvya)[1] (*iii*) *Aṣṭādaśa-cchandas*[2] (*iv*) *Utkalikā-vallarī, Govinda-birudāvalī, Premendu-sāgara,* etc., all Stavas or Stotras. These, as well as Aṣṭādaśa-cchandas, were collected together, apparently sometime later, by Jīva himself under the name **Stava-mālā* (total number of pieces is sixty-four). (*v*) **Vidagdha-mādhava* (Drama),[3] (*vi*) **Lalita-mādhava* (Drama), (*vii*) **Dāna-keli-kaumudī* (Bhāṇikā), (*viii*) and (*ix*) **Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*[4] and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*[5] (Bhakti-rasa-śāstra)[6] (*x*) *Mathurā-mahiman* or *-māhātmya,* now said to be included in the *Varāha-purāṇa* (not separately published); a MS[7] of this work is noticed in Haraprasad Sastri, *Notices,* 2nd Series, p. 264, no. 265. (*xi*) **Padyāvalī* (Anthology),[8] (*xii*)

1 These two works have been published very often in India. They have been also printed in Devanāgarī in the Haeberlin, Kāvya-saṃgraha, pp. 323 f and in Jivananda Vidyasagar, Kāvya-saṃgraha, Calcutta 1888, pts. ii, pp. 441-507 and iii, pp. 215-275.

2 It is not clear what this work was. The *C-C* (Madhya i. 39) speaks of it as Āṣṭādaśa-līlā-cchandas. From Śl. 2 of the *Nandotsavādi-carita,* ascribed to Rūpa in the collected *Stava-mālā*:

nandotsavādayas tāḥ kaṃsa-vadhāntā harer mahālīlāḥ/
chandobhir lalitāṅgair aṣṭādaśabhir nirūpyante//

it appears that the twenty-three short pieces, beginning from the *Nandotsavādi-carita* and ending with *Raṅgasthala-krīḍā* (i.e. *Kaṃsa-vadha*) included in the *Stava-mālā,* were known and described by Jīva as *Aṣṭādaśa-cchandas.* The *Gītāvalī,* included also in the *Stava-mālā,* is apparently by Rūpa, and not by Sanātana.

3 Also ed. Kāvyamālā 81, Bombay 1903.

4 Also ed. Damodara Gosvamin, Acyuta Granthamālā Series, Benares 1932.

5 Also edited in Kāvyamālā 9ˢ, Bombay 1913.

6 Aufrecht misunderstands the description *rasāmṛta-yugaṃ* of these two works (i.e. two works on the Rasa-śāstra) in Jīva's enumeration, and enters Rasāmṛta as two poems by Rūpa.

7 The MS of this work, ascribed to Rūpa Gosvāmin, in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (*Descriptive Catalogue,* no. 1152, p. 230), describes in Śloka metre Vṛndāvana in relation to Kṛṣṇa; but this MS which we examined is incomplete.

8 Also critically ed. S. K. De. with introd. and appendices, Dacca University Oriental Publ. Series, Dacca 1934.

**Nāṭaka-candrikā* (Dramaturgy)[1] and (*xiii*) **Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* (Theology), which is not an abridgment of Sanātana's work of the same name, but an independent work.

With the exception of the questionable ascription of *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, of which we have spoken above, the lists are fairly correct,[2] and enumerate all the important works of Sanātana and Rūpa. But the *Bhakti-ratnākara* quotes also some other traditional Sanskrit verses[3] which add four more works (making a total of seventeen) to the list of Rūpa's literary efforts:

(*i*) *Śrī-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, both Bṛhat and Laghu. This work is better known as **Rāḍhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* and has been printed at Murshidabad ;[4] it is said to exist in Bṛhat and Laghu versions. (*ii*) *Prayuktākhyāta-candrikā*, apparently a grammatical work, dealing with verbs, but no information is available about it. (*iii*) *Kṛṣṇa-janma-tithi-vidhi*. Nothing is known about this work, but it may be the same work as noticed by Aufrecht in his *Leipzig Catalogue*, no. 621, entitled *Kṛṣṇa-janma-tithi-vidhi*. The author's name does not appear on the manuscript which consists of 22 folios, but the opening verse says that it was composed at the direction of the Lord (*prabhūṇāṃ vinideśataḥ*), by which honorific

1 Some account of this work will be found in S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. i, p. 253, 256.

2 As marked by asterisk, most of these are printed by the Radharaman Press at Berhampur in Bengali characters and published at Murshidabad, with the exception of those which are noted as having been printed at Vṛndavan or of which editions are also publised in the Kāvyamālā series of the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay or elsewhere. All the Bengal editions, unless otherwise marked, are as a rule printed in Bengali characters.

3 The additional list is ascribed to Jīva's disciple, Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikārin. It mentions *Stava-mālā* compiled by Jīva later on.

4 At the Radharaman Press as noted above. The genuineness of this work is very doubtful: see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 141. The work is dated Śaka 1472=1550 A.D. ; if so, why is it not mentioned in Jīva's list compiled in 1582 A.D.?

term Rūpa often refers to Sanātana. Also (*iv*) *Aṣṭakālika-ślokāvalī*, consisting of eleven verses, which Rūpa is said to have given to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja for elaborating.[1] This must have been the basis of Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, which deals with the same theme, and which in xxiii. 94 appears to refer to some such work by Rūpa (*śrī-rūpa-darśita-diśā likhitāṣṭakālyā/ śrī-rādhikeśa-kṛta-keli-tatir mayeyam*). Haraprasad Sastri in his *Notices* (2nd Series i, p. 418, no. 414) mentions a work entitled *Smaraṇa-maṅgalaikādaśa* which, however, does not consist of eleven but thirty-five verses, but the colophon of which says: *iti śrīmad-rūpa-gosvāminā viracitaṃ śrī-rādhā-kṛṣṇayor aṣṭa-kālika-ślokāvalī-smaraṇa-maṅgalaṃ samāptam.*[2] (*v*) Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa,

1 वैष्णव-इच्छाय एकादश श्लोक कैल ।
कृष्णदास कविराजे विस्तारिते दिल ॥
अष्टकाललीला ताते अति रसायन ।
भाग्यवन्त जन से करये आस्वादन ॥

(*Bhakti-ratnākara*).

2 The following works are sometimes found ascribed to Rūpa, but their authenticity is extremely doubtful: (i) *Upadeśāmṛta*, consisting of 43 verses, which give arguments for and against asceticism, supposed to have been addressed to Jīva (Mitra, *Notices*, viii, p. 13, no. 2560). (ii) *Gaṅgāṣṭaka*, eight stanzas in praise of Gaṅgā-devī, daughter of Nityānanda (Mitra *Notices*, iv, p. 203, no. 1628). According to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Rūpa met Nityānanda both at Rāmakeli (Madhya i, 173-4) and at Puri (Antya i, 152); but it is curious that Rūpa never mentions Nityānanda, although he speaks of Advaita. Raghunātha also omits Nityānanda's name, but includes Advaita's. Only Sanātana, in the Maṅgala-ślokas of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, pays homage to Nityānanda. It is extremely unlikely, therefore, Rūpa should have written anything on Nityānanda or his family. (iii) *Śikṣā-daśaka* (Roth's *Tübingen Catalogue*, 10). (iv) *Sādhana-paddhati* (Mitra, *Notices*, ix, p. 55, no. 2842), consisting of only two folios, on Rādhā-kṛṣṇa worship. But the colophon merely says: *śrī-rūpa-gosvāmyukta-sādhana-paddhati*, and not *śrī-rūpa-gosvāmi-kṛta°*. This may or may not be the same as *Sādhanāmṛta*, ascribed to Rūpa, in A. V. Kathvate's *Report* (1904), p. 22, no. 314. Some of Aufrecht's entries in i. 533 are merely separate

in his commentary on Rūpa's *Govinda-birudāvalī*, speaks of a *Biruda-lakṣaṇa* by Rūpa, which discussed the metrical and other characteristics of a Biruda-kāvya.[1] Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja also, in his enumeration of Rūpa's works, speaks of गोविन्दविरुदावली आर ताहार लक्षण. This appears to be the recently published work *Sāmānya-birudāvalī-lakṣaṇa*.[2]

Two copies of a commentary on Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*, entitled *Tātparya-dīpikā*, by Sanātana Gosvāmin, are noticed by Eggeling in his *India Office Catalogue* (vii, pp. 1422-23, no. 1584 and 1570). This appears to be a genuine work, which is perhaps omitted in the above list as being non-religious, but which Sanātana might have composed before he began his theological labours.

Jīva Gosvāmin was a more prolific, versatile and voluminous writer, and it is difficult to give a complete list of his works. The enumeration of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (Madhya, i ; Antya, vi) is very brief, but the *Bhakti-ratnākara* cites some traditional Sanskrit verses which assign more than twenty different works to Jīva. Most of his works, however, are

mention of the Stotras (of which separate MSS are available), included in Rūpa's *Stava-mālā*, e.g. Utkalikā-vallarī, Kārpaṇya-pañjikā, Govinda-birudāvalī, Caitanyāṣṭaka, Premendu-sāgara, Mukunda-muktāvalī, (but not its commentary which is anonymous, see Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue*, vii. p. 1469, no. 1184g/3896), Yamunāṣṭaka. Other entries are wrong attributions, e.g. Paramātma-saṃdarbha, Prīti-saṃdarbha and Hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa all of which belong to Jīva ; Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru, Vilāpa-kusumāñjali and Vrajarāja-stava are Raghu-nātha-dāsa's, included in his *Stavāvalī*. Similarly, in Aufrecht, iii, 113 b, Keśavāṣṭaka is one of the stotras of Rūpa's *Stava-mālā*, separately mentioned. The Rasāmṛta-śeṣa in *Ulwar Catalogue* 1077 is not Sanātana's but Jīva's.

1 Viśvanātha, for the first time, defines it in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* thus: *gadya-padyamayī rāja-stutir birudam ucyate* ; but from the specimens it appears to be an exercise in metrical and rhetorical skill in weaving Śabdālaṃkāras!

2 Printed by Haridas Das, Navadvīpa 1941, along with Jīva's *Gopāla-birudāvalī*.

commentaries, abstracts or supplements, elucidating the learned treatises of his uncles, who found in him a very apt and learned interpreter. Jīva's authentic works, arranged according to their subject-matter, may be given as follows:

(*i*) Grammar: (*a*) **Hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa* (Bṛhat and Laghu), a compilation in which all the rules and illustrations of Sanskrit grammar are associated, in the true sectarian spirit, with the names of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā or their Gaṇas, and therefore made specially suitable to devout Vaiṣṇavas, who by reading it would realise the double purpose of learning grammatical rules and reciting the blessed names. (*b*) *(Dhātu-)sūtra-mālikā*, which is probably a Dhātu-pāṭha supplement (described as Dhātu-saṃgraha) of the above, but of which no information is available.

(*ii*) Vaiṣṇava Kāvyas: (*a*) **Gopāla-campū*,[1] a voluminous Campū in prose and verse, divided into Pūrva in 33 Pūraṇas and Uttara in 37 Puraṇas, which give a poetical-mystical treatment of the life of Kṛṣṇa. (*b*) **Saṃkalpa-kalpa-druma*, a half-philosophical, half-poetical work on Vaiṣṇava doctrine, illustrated by references to the Kṛṣṇa-līlā, in three parts, respectively entitled Janmādi-līlā, Nitya-līlā, and Sarvartu-līlā, with a concluding Phala-niṣpatti. The work must have been written at Vṛndāvana when Jīva was very old (*vṛndāraṇye jarañ jīvah*, i. 4), even after the completion of the two parts of his *Gopāla-campū*, which are mentioned (in i. 264). (*c*) *Mādhava-mahotsava*, a Kāvya in nine Ullāsas, dealing with the Abhiṣeka of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa and the festivity consequent upon it.[2] (*d*) *Gopāla-birudāvalī*,[3] a small Biruda-kāvya of panegyrics on the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa.

1 Ed. Rasavihari Samkhyatirtha, in five parts, Berhampur 1910. An account of Jīva's literary works will be found below under ch. vii.

2 Ed. Haridas Das, Haribole Kutir, Poḍāghāṭ, Navadvīpa 1941 in Bengali characters. The work is dated Śaka 1477 (*sapta-sapta-manu-śāke*)=1555 A.D. The work is mentioned in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* list of Jīva's works.

3 Printed along with *Sāmanya-birudāvalī-lakṣaṇa* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, by Haridas Das, Navadvīpa 1941.

(*iii*) Rasa-śāstra: (*a*) *Rasāmṛta-śeṣa*, mentioned in the *Ulwar Catalogue* 1077, may be Jīva's, but wrongly attributed there to Sanātana. This work appears to have been recently recovered and printed ;[1] it is a short rhetorical supplement (based chiefly on Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*) to Rūpa's two works on the subject. (*b-c*) commentaries entitled **Durgama saṃgamanī* and **Locana-rocanī*[2] respectively on Rūpa's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*.

(*iv*) Vaiṣṇava Ritualism: *Kṛṣṇārcā-dīpikā*, apparently on the modes of Kṛṣṇa-worship. Nothing is known of this work.[3]

(*v*) Vaiṣṇava Theology: (*a-e*) commentaries on the *Gopālatāpanī-upaniṣad*, on the **Brahma-saṃhitā*,[4] on the *Yoga-sārastava* of the *Padma-purāṇa*, on the Gāyatrī-māhātmya of the *Agni-purāṇa*,[5] and on the sections on Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-pada-cihna of the *Padma-purāṇa*. (*f*) a commentary, entitled **Krama-saṃdarbha*, on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, included in the Murshidabad edition of the text. (*g*) An abridgment (Laghu) of Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavata*, prepared at the latter's command.[6]

1 Ed. Haridas Das, Haribole Kutir, Navadvīpa 1941 in Bengali characters.

2 Also edited along with the text in the Kāvyamālā 95.

3 An anonymous *Kṛṣṇārcā-dīpikā* is mentioned in Aufrecht i. 124 a.

4 The name of the commentary on the *Brahma-saṃhitā* does not occur in the printed text, but in the MS noticed by Eggeling (*India Office Catalogue*, iv, p. 820, no. 199) the name is given as *Digdarśanī*, though it is wrongly attributed to Rūpa. The opening verse which refers to *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* would hardly leave any doubt as to the authorship. Cf. Mitra, *Notices*, ii, no. 691.

5 Ed. Haridas Das, as appendix to his ed. of Jīva's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-śeṣa* (see above).

6 The original work (*Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*) does not appear to have been printed fully, for the printed work in the Murshidabad ed., as well as most manuscripts, appear to represent the *Laghu-toṣaṇī* compiled by Jīva.

(*vi*) Vaiṣṇava Philosophy: *Bhāgavata-saṃdarbha*, consisting of six elaborate Saṃdarbhas, viz. **Tattva-*, **Bhagavat-*, **Paramātma-*. *Kṛṣṇa-*, *Bhakti-* and *Prīti-*,[1] which give the first systematic exposition of the entire philosophical dogmatics of the Bengal school. (*b*) *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, a brief exposition on the first four of the above Saṃdarbhas (Anuvyākhyā),[2] but really a summary and supplement to them. No mention is made of this work in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* list of Jīva's works, but neither this list nor that of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, as indicated by the word *ādayaḥ* has any pretension to being exhaustive.[3]

1 All the six Saṃdarbhas are published in Devanāgarī characters by Shyamalal Gosvami (Calcutta, Śaka 1812=A.D. 1890). The *Tattva*°, *Bhagavat*°, *Paramātma*° have been printed by the Radharaman Press with a Bengali translation and with the Sanskrit commentary of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa on the *Tattva-saṃdarbha* only. The *Tattva*° has also been printed in Devanāgarī characters by Nityasvarup Brahmachari (Calcutta 1919), by Satyananda Gosvami (with Bengali translation, Calcutta B.S. 1318=1911 A.D.). The *Bhagavat*° has also been printed, with a Bengali translation, by Satyananda Gosvami (Calcutta B.S. 1333=1926 A.D.). The *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* has been printed, with a Bengali commentary, by Prangopal Gosvami from Nadia (1925); as also the *Prīti*° (1929). The *Prīti*° has also been published in Devanāgarī characters by Shyamalal Gosvami (Calcutta, 1901). Only a few fascicules of the *Bhakti-saṃdarbha* have so far been published with a Bengali commentary by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta. Good MSS of these works exist in the Dacca University Library; and a critical edition of the Saṃdarbhas is desirable. A survey of the six Saṃdarbhas will be found below under ch. v.

2 Ed. Rasikmohan Vidyabhusan, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta 1920, with a Bengali translation.

3 With the exception of those noted, all the works of Jīva have been printed at the Radharaman Press, Berhampur, in Bengali characters and with Bengali translation (as indicated by asterisk). Aufrecht in his entries under Jīva Gosvāmin in i. 207a is often misled by wrong identifications or insufficient descriptions of the original catalogues on which he had to rely. Jīva wrote only the commentary on Brahma-saṃhitā and not the text itself; the Muktā-caritra and Stava-mālā are by Raghunātha-dāsa and Rūpa respectively. The Sāra-saṃgraha,

With regard to the exact dates of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, no authentic information is available ; but from their relation to Caitanya and from the dates of composition recorded at the end of some of their own works we can approximately fix the period of their literary activity. Rūpa Gosvāmin's two Duta-kāvyas mentioned above were probably composed before his conversion, as there is no Namaskriyā or reference to Caitanya in them. The *Padyāvalī*, which is cited by name in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* and *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, was probably also an early compilation, which may have been recast or added to before the composition of these three works.[1] It does not also give any Namaskriyā or reference to Caitanya, But it gives all the eight verses of the *Śikṣāṣṭaka* with the subscription Śrī-bhagavataḥ. It does not also give verses from any of Rūpas dramas, which have been very profusely utilised for illustrative verses in his two works on Rasa-śāstra mentioned above, as well as in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā*. The *Padyāvalī* in its turn quotes verses from the following Stotras, included in his *Stava-mālā* viz. *Govinda-birudāvalī*, *Vṛndāvana-goṿatsa-cāraṇādi-līlā* and *Mathurāṣṭaka*, which must have been even earlier. Some

noticed in Mitra, *Notices*, iv. pp. 303-4, no. 1722, appears to be a late metrical compilation on the Bhakti-rasa-śāstra wrongly ascribed to Jīva. In its opening and concluding verses Jīva's name does not appear ; it is given only in the colophon. The opening verses, again, are directly plagiarised from other well known works, e.g. the first verse=verse no. 4 of Rūpa's *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* ; the second=one of the concluding verses of Raghunātha-dāsa's *Muktā-caritra* etc. The authenticity of the attribution of the work to Jīva, therefore, is questionable, especially as its contents merely summarise well known views. Aufrecht in i. 208a assigns the Gopāla-campū to one Jīvarāja, son of Kāmarāja (not Kāmarūpa) Sūri ; this is obviously a mistake, which originated from Mitra's *Notices*, i, p. 40, no. 72. Several other apocryphal works are sometimes ascribed to Jīva, but their genuineness is extremely doubtful.

1 For a discussion of the probable date of this compilation, see S. K. De, in *IHQ* x, 1934, pp. 311-312.

of Rūpa's other works, however, are expressly dated. His *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*, which professes to have been written at Nandīśvara for the pleasure of some dear friend living on the banks of the Kuṇḍa, appears to bear the earliest date Śaka 1417=1495 A. D.[1] If this date is correct, then the drama

1 *grathitā sumanaḥ-sukhadā yasya nideśena bhāṇikā-srag iyam/ tasya mama priya-suhṛdaḥ kuṇḍa-taṭīṃ kṣaṇam alaṃkurutām// gate manu-śate śāke candrasvara-samanvite/ nandīśvare nivasatā bhāṇikeyaṃ vinirmitā//*. This verse occurs not only in the printed text, but also in Haraprasad Sastri, *Notices*, i, no. 164 and in *Descriptive Cat. of Madras Govt. Orient. MSS Library*, xxi, p. 8407, no. 12521. The date cannot be Śaka 1471=1549 A.D. ; for the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* is cited in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*° composed in Śaka 1463=1541 A.D. The date of this work makes it impossible that Rūpa could have written this drama, as the commentary explains, for his friend Raghunātha-dāsa. On the other hand, there is nothing improbable, apart from this date, in the explanation that Nandīśvara means Vṛndāvana and Kuṇḍa-taṭī refers to the Rādhā-kuṇḍa in Vṛndāvana where Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa's friend, resided. The verse which contains this date is indeed placed after the colophon, but this fact, though suspicious, is not conclusive, and the verse cannot be rejected lightly ; for the anonymous person living by the Kuṇḍa-taṭī is also distinctly referred to in the body of the text itself in the verse *rādhā-kuṇḍa-taṭī-kuṭīra*°. In verse 5 of the drama, again the description of the devotional ecstasy of the Bhakta can apply very well to the familiar description of such ecstasies of Caitanya himself. It can be supposed that the work was actually composed as early as the date given, but that it was later on revised (with the addition of the verse 5 and the verse *rādhā-kuṇḍa-taṭī-kuṭīra*°) and dedicated to Raghunātha-dāsa ; but the verse containing the date, if genuine, makes two things clear : (*i*) that at the time of composition the author was actually living at Nandīśvara, which was apparently Vṛndāvana and (*ii*) that the work was actually *composed* (*grathitā*) (and not revised merely) at the instance of the friend residing at Kuṇḍa-taṭī. This latter fact is also indicated by the verse *rādhā-kuṇḍa-taṭī-kuṭīra*° ; and there is nothing to show that it was a later addition. The problem of the correctness of the date given by the verse in question is, therefore, not free from difficulty. The internal evidence of the text, as discussed above, makes it probable that the work was composed some time after 1553 A.D., i.e., after Rūpa and Raghunātha-dāsa settled at Vṛndāvana, but before 1541 as it is cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*°. Bimanbihari Majumdar (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 42,

must have been written long before the author met Caitanya, who himself could not have been more than ten years old at that time. As such, it might have been one of his earliest works. This appears to be corroborated by the fact that while his other dramas pay opening homage to Caitanya, the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* makes no direct reference to him.[1] Next comes the *Vidagdha-mādhava* which gives us the date Saṃvat 1589=1533 A. D.,[2] and the completion of the *Lalita-mādhava* is dated in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, Śaka 1459=1537 A. D.[3] The *Nāṭaka-candrikā* which draws upon all these dramatic works for its illustrations, as well as upon the *Padyāvalī*, but which has no reference to the two semi-rhetorical works on Rasa-śāstra, must have been composed after the dramas were completed. His *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* appears to have been completed in Śaka 1463=1541 A. D.[4]; and his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*,

B.E. 1342, pp. 51-52) suggests the ingenious emendation *candra-śara°* (instead of *candrasvara*) in the verse in question, giving us Śaka 1451 (=1529 A.D.). This would be about four years before Caitanya's passing away, when both Rūpa and Raghunātha were well settled at Vṛndāvana. There is, however, another tradition that Raghunātha-dāsa did not leave Puri for Vṛndāvana till after Caitanya's passing away in 1533. If that were so, he could not have been living at Rādhā-kuṇḍa in Śaka 1451=1529 A.D. which would be the date proposed by Bimanbihari's emendation *candra-śara*. If any emendation is permissible, one would be tempted to suggest *candra-rasa*, which would give us Śaka 1461=1539 A.D.

1 But see Śl. 5 in which is described the devotional ecstasy of a Kṛṣṇa-bhakta, reminding one very forcibly of the ecstasies of Caitanya.

2 *nava-sindhura-bāṇendu-saṃkhye saṃvatsare gate| vidagdha-mādhavaṃ nāma nāṭakaṃ gokule kṛtam||* (v. 1. *nanda* for *nava* in *Madras Catalogue*, xxi. p. 8514).

3 *nandeṣu-vedendu-mite śakābde| śakrasya māsasya tithau caturthyām|| dine dine dineśasya hariṃ praṇamya| samāpayaṃ bhadravane prabandham||*. (v. 1. *nandāṅga-vedendu-mite*).

4 *rāmāṅga-śakra-gaṇite śāke gokulam adhiṣṭhitena| śrī-bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhur viṭaṅkitaḥ kṣudra-rūpeṇa||* The v. 1. *rāmāṅka-śakra-gaṇite* is noticed by Bhandarkar, *Report* 1883-84 (Bombay 1887), p. 76, which would give Śake 1493. But the commentator (probably

which purports to be its supplement, must have been composed later. His next dated work appears to be the alleged *Bṛhad-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* which was completed[1] in Śrāvaṇa, Śaka 1472=1550 A. D. (July-August), while his *Utkalikā-vallarī* Stotra (included in the *Stava-mālā*) is dated in Pauṣa, Śaka 1471, would give us the same date A. D. 1549-50 (December-January).[2] These dates would make it clear that the most flourishing period of Rūpa's literary activity falls between 1533 and 1550 A. D., but it probably began as early as 1495 A.D.

Jīva) distinctly explains *tri-ṣaṣṭhyadhika-caturdaśa-gaṇite*, and further notes the corresponding Saṃvat as *vikramādityasya tvaṣṭa-navatyadhika-pañcadaśa-śatī-gaṇita iti jñeyam*. The reading of the Dacca University manuscripts (nos. 2459 and 2483), which we consulted, is *rāmāṅga-śakra-gaṇite*, and the explanation in the commentary is as given above.

1 *śāke dṛg-aśva-śakre nabhasi nabhomaṇi-dine ṣaṣṭhyām/ vraja-pati-sadmani rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikādīpi//*.

2 *candrāśva-bhuvane śāke pauṣe gokula-vāsinā/ iyam utkalikā-pūrva-vallarī nirmitā mayā//*. The Dacca University Manuscript collection contains a MS of Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta-kāvya*, which bears Śaka 1464=1542 A.D as its date of composition ; the scribe of this MS calling himself Viṣṇudāsa adds a few verses after the colophon, which state that Rūpa Gosvāmin made a copy of this work in Śaka 1467=1545 A.D., i.e., only three years after the work was actually composed (*caitanya-candra-caritāmṛtam adbhutābhair/ dvya-ṣṭābdikair viracitaṃ kavikarṇapūraiḥ// rūpākhya-mat-prabhuvaraiḥ sva-karāmbujena/ śāke hayartu-bhuvane likhitaṃ purā yat// ālokya sāṃpratam anena ku-medhasāpi/ svapne'pi tad-ratim ṛte mṛtaka-prabheṇa/ kenāpi lubdha-manasā vata viṣṇudāsa-/ nāmnā sva-jīvana-mahauṣadhim ācitaṃ tat// (saṃdānikam)// idaṃ kāvyaṃ śrī-rūpa-gosvāminā caturdaśa-pūrva-sapta-ṣaṣṭhitama-śaka-varṣe likhitam, tad-anantaraṃ śrī viṣṇudāsa-gosvāminā*. This indication is very interesting, as it shows that the Navapvīpa works were well known to the Vṛndāvana circle, although the earlier Navadvīpa authors (except, of course, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja) do not show familiarity with the works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins. Probably Viṣṇudāsa, who describes himself as a follower of Rūpa, copies this work from Rūpa Gosvāmin's own copy. The Dacca University MS, which is not old, must be a later copy of that copy by some other scribe. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us that Rūpa's handwriting was very fine (रूपेर अक्षर येन मुकुतार पाँति Antya i. 97).

Sanātana, as his associate, must have accomplished his literary labours at about the same period of time. But Jīva tells us that Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary was completed in Śaka 1476=1554 A.D., so that Sanātana must have been alive up to this date. The *Bhakti-ratnākara* records that both Sanātana and Rūpa died in the same year at the interval of a few months. If this is true, then Rūpa must have also been alive in 1554 A.D. Beyond this nothing at present can be said with regard to the dates of these two Gosvāmins.

Jīva as their nephew and younger contemporary must have belonged to a generation later ; for tradition says that he was quite young when his father and uncles left home. He appears to have survived the other Gosvāmins, being the youngest ; and, as we learn from the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Prema-vilāsa*, he continued to be the doctrinal dictator to the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. His exact dates are not known, but his *Mādhava-mahotsava* is dated Śaka 1477 (=1555 A.D), while the first part of his *Gopāla-campū* is dated in Saṃvat 1645 or Śaka 1510 (=1588 A.D.), the second part four years later in Śaka 1514 (=1592 A. D.). The *Saṃkalpa-kalpadruma*, which speaks of the completion of both parts of the Campū, is of later date ; according to his own account the author was then in advanced old age (*jarañ jīvaḥ*).

Although the range and versatility of their literary works are remarkable, the six Gosvāmins appear to have divided among themselves the work entrusted to them according to their individual taste, inclination and capacity. Sanātana, more devout than scholarly, concerned himself chiefly with theology and interpretation of theological texts ; the more practically minded Gopāla Bhaṭṭa elaborately codified its ritualism and devotional practices ; while Raghunātha-dāsa, more poetically and emotionally disposed, gave fanciful expression in prose and verse to the erotic mysticism with which the faith associated Kṛṣṇa's sports. Rūpa Gosvāmin, a passionate devotee, but possessing a trained scholastic mind

took up especially the emotional analysis of Bhakti as a Rasa and wrote authoritatively on its peculiar psychology and pathology, systematising a rhetorical Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, as well as composing illustrative dramas and poems and compiling an anthology of its varied literary expression. He also supplemented in a more scholastic spirit the theological labours of Sanātana by his *Laghu-* or *Saṃkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛta* which, purporting by its name to be only a summary of Sanātana's work of the same name, is really an independent treatise. He might have also indicated a system of romantic Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa associations, which later formed the basis of an elaborate hagiology of the cult. Trained by them and deeply read in their authoritative works, Jīva possessed a more versatile mind and wrote on almost all the branches of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra ; but his natural predilection, as well as his early philosophical training at Benares, fitted him for the task of giving an elaborate exposition of its mystical-metaphysical dogmatics. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa alone wrote nothing. In this way the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins practically covered the whole range of Vaiṣṇava Śāstra ; and, with the exception of the much later works of Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (18th century), they practically created the entire philosophical and religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVOTIONAL SENTIMENTS (RASA-ŚĀSTRA)

1. *General Characteristics*

Among the six immediate followers of Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya, the so-called six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, to whom was left the task of elaborating and defining the doctrines, creeds and practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, the credit of first systematising its supreme religious emotion of Bhakti belongs to Rūpa Gosvāmin. Himself a poet and rhetorician, as well as a devout scholar and ascetic, he took up for treatment the emotional aspect of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, and gave an authoritative exposition of its psychology, pathology and rhetoric with all the enthusiasm of a scholastic, yet devout, mind.

In Rūpa Gosvāmin's two systematic Sanskrit works on the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra, namely, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, the religious sentiment of Bhakti has been approximated to the supreme relish of literary enjoyment, known as Rasa, of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics. A new turn was thus given not only to the old Rasa-theory of conventional Poetics but also to the religious emotion underlying the older Vaiṣṇava faith. Rūpa Gosvāmin gives an elaborate exposition of the mediaeval sentiment of Love, sublimated into a deeply religious sentiment, by bringing erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the general theme of literary Rasa, especially the Erotic Rasa. His two works, embodying what may be called the Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, constitute a kind of Rhetoric of Bhakti, with all its psychology, conceit and imagery. If the mediaeval Troubadours of France and Italy conceived the love of Christ as an aspect of the Law and wrote a Grammar of the amorous sentiment, the mediaeval Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal[1] conceived the love of

1 There are three other rhetorical works produced by Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, viz. *Nāṭaka-candrikā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, *Alaṃkāra-*

Kṛṣṇa as an aspect of Psychology, and wrote a Rhetoric of the erotic sentiment. Since Bhakti is conceived as a Rasa, it was essentially of the nature of a subjective emotion. The literary Sahṛdaya, as the recipient connoisseur, was replaced by the religious Bhakta, the devotee of nice sensibility. The love of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-rati*) was installed as the dominant feeling (Sthāyi-bhāva) which, through its appropriate Excitants (Vibhāvas), as well as Ensuants (Anubhāvas) and Auxiliarie (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas), was raised to a supreme relishable condition in his susceptible mind as the Bhakti-rasa. For the working out of this novel idea the whole apparatus of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics was ingeniously utilised, although the orthodox rhetorician himself would not regard Bhakti as a Rasa, but as a Bhāva.[1] Our poet rhetorician, who was also an

kaustubha of Kavikarṇapūra and *Kāvya-candrikā* of Kavicandra. Although they occasionally bring in Vaiṣṇava ideas and choose illustrative verses of a Vaiṣṇavite character, they are not directly concerned with Bhakti-rasa, but are regular rhetorical treatises composed on conventional lines (see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd Ed. i. pp. 253-255). As such they need not be taken into account here. Jīva Gosvāmin also devotes a considerable part of his *Prīti-saṃdarbha* to the subject of Bhakti as a Rasa, following in general the analysis of Rūpa Gosvāmin. Jīva's treatment, however, is somewhat different, for he brings in a great deal of theological and metaphysical matter to explain the subject. The same remark applies also to his *Bhakti-saṃdarbha*, which occasionally refers to the topic of Bhakti as a Rasa. As he keeps closely to Rūpa's exposition of the subject in its general outline, it is not necessary for us to analyse Jīva's treatment in detail here ; but it will be dealt with below in connexion with our analysis of the respective Saṃdarbhas. We shall content ourselves here with noting occasionally only striking points from it, relevant to our subject. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's exposition of the doctrine of Bhakti in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Madhya xix, is nothing more than a summary of Rūpa Gosvāmin's two works, and need not therefore be separately considered.

1 The terms Rasa and Bhāva are difficult to translate, but they have been rendered respectively by the terms 'sentiment' and 'emotion'. For the distinction, as well as for the difficulty of rendering these terms by modern critical vocabulary, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. ii, pp. 135, 259-60 and 278-80. These remarks also apply to the rendering

ardent devotee, follows very closely (even though his peculiar theme makes him depart in detail) the general outlines of the orthodox scheme of Poetics, adopting its main ideas and technicalities but making them applicable to the conception of emotional Bhakti. Not content with theoretical analysis, Rūpa Gosvāmin also took the trouble of writing a number of devotional poems and dramas and compiling an anthology on Kṛṣṇa-līlā for the special purpose of illustrating his theme. In the two Rasa-treatises every detail of elaborate analysis is freely illustrated by more than six hundred quotations from current sentimental and religious literature, as well as from these illustrative poems and dramas composed by Rūpa himself and his associates.

of other technical terms of the Rasa-śāstra, which often indicate shades of meaning or concepts for which it is sometimes difficult to find a modern equivalent. Such terms have been translated or explained, as far as possible, in accordance to their actual definitions in the texts. The question whether Bhakti is Rasa or Bhāva is more or less academic, but it has been discussed at some length by Jagannātha in his *Rasagaṅgādhara* (ed. Kāvyamālā, 1913, p. 45). In the opinion of orthodox rhetoricians, it is *devādi-viṣayā rati* and therefore a Bhāva, and not a complete Rasa. Some advanced thinkers, however, would admit the Vātsalya, Preyas, Śraddhā, and even Bhakti as a Rasa ; but this admission was probably made in later times through the influence of Vaiṣṇava theory itself. Jagannātha, one of the latest writers, however, represents the general orthodox attitude. He adds further that, being based on Anurāga or attachment, Bhakti cannot, as some maintain to the contrary, be comprehended in Śānta Rasa. Replying to this, Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-saṃdarbha*, ed. Prangopal Gosvami, Calcutta B.E. 1337, p. 673-74) remarks that the phrase *devādi* means "ordinary gods" and does not apply to the supreme Kṛṣṇa ; and that Bhakti, along with its Vibhāvas etc., is in its own nature *alaukika*, and therefore conforms to the rhetoricians' requirements (*yat tu prākṛta-rasikai rasa-sāmagrīvirahād bhaktau rasatvaṃ neṣṭam, tat khalu prākṛta-devādi-viṣayam eva saṃbhavet.....tathā tatra kāraṇādayaḥ svata evālaukikādbhutarūpatvena darśitā darśnīyāś ca*). Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also discusses this question in the same strain in his *Bhagavad-bhakti-rasāyana* (ed. Benares 1927), ii. 75-80, but he adds that Bhakti as a Rasa is *svānubhava-siddha* and therefore incapable of direct proof.

For a proper understanding of this Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa, as expressed in its literary and religious productions, it would be necessary, therefore, to appreciate the fundamentals, as well as the details, of this presentation of Bhakti as a psychological entity, as a literary-erotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment, which is intensely personal and is yet impersonalised into a mental condition of disinterested joy. But the attitude is a curious mixture of the literary, the erotic and the religious, and the entire scheme as such is an extremely complicated one. There is an enthusiasm, natural to the analytic scholastic mind, for elaborate and subtle psychologising, as well as for developing and refining the inherited rhetorical traditions ; but the attempt is also inspired very largely by an antecedent and still living poetic experience (Jayadeva and Līlāśuka), which found expression also in vernacular poetry (Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa), as well as by the simple piety of popular religions which reflected itself in the conceptions of such Purāṇas as the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the fountain source of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava Bhakti. But it goes further and rests ultimately on the transcendental in personal religious experience of an emotional character, which does not indeed deny the senses but goes beyond their pale.

In the following pages we propose to give a general survey of the Rasa-śāstra of Caitanyaism by a rapid analysis of the two works of Rūpa Gosvāmin mentioned above, which form the chief original authorities on the emotionalism of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The quaint figurative title of the first work, which means "The Sea of the Nectar of Devotional Sentiment" (*Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*), is fairly appropriate in designating an abstruse treatise of bewildering proportions and of boundless depths of analytical acumen. The *quinta essentia* of the devotional sentiment is the Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa, by which is meant, in terms of Vaiṣṇava emotionalism, the Śṛṅgāra or Erotic sentiment of Kṛṣṇa as the ideal hero, the term Ujjvala (=bright) having been apparently suggested by

Bharata's description[1] of the Rasa, and Madhura characterising its sweet and intoxicating character. But sufficient justice could not be done to this essential sentiment in a work which crowds in its broad scope the various subtle moods and aspects of Bhakti in all its maze of sinuous detail. The next work, the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, therefore, is offered as a supplement, which strictly confines itself to this topic of Vaiṣṇava amatory psychology ; and its strange poetical title, with its obvious pun, indicates that the Ujjvala Rasa, being the bright sapphire (*nīlamaṇi*) borne out of the depths of the Sea of the Nectar of Religious Devotion, is to be embalmed as a name or symbol of the Lord of sapphire-like radiance in a work bearing this blessed name.

2. *The Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*

The *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*[2] is divided into four parts (Vibhāgas), respectively entitled Pūrva, Dakṣiṇa, Paścima and Uttara,—a veritable quadrangular scheme of a strange world of spiritual experience. Each part is divided into Laharīs (Waves) in keeping with the figurative title of the work. Like all scholastic writers, Rūpa Gosvāmin delights in elaborate definitions, fine distinctions and minute classifications of the

1 *Yat kiñcil loke śuci medhyam ujjvalaṃ darśanīyaṃ vā tac chṛṅgāreṇopamīyate, Ṇāṭya-śāstra*, ed. Grosset, pp. 89-90. The term Mādhurya is employed advisedly is contradistinction to the Aiśvarya aspect of Kṛṣṇa's Līlā.

2 Our references are to the Murshidabad edition of the work (Radharaman Press, Berhampur) in Bengali characters, published in 1331 B. E. (=1924 A.D.), with the commentary, entitled *Durgama-saṃgamanī*, of Jīva Gosvāmin. There is also another edition, with the same commentary, by Damodara Gosvami in the Acyuta Granthamālā Series, Benares 1932. Viśvanātha Cakravartin (d. about 1754 A.D.), who himself is said to have composed a commentary on this work as well as on the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, also wrote summaries or surveys of these two works, entitled respectively *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa* (ed. Prangopal Gosvami, Navadvīpa, 1333 B. E.=1926 A.D. in Bengali characters).

devotional sentiment in all its moods, phases, adjuncts and situations ; but the master-analyst is seen in the firm grip not only upon the subtle details of the whole gamut of a peculiar religious emotionalism, but also upon its fundamentals, both in theoretical conception and in its practical realisation.

The Pūrva-vibhāga, consisting of four Laharīs, gives a preliminary discussion of the different types of Bhakti. The first Laharī discusses Bhakti in general (Sāmānya-bhakti) ; the second gives an exposition of Sādhana-bhakti (Bhakti attainable by special external effort) and its two varieties, Vaidhī and Rāgānugā ; the third deals with Bhāva-bhakti (Bhakti resulting from spontaneous inward emotion) ; and the fourth treats generally of Prema-bhakti (Bhakti ripened into a sentiment of Love).

In the first Laharī, the Sāmānya-bhakti (Religious Devotion in general) is distinguished from the Uttamā Bhakti or the highest Religious Devotion, which is defined as harmonious (*ānukūlyena*) pursuit of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇānuśīlana*), freed from all other desire (*anyābhilāṣa-śūnya*) and unconditioned by cognition and will (*jñāna-karmādyanāvṛta*). The commentary of Jīva Gosvāmin explains that the word "harmonious" implies that the pursuit should be such as is agreeable to Kṛṣṇa and should not be perverse or contrary ; that "all other desire" refers to desire for worldly enjoyment (Bhoga-vāsanā) and desire for liberation (Mokṣa-vāsanā), which are thus excluded ; that "cognition" means the knowledge of the identity of Brahman and Jīva (Nirbheda-brahmānusaṃdhāna) which is hardly suited to an attitude of Bhakti ; and that "will" refers to such compulsory and occasional duties as are enjoined by the orthodox Smṛtis (Smṛtyādyukta-nitya-naimittikādi), and not the acts of worship relating to Kṛṣṇa (Bhajanīya-paricaryādi). Rūpa Gosvāmin himself establishes later on (Pūrva Laharī ii, p. 151 f) that Karman itself is not an Aṅga or means of Bhakti, nor is Jñāna or Vairāgya. Wealth etc. are also not Aṅgas, because by themselves they can never produce Bhakti ; nor are the virtues of self-control (Yama) or

purity (Śuci), because they come naturally to the true devotee. True Vairāgya or Renunciation is that which, without any attachment (*anāsakta*), enjoys all worldly objects properly (*yathārha*) and results in an eagerness in relation to Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-saṃbandhe nirbandhaḥ*) ; but that is Phalgu Vairāgya, unsuited to Bhakti, by which one desirous of liberation (Mumukṣu) renounces, through phenomenal or insignificant purpose (*prākṛta-buddhi*), all objects in relation to the deity. Neither is worldly attachment (Bhoga), nor liberation (Mokṣa) the true object of Bhakti, although neither is in itself inconsistent with Bhakti.[1] The section then proceeds to discuss and illustrate in detail the six characteristics of the Uttamā Bhakti, namely: (1) capacity for removing suffering (Kleśaghnatva). Suffering may be due to sin (Pāpa), to desire the seed of sin (Pāpa-bīja), or to illusion (Avidyā). The fruits of sin may have either begun to mature (*prārabdha*) or not begun (*aprārabdha*). All these are removed by Uttamā Bhakti ; (2) capacity for bestowing goods (Śubhadatva), producing either good qualities (Sadguṇa) or happiness (Sukha) ; (3) capacity for producing indifference to liberation (Mokṣalaghutā-kāritva) ; (4) difficulty of attainment (Sudurlabhatva) ; (5) essential identity with a particular mood of compact happiness (Sāndrānanda-viśeṣātmatā), which is infinitely higher than the happiness of attaining Brahman ; and (6) capacity for attracting and keeping under control (Vaśikaraṇa) Kṛṣṇa himself (Śrī-kṛṣṇa-karṣaṇatva). Of these characteristics, (1) and (2) belong conspicuously to Sādhana-bhakti, (3) and (4) to Bhāva-bhakti, (5) and (6) to Prema-bhakti ; but as each of these three forms of Uttamā Bhakti constitutes also stages of

1 Jīva Gosvāmin goes further and lays down (*Tattva-saṃdarbha*, ed. Murshidabad 1910, p. 112) that Jñāna and Karman themselves depend upon Bhakti (*jñānādes tu bhakti-sāpekṣatvam eva*), i.e. there cannot be any true cognition and will without Bhakti. Again, he establishes (*Bhakti-saṃdarbha*, ed. Gaudīya Maṭha, Calcutta, p. 65) *bhaktyaiva jñānaṃ siddhyati*. This topic will be dealt with below under ch. v.

realisation, the first four really belong to Bhāva-bhakti and all the six to Prema-bhakti. Although all beings are eligible for Bhakti (p. 65), the Adhikārin or person fit to receive it is one who has faith in Kṛṣṇa (*jāta-śraddha*) and who is neither too much attached (*nātisakta*) nor too indifferent (*na nirviṇṇa*) to the world.

Of the three forms of Uttamā Bhakti, namely, Sādhana-bhakti, Bhāva-bhakti and Prema-bhakti, the next section proceeds to deal with the first, the Sādhana-bhakti, which is defined as Bhakti realisable by the senses (*kṛti-sādhyā* ; *kṛti*= the senses)[1] and not by Bhāva or inward emotion, of which, however, it is a means (*sādhya-bhāvā*, explained as *sādhyo bhāvo yayā sā*). The Sādhana-bhakti is said to have been explained in *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* vii. 1, and may be either Vaidhī or Rāgānugā, both of which are forms of Bhakti attained by extraneous means and ways. The Vaidhī Sādhana-bhakti occurs where the impulse to devotional acts comes entirely from the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra (*śāstrasya śāsanenaiva*) and where the state of Rāga is not reached (*rāgānavāptatvāt*).[2] Viśvanātha Cakravartin explains that by the term Śāstra is meant exclusively the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*

1 Lest the word *sādhya*, 'realisable', should mislead, Rūpa Gosvāmin adds that Bhakti is *nitya-siddha* (eternally existing), but by *sādhya* is merely meant its manifestation *(nitya-siddhasya bhāvasya prākaṭyaṃ hṛdi sādhyatā)*. Jīva Gosvāmin explains that Bhakti is *nitya-siddha* because it is an aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat, but this metaphysical explanation need not concern us here. What it implies is that the Sādhana of Bhakti is merely the manifestation of an already existing and natural impulse of love and bliss in man as a reflex of the attribute of infinite love and bliss in the Bhagavat (see *C-C*, Madhya xxii. 103-4: श्रवणादि क्रिया तार स्वरूप लक्षण । तटस्थलक्षणे उपजये प्रेमधन ॥ नित्यसिद्ध कृष्णप्रेम साध्य कभु नय । श्रवणादि शुद्धचित्ते करये उदय ॥)

2 *śravaṇa-kīrtanādīni śāstra-śāsana-bhayena yadi kriyante tadā vaidhī bhaktiḥ*, Viśvanātha Cakravartin in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-vindhu*, p. 11.

which enjoins acts of devotion.[1] As the type of Bhakti follows the *vidhi* or injunction of the Śāstra, it is Vaidhī ; and for the same reason it is sometimes called Maryādā-mārga or the Way of Convention. The Aṅgas or means of Vaidhī having already been defined in detail in the *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, Rūpa Gosvāmin contents himself by a reference to that work, briefly summarising them as sixty-four in number and illustrating them from the scriptures. These are acts of piety, great or small, such as resorting to the spiritual teacher (*guru-pādāśraya*) ; initiation and instruction by him (*dīkṣā-śiksādi*) ; serving the spiritual teacher with confidence (*viśrambheṇa guru-sevā*) ; following the example of saintly persons (*sādhu-vartmānuvartana*) ; enquiry into the true *dharma* (*saddharma-pṛcchā*) ; renunciation of worldly enjoyment for the sake of Kṛṣṇa (*bhogādi-tyāgaḥ kṛṣṇasya hetave*) ; dwelling in sacred places of pilgrimage (Tīrtha) like Dvārakā, Mathurā or the banks of the Ganges ; abjuring books (with the exception of the scriptures) as well as the practice of the various arts and controversy (*bahu-grantha-kalābhyāsa-vyākhyā-vāda-vivarjana*) ; putting on the external signs of a Vaiṣṇava (*vaiṣṇava-cihna-dhāraṇa*) ; writing the name of Hari on the body by means of sandal etc. (*hari-nāmākṣara-dhāraṇa*) ; prostrate obeisance (*daṇḍavan natiḥ*) ; worship (*arcanā*) ; going round the image of the deity (*parikrama*) ; repeating (*japa*), singing (*gīta*) or recital (*saṃkīrtana*) of the name of the Lord ; partaking of the offerings made to the deity (*naivedyāsvāda*) and of the water of his holy feet (*pādyāsvāda*) ; observing Ekādaśī or other days of fasting, attending the Birth-festival (Janmaṣṭamī) etc. ; constantly resorting to the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the Tulasī plant, Mathurā and the Vaiṣṇava devotees, all of which are dear to the Lord ; and so forth. Of these the first three ways of cultivation are, however, declared to be of special value ; but Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Madhya xxii. 125) distinguishes five, namely, the society of saintly persons

1 *tac ca śāstraṃ bhajana-pratipādakaṃ śrī-bhāgavatam eva, op. cit.* p. 14.

(*sādhu-saṅga*), the chanting of Kṛṣṇa's name (*nāma-kīrtana*), listening to the reading of the *Bhāgavata* (*bhāgavata-śravaṇa*), dwelling at Mathurā (*mathurā-vāsa*), reverential service of his image (*śrīmūrtir śraddhāye sevana*), that is, fellowship, song, scripture, pilgrimage and image worship.[1] Any one of these modes, even a little of the five, can create Bhakti. The Vaidhī Sādhana-bhakti, which consists of these positive acts and practices of piety and which is described as "worship by the body, the senses and the mind" (*kāya-hṛṣīkāntaḥkaraṇānām upāsanā*), also involves, negatively, the avoidance of the so-called Sevāparādhas (offences relating to worship) and Nāmāparādhas (offences relating to the name of the Lord). The commentary gives (p. 89) a list of thirty-two Sevāparādhas, to which is added twenty-three more from the *Varāha-purāṇa* and ten again from some other source. These consist of offences like entering the temple in a conveyance, or with one's shoes on, or without washing one's feet ; not observing the festivals of the Lord ; not doing obeisance ; eating what is not offered to the deity ; not observing silence during worship, etc. The Nāmāparādhas are the logical result of the theory of the efficacy of the blessed name (Nāma-mahātmya). They are given as ten in number by the commentary (p. 93-94) and include such offences as unwillingness to listen to the Māhātmya of the name ; equalising the Nāma-māhātmya to the merit of other pious acts ; giving instruction in the subject to persons devoid of faith, and so forth. Then the section proceeds to lay down that the Vaidhī Bhakti may be *ekāṅgā*, that is, attainable by means of one Aṅga only (e. g. Parīkṣit by hearing, Śukadeva by reciting, Arjuna by friendship, Hanūmat by service, Prahlāda by recollection, Bali by self-surrender, etc.,

1 Jīva Gosvāmin distinguishes eleven elements or stages of the Vaidhī Bhakti, namely Śaraṇāpatti, Guru-sevā, Śravaṇa, Kīrtana, Smaraṇa, Pada-sevā, Arcanā, Vandana, Dāsya, Sakhya and Ātma-nivedana: for which see below ch. v, under *Bhakti-saṃdarbha*. The nine elements or stages are already enumerated in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* vii. 6, namely: śravaṇaṃ, kīrtanaṃ viṣṇoḥ, smaraṇam, pāda-sevanam/ arcanaṃ, krandanaṃ, dāsyaṃ, sakhyam, ātma-nivedanam.//

as in *Padyāvalī* 53), or it may be *anekāṅgā* or attainable by more than one Aṅga (e. g. Ambarīṣa).

But passionate souls soon pass beyond outward rule and form to an inner and more esoteric way of realisation, based upon the cultivation of inward feelings of devotion. The second type of Sādhana bhakti, named Rāgānugā, is so called because it follows (*anuga*) the trend of the devotion and attachment, Rāgātmikā Bhakti, of the people of Vraja who stood in actual relation to Kṛṣṇa.[1] Rāga is defined as the natural, deep and inseparable absorption (*svārasikī tanmayī parāviṣṭatā*) in the desired object (*iṣṭa*), namely, Kṛṣṇa. The Rāgānugā is distinguished from the Vaidhī (pp. 173-75) inasmuch as in the Vaidhī the realisation is through the injunction (*vidhi*) of the Śāstra, but here it is through the greed (*lobha*) of realising the feelings of the people of Vraja.[2] It consists of devoted meditation or recollection (*smaraṇa*) of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones (*preṣṭha*), and living either physically or mentally[3] in Vraja, as a Sādhaka or as a Siddha, following the ways of Vraja-loka (*vraja-lokānusārataḥ*) with a desire to realise the same state of feeling (*tadbhāva-lipsā*). One desirous of this way of realisation will adopt the particular Bhāva (e. g. Rādhā-bhāva, Sakhī-bhāva, etc.) of the particular favourite of Kṛṣṇa according to his or her Līlā, Veśa and Svabhāva, and live in the ecstasy of that vicarious enjoyment. The emotion is achieved chiefly by Smaraṇa or recollection (*rāgānugāyāṃ smaraṇasya mukhyatvam*), a concentrated imaginative process which is supposed to be more effective

1 *virājatīm abhivyaktaṃ vraja-vāsi-janādiṣu / rāgātmikām anusṛtā yā sā rāgānugocyate* // p. 162. Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*op. cit.*, p. 11-12) explains: *nijābhimata-vraja-rāja-nandanasya sevā-prāpti-lobhena yadi tāni (=śravaṇa-kīrtanādīni) kriyante tadā rāgānugā bhaktiḥ.*

2 Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*op. cit.*, p. 15) explains: *vraja-līlā-parikarastha-śṛṅgārādi-bhāva-mādhurye śrute idaṃ mamāpi bhūyād iti lobhotpatti-kāle śāstra-yuktyapekṣā na syāt.*

3 *kuryād vāsaṃ vraje sadā* (p. 174); the commentary explains: *sāmarthye sati vraje...śarīreṇa vāsaṃ kuryāt, tad-abhāve manasāpītyarthaḥ.*

for a mystic union with the beloved object. It is indeed not achieved by the direct injunction of the Śāstras, but it does not also arise spontaneously in one's own self. It is engendered by external effort, by elaborately imitating the action and feeling of those connected with Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, and is thus a phase of Sādhana-bhakti attainable by extraneous ways.[1] But it is governed by no mechanical Śāstric rules whatever, even if they are not necessarily discarded ; it follows the natural inclination of the heart, and depends entirely upon one's own emotional capacity of devotion. The devotee by his ardent meditation not only seeks to visualise and make the whole Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa live before him, but he enters into it imaginatively, and by playing the part of a beloved of Kṛṣṇa, he experiences vicariously the passionate feelings which are so vividly pictured in the literature. The Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realisation of this character ; it is enough if the religious duties enjoined by the Vaiṣṇava scriptures in general and the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*

1 The Rāgānugā Bhakti is explained in greater detail by Viśvanātha Cakravartin in his *Rāga-vartma-candrikā* (ed. as above), where (p. 69) as an example of Sādhaka, Rūpa Gosvāmin himself is mentioned, and as Siddha Rūpa-mañjarī of Vraja, of whom Rūpa Gosvāmin is supposed in Vaiṣṇava hagiology to have been an incarnation, and whose *bhāva* he is supposed to have realised. In *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (śl. 180-186) we are told that, of the beloved Gopīs of Kṛṣna, Rūpa-mañjarī became incarnated as Rūpa Gosvāmin, Lāvaṇya-mañjarī as Sanātana Gosvāmin, Rati-mañjarī as Raghunātha-dāsa, Guṇa-mañjarī as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Vilāsa-mañjarī as Jīva Gosvāmin, and Rasa-mañjarī as Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa. In this way a complete scheme of reincarnation of the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa is elaborated, in the work quoted, as Gaṇas of Caitanya. This conception of the prominent Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnations chiefly of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, is based probably on the doctrine which regards Kṛṣṇa as the sole male and maintains that worshippers can fully realise passionate devotion only when they conceive themselves as females,—a curious development of the theory of Rāgānugā Bhakti! But of this elaborate scheme there is no trace in the works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins themselves. For Jīva Gosvāmin's exposition of the Rāgānugā Bhakti, see below ch. v, under Bhakti-saṃdarbha.

in particular are performed as overt acts in an attitude of piety. The Rāgānugā Bhakti, on the other hand, consists of an emotional sublimation of intimate human sentiments towards Kṛṣṇa, in terms of the intimate devotional sentiments displayed in different personal relationships (as that of a son, relative, lover, friend, servant and so forth) between the deity and his dear ones in his eternal sport at Vraja. It is thus an ecstasy of vicarious enjoyment in the sense that the devotee does not seek to establish a direct personal contact of his own with the deity, but prepares himself for it by imitating and realising within himself the different aspect of the beatific sports in terms of one or other of the blissful devotional sentiments ; and through years of constant practice he ultimately identifies himself with such sentiments.

As the Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the people of Vraja, which is eternally displayed, is the model or source (Ādarśa) of Rāgānugā, it is analysed and explained in detail. The Rāgātmikā way arises from desire (Kāma, e. g. the Gopīs), enmity (Dveṣa, e. g. Kaṃsa), fear (Bhaya, e. g. Śiśupāla), or affection (Sneha, e. g. the Yādavas). But enmity and fear with reference to Kṛṣṇa, being uncongenial, may be left aside ; and affection (Sneha) being a form of fellowship (Sakhya) would come under the Vaidhī, or being an aspect of love (Preman) does not come at all under Sādhana-bhakti. Hence, the Rāgātmikā Bhakti may be either

(*i*) Kāma-rūpa, consisting of a desire for erotic-mystic enjoyment (Saṃbhoga-tṛṣṇā) inspired by an exclusive effort to please Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-saukhyārtham eva kevalam udyamaḥ*), and resulting in Preman or love found only in the Gopīs (*vraja-devīṣu*). The attitude of the Kubjā is described as *kāma-prāyā* (and not *kāma-rūpā*) *rati* ; for (as explained later in the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*) the enjoyment here is as much for oneself as for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa.

(*ii*) Saṃbandha-rūpa, consisting of a sense of relationship (as father, mother, friend etc.) to Kṛṣṇa. It is found, for instance, in Nanda, Yaśodā, the Gopas etc.

Following these two aspects, the Rāgānugā Bhakti may be either

(*i*) Kāmānugā, which may again be either desire for enjoyment inspired by a sense of Kṛṣṇa's sport (*keli-tātparyavatī saṃbhogecchāmayī*), or a desire to realise those particular Bhāvas (*tat-tad-bhāvecchātmikā*) of particular Gopīs, especially the erotic feeling (*bhāva-mādhurya-kāmitā*). The *Padma-purāṇa*, one of the authoritative works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, is cited to support the view that even men can follow this way of love of the Gopīs, for in the Mathurā-māhātmya of the Purāṇa it is said that the Munis of Daṇḍaka, out of their curiosity to enjoy the sport of Kṛṣṇa, became incarnated as Gopīs of Vṛndāvana.

(*ii*) Saṃbandhānugā, in which the devotee seeks to realise the feelings of personal relationship (e. g. as father, brother, friend etc.) to Kṛṣṇa, modelled on the feelings of Nanda, Yaśodā, the Gopas etc.

The Rāgānugā Bhakti is sometimes called the Way of Fulfilment (Puṣṭi-mārga), because it seeks the grace of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones.

The third Laharī takes up the second type of Uttamā Bhakti, namely, Bhāva-bhakti, which is really a further maturing of the Sādhana-bhakti (*sādhana-paripākena*, as Viśvanātha Cakravartin puts it), but which may also develop independently through the grace of Kṛṣṇa or his Bhaktas (*kṛṣṇa-kṛpayā tad-bhakta-kṛpayā vā*). The Bhāva may, therefore, either be (*i*) Sādhanābhiniveśaja, the Sādhana way of worship being again either the Vaidhī or the Rāgānugā, as described above, (*ii*) Kṛṣṇa-prasādaja, due to the personal favour or grace of Kṛṣṇa, either through his word (Vācika), his bestowal of light (Āloka-dāna), or his cordiality (Hārda), or (*iii*) Kṛṣṇa-bhakta-prasādaja, due to the grace of the followers of Kṛṣṇa. The cases (*ii*) and (*iii*) require no special effort, but they are rarely to be met with.

This Bhāva-bhakti is devotion based on inward emotion (Bhāva), which has not yet reached the stage of the sentiment

(Rasa) of Love or Preman. It may be born of Sādhana-bhakti, but it is not the direct result of extraneous ways and means, and arises spontaneously as a personal feeling, although this feeling has not yet ripened into Prema-bhakti. It is defined as consisting of a particular pure and inborn feeling (*śuddha-sattva-viśeṣa*), which partakes of the nature of the first dawn of love (*prema-sūryāṃśu-sāmya-bhāk*)[1] and brings a smoothness of the mind (*citta-māsṛṇyakṛt*), arising from relish (*ruci*). This relish, as the commentary explains, may take the form of a desire for the deity (*bhagavat-prāptyabhilāṣa*), for his favour (*tad-ānukūlyābhilāṣa*) or for his friendship (*tat-sauhārdābhilāṣa*). The ensuing attendant circumstances (Anubhāvas) occur as signs, whenever there is a sprouting of this form of Bhakti, namely, placidity of mind (*kṣānti*), an effort to apply one's time to the successful realisation of this feeling (*avyartha-kālatā*), distaste for the objects of sense (*virakti*), lack of pride (*māna-śūnyatā*), bond of hope (*āśā-bandha*), eagerness (*samutkaṇṭhā*), taste for singing the name of the deity (*nāma-gāne ruciḥ*), desire for the recital of the attributes of the deity (*tad-guṇa-vyākhyāne āsaktiḥ*), and pleasure in the place where the Lord lived, e.g. Mathurā, Vraja etc. (*tad-vasati-sthale prītiḥ*).

The semblance (and not the reality) of this feeling of attachment (Ratyābhāsa) is then described as taking the form either of (*i*) Reflection or Pratibimba, attainable without much difficulty, where one or two characteristic signs (like tears etc.) appear, but where the thirst for worldly enjoyment (Bhoga) and liberation (Mokṣa) still remains, or (*ii*) Shadow or Chāyā, consisting of a little short-lived curiosity, and bearing some resemblance to the real Rati. But this Ābhāsa or apparent feeling, we are told (p. 208), may all of a sudden be converted into the real feeling. It is also interesting to note that the form of worship, which believes in an essential

1 Explained in the commentary as *premṇaḥ prathama-cchavi-rūpaḥ*.

identity of the worshipper and the worshipped (Bhajanīyeśa-bhāvatā or Ahaṃ-grāha-upāsanā) and which is affected, for instance, by the Advaita-vādins, is considered to be an Ābhāsa only.

The fourth and last Laharī of the Pūrva-vibhāga gives a general exposition of the third and highest type of Uttamā Bhakti, namely, Prema-bhakti, which is really a further direct ripening of the Bhāva-bhakti itself (*bhāva-bhakti-paripāka eva*, Viśvanātha Cakravartin). It occurs when the Bhāva or emotion has developed or solidified into (*sāndrātmā*) a sentiment of love (Preman) ; it makes the soul entirely smooth (*samyaṅ-masṛṇa-svānta*) and is marked by an exclusive and loving attachment (*ananya-mamatā*). It may develop from either the Vaidhī Bhāva or the Rāgānugā Bhāva, but it may also originate from the grace (Prasāda) of the deity. The grace may be either pure, that is, not dependent on any other circumstance (Kevala), or the result of the knowledge of his greatness (Māhātmya-jñāna), the former being Rāgānugā and the latter following the Vaidhī Mārga. The sequence by which this devotional love or Prema-bhakti develops is given thus: Faith (Śraddhā)—companionship of saintly persons (Sādhu-saṅga)—acts of worship (Bhajana-kriyā) —withdrawal from unworthy objects (Anartha-nivṛtti) —devotedness (Niṣṭhā)—relish (Ruci)—attachment (Āsakti) —emotion (Bhāva)—love (Preman).

Having thus given a preliminary analysis and exposition of the different types of Bhakti, the rest of the work proceeds to consider and analyse Bhakti as a Rasa. The Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deals with its Sthāyi-bhāva and describes its development by means of its appropriate Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, Sāttvikas and Vyabhicārins, which are described in some detail ; the Paścima treats of what are called the five Mukhya or Primary Bhakti Rasas ; and the last or Uttara Vibhāga is devoted to the study of the seven Gauṇa or Secondary Bhakti Rasas, of the Opposition of the Rasas, and of Apparent Rasas or Rasābhāsas.

The five Laharīs of the Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deal respectively with the excitants (Vibhāvas), the ensuants (Anubhāvas), the involuntarily expressed feelings (Sāttvika Bhāvas, which in later Poetics are kinds of Anubhāvas), and the Auxiliary feelings (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas), as well as the dominant or permanent feeling (Sthāyi-bhāva) in relation to Bhakti conceived as a Rasa. Although orthodox Poetics itself would not, strictly speaking, regard Bhakti as a Rasa, the nomenclature and treatment are borrowed from orthodox Poetics and applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Vaiṣṇava conception of Bhakti as a Rasa. The technicalities are the same, but of course the analysis in detail is entirely novel and ingenious.[1]

Of this Bhakti Rasa, the dominant underlying emotion (Sthāyi-bhāva) is suppossed to be the emotion of Kṛṣṇa himself and his dear ones (Kṛṣṇa-rati), which by means of the Excitants (Vibhāvas) etc. is raised to a state of relish (*svādyatām*) as a sentiment (Rasa) in the Bhakta or the devotee, who stands for the literary Sāmājika or Sahṛdaya. As in the theory of the Rasa-Dhvani school of orthodox Poetics, the latent germ of this feeling (Vāsanā of Sadbhakti) is presumed in the heart of the Bhakta, either as acquired from previous births (*prāktanī*) or as due to present experience (*adhunikī*) ; and the process of the awakening of Rasa runs along the familiar grooves of Alaṃkāra expression. Against the nine conventional Rasas of Sanskrit Poetics, Rūpa Gosvāmin mentions twelve, but seven of these are regarded as secondary. Of the five primary Rasas, he practically gives prominence to one, namely, the Erotic (Śṛṅgāra). In

1 Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Prīti-saṃdarbha* introduces further refinement into the accepted theory regarding the origin and development of Rasa. He maintains, for instance, that the *alaukikatva* of Vibhāvas etc. and of the Sthāyin is possible only in Kṛṣṇa-rati, and not in the *laukika* Kāvyas which deal with the love of ordinary heroes and heroines. If the Vibhāvas etc. appear as *alaukika* in an ordinary Kāvya, it is not natural, but is only due to the cleverness of the poet's composition (p. 574). He also maintains that in Kṛṣṇa-rati, the *locus* of the Rasa is not only in the audience (Sāmājika, here the Bhakta) but also in the *anukārya* (the deity represented, viz. Kṛṣṇa) and in the *anukartṛ*, who may sometimes be the Bhakta himself (pp. 594 f).

this attitude he resembles Bhoja ; unlike Bhoja, however, our author evaluates it in terms of Vaiṣṇava devotion.

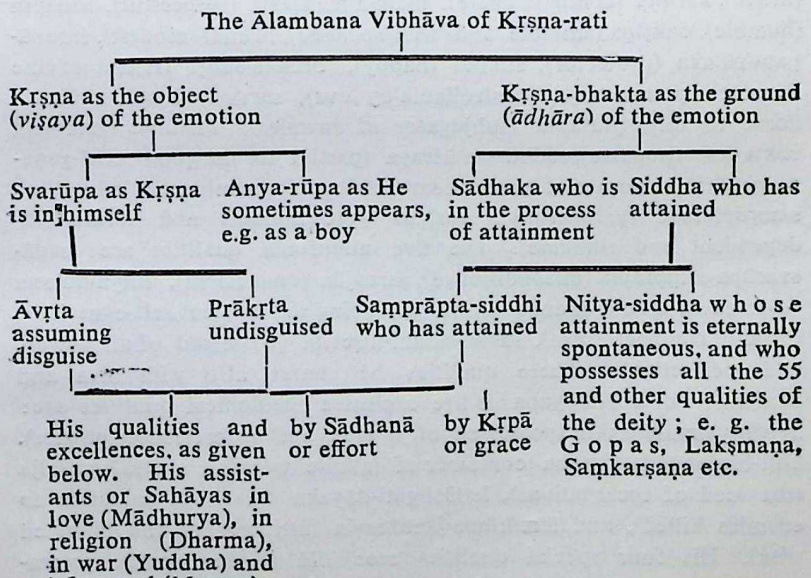
Hence, the definitions of Excitants (Vibhāvas) etc. are, with necessary variations, the same. Without going into the detailed technicalities, a general outline of the scheme of Excitants (Vibhāvas) etc. may be given here in a tabular form. There are inevitable departures in the detailed working out (especially in the analysis and classification of the Sthāyi-bhāva and the Rasa), and these, wherever important, will also be noted.

1. The Vibhāvas (Excitants)

which make the dominant emotion (*sthāyi-bhāva*), Kṛṣṇa-rati, capable of being relished (*ratyāsvāda-hetavaḥ*).

Two kinds: the Substantial (Ālambana) and the Enhancing (Uddīpana):

1. The Substantial Excitant or Ālambana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which consists of such material ground and object of the emotion as the deity, his dear ones, his adjuncts etc., may be represented as follows:



Kṛṣṇa is again conceived as the most complete (*pūrṇatama*) in Vraja, more complete (*pūrṇatara*) in Mathurā, and complete (*pūrṇa*) in Dvārakā. Viewed as an ideal hero, he is, following orthodox Poetics, (i) brave and high-spirited (Dhīrodātta), (ii) brave and haughty (Dhīroddhata), (iii) brave and sportive (Dhīra-lalita) and (iv) brave and serene (Dhīra-praśānta).

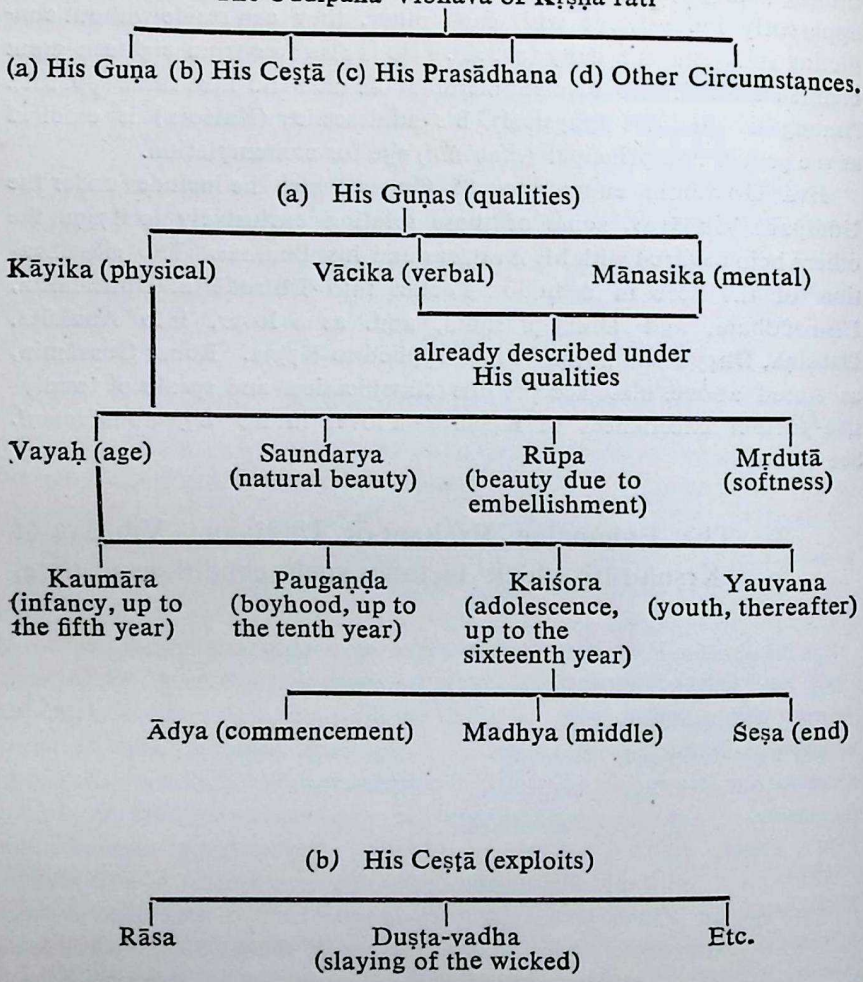
His sixty-four (50+5+5+4) qualities, physical, mental and spiritual, are elaborately defined and illustrated (pp. 229-332). His fifty qualities are: Suramyāṅga (possessing fine symmetrical limbs), sarva-sallakṣaṇānvita (possessed of all the excellent lakṣaṇas or characteristics), rucira (good-looking), tejasvin (powerful and shining), balīyas (strong), vayo'nvita (youthful), vividhādbhuta-bhāṣāvid (acquainted with many and strange languages), satya-vāc (truthful), priyaṃvada (capable of pleasant speech), vāvadūka (expert in conversation), supaṇḍita (learned and wise), buddhimat (intelligent), pratibhānvita (possessed of genius), vidagdha (well-versed in the arts), catura (ingenious), dakṣa (dexterous and quick), kṛtajña (grateful), sudṛḍha-vrata (resolute), daśa-kālasupātrajña (possessing a knowledge of fit time, place and object), śāstracakṣus (acting according to the śāstra), sthira (steadfast), śuci (pure and purifying), vaśin (continent), dānta (capable of suffering), kṣamāśīla (forgiving), gambhīra (profound), dhṛtimat (contented and placid), sama (equable), vadānya (liberal in gift), dhārmika (dutiful), śūra (brave), karuṇa (compassionate), mānya-māna-kṛt (respectful), vinayin (humble), dakṣiṇa (amiable and well-behaved), hrīmat (modest), śaraṇāgata-pālaka (protector), sukhin (happy), bhakta-suhṛt (friend of the devotee), prema-vaśya (controllable by love), sarva-śubhaṃkara (beneficent to all), pratāpin (subjugator of enemies), kīrtimat (famous), rakta-loka (popular), sādhu-samāśraya (partial to the good), nārī-gaṇamanohārin (charmer of women), sarvārādhya (pre-eminently adorable), samṛddhimat (prosperous), varīyas (pre-eminent) and īśvara (independent and supreme). The five additional qualities are: sadāsvarūpa-saṃprāpta (unconditioned), sarvajña (omniscient), nitya-nūtana (ever new), sac-cid-ānanda-sāndrāṅga (having self-existent, self-conscious, blissful compact form), sarva-siddhi-niṣevita (possessed of all powers and perfection). These qualities he shares also with Śiva and Brahmā; but as Nārāyaṇa his five exclusive theological qualities are: avicintya-mahā-śakti (possessed of infinite and indescribable powers), koṭi-brahmāṇḍa-vigraha (container of infinite worlds), avatārāvali-bīja (the seed of incarnations), hatāri-gati-dāyaka (giver of salvation to enemies killed), and ātmārāma-janākarṣin (attractor of the liberated wise). His four special qualities are: līlā (divine sport), prema-priyādhikya (abundance of beloved persons obtained by love), veṇu-

mādhurya (sweetness of his flute) and rūpa-mādhurya (sweetness of his beauty). To these is added a set of eight inherent excellences (sattva-bheda) on the model of the eight Sāttvika excellences of the literary hero (see S.K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd Ed. ii, p. 271), only substituting Māṅgalya for Gāmbhīrya. Even if some of these qualities are apparently inconsistent with each other, they can reside without conflicting in Kṛṣṇa as a deity (p. 332). He is also free from eighteen great blemishes which are also enumerated, defined and illustrated (pp. 33f). Among his qualities (physical), his adolescence (Kaiśora) is extolled as the proper and principal (*dharmin*) age for contemplation.

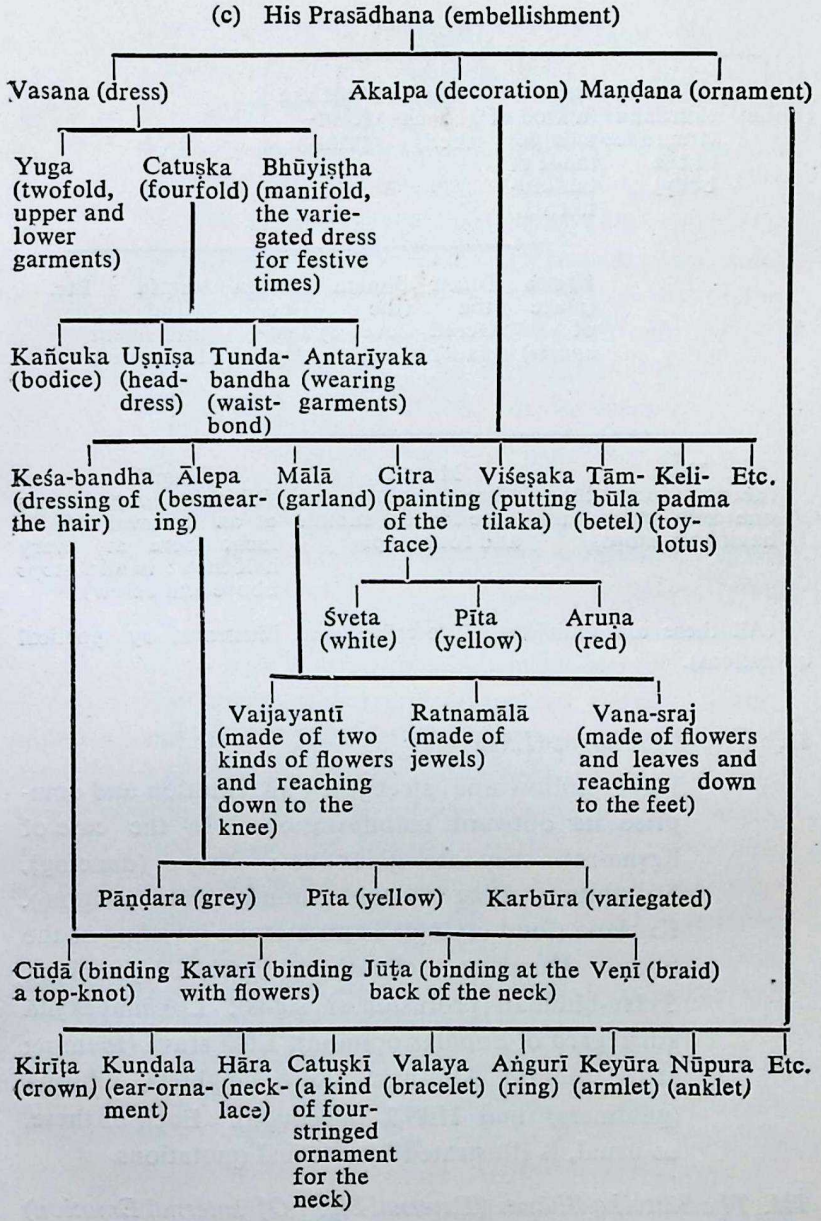
Jīva Gosvāmin enumerates 85 Guṇas which he includes under the Uddīpana-Vibhāvas, some of these relating exclusively to Kṛṣṇa, the others being shared with his Avatāras and his Bhaktas. The classification of the hero in orthodox Poetics into Dhīrodātta, Dhīra-lalita, Dhīroddhata, and Dhīra-praśānta, and, as a lover, into Anukūla, Dakṣiṇa, Dhṛṣṭa and Śaṭha is also applied to Kṛṣṇa. Rūpa Gosvāmin, as stated above, also accepts this classification and speaks of twenty-five further excellences of Kṛṣṇa as a lover in his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*. See below.

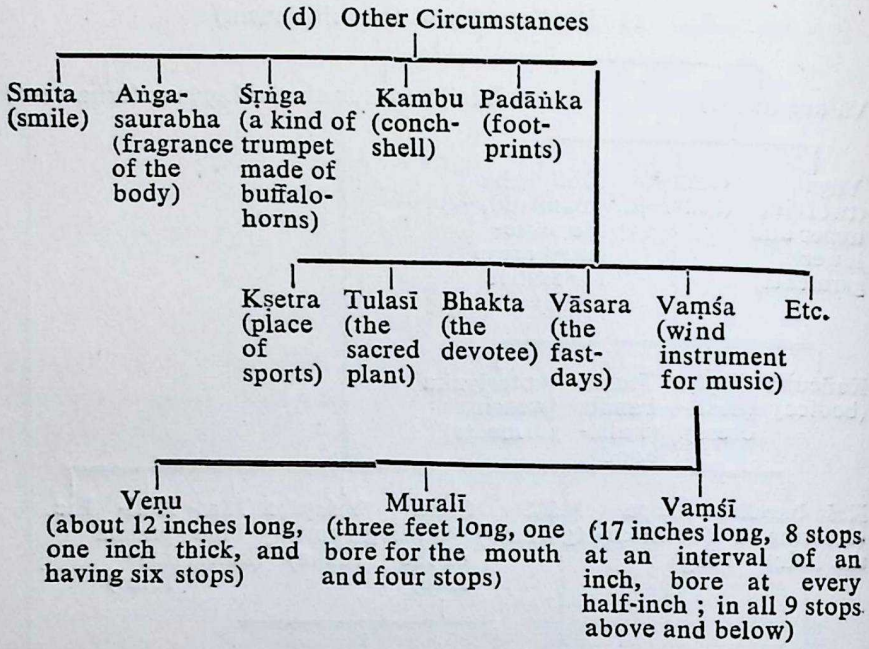
2. The Enhancing Excitant or Uddīpana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which includes such conditions of time,

place and circumstance[1] as serve to foster the feeling, may be represented thus:



1 Jīva Gosvāmin declares (*Prīti-saṃdarbha*, p. 724) that of the Uddīpanas, those which relate to Vṛndāvana are the best (*eṣu ca śrī-vṛndāvana-saṃbandhinas tu prakṛṣṭāḥ*). He classifies the Uddīpana-Vibhāvas as relating respectively to the Guṇa (quality), Jāti (characteristics of a class), Kriyā (action) and Dravya (substance) in reference to Kṛṣṇa. On this see below, ch. v.


(c) His Prasādhana (embellishment)
Vasana (dress)
Ākalpa (decoration)
Maṇḍana (ornament)
Yuga (twofold, upper and lower garments)
Catuṣka (fourfold)
Bhūyiṣṭha (manifold, the variegated dress for festive times)
Kañcuka (bodice)
Uṣṇīṣa (headdress)
Tunda-bandha (waist-bond)
Antarīyaka (wearing garments)
Keśa-bandha (dressing of the hair)
Ālepa (besmearing)
Mālā (garland)
Citra (painting of the face)
Viśeṣaka (putting tilaka)
Tām-būla (betel)
Keli-padma (toy-lotus)
Etc.
Śveta (white)
Pīta (yellow)
Aruṇa (red)
Vaijayantī (made of two kinds of flowers and reaching down to the knee)
Ratnamālā (made of jewels)
Vana-sraj (made of flowers and leaves and reaching down to the feet)
Pāṇḍara (grey)
Pīta (yellow)
Karbūra (variegated)
Cūḍā (binding a top-knot)
Kavarī (binding with flowers)
Jūṭa (binding at the back of the neck)
Veṇī (braid)
Kirīṭa (crown)
Kuṇḍala (ear-ornament)
Hāra (necklace)
Catuṣkī (a kind of four-stringed ornament for the neck)
Valaya (bracelet)
Aṅgurī (ring)
Keyūra (armlet)
Nūpura (anklet)
Etc.



(All these are individually described and illustrated by poetical quotations).

II. The Anubhāvas (Ensuants)

which follow and strengthen an emotion and comprise its outward manifestations. In the case of Kṛṣṇa-rati, they are given as : Nṛtya (dancing), Viluṭhita (rolling on the ground), Gīta (singing), Krośana (loud crying), Tanu-moṭana (twisting of the body), Huṃkāra (shouting), Jṛmbhā (yawning), Śvāsa-bhūman (profusion of sighs), Lokānapekṣitā (disregard of popular opinion), Lālā-srava (foaming at the mouth), Aṭṭa-hāsa (loud laughter), Ghūrṇā (giddiness) and Hikkā (hiccough). Each of these, as usual, is illustrated by poetical quotations.

III. The Sāttvika Bhāvas (External Signs Of Internal Emotion)

The eight orthodox Sāttvika Bhāvas are accepted, namely, Stambha (stupor), Sveda (perspiration), Romāñca (thrilling of the body), Svara-bhaṅga

(break of voice), Vepathu (trembling), Vaivarṇya (change of colour), Aśru (tears), and Pralaya (loss of consciousness); but each of these is further analysed, according as it springs from fear, pleasure wonder, anger, jealousy, enthusiasm etc. The Sāttvikas are, however, not really Bhāvas or emotions, but external manifestations of them, and in later Poetics they are taken as kinds of Anubhāvas. Of these, since Pralaya or loss of consciousness would mean inaction, Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-saṃdarbha*, p. 730) points out that in Kṛṣṇa-rati, Pralaya causes cessation of outward action indeed but not of inward feeling for Kṛṣṇa. Jīva Gosvāmin includes Sāttvikas, as well as Udbhāsvaras, under Anubhāva.

The most notable departure occurs in the classification of these Sāttvikas, which is entirely original. They are generally classified into (*i*) Snigdha (soft), which may be either directly (*mukhya*) or indirectly (*gauṇa*) connected with Kṛṣṇa, (*ii*) Digdha (saturated), and (*iii*) Rukṣa (harsh), occurring in people who have no feeling for Kṛṣṇa. They are again differentiated, with reference to the degree of excitement produced by the presence of one or more Sāttvikas, into (*a*) Dhūmāyita (smouldering) when there is only one Sāttvika, (*b*) Jvalita (flaming), when there are two or three Sāttvikas, (*c*) Dīpta (burning) when there are four or five Sāttvikas, and (*d*) Uddīpta (brightly burning), when six or all the Sāttvikas are present. The excitement, again, may last a long time (*bhūri-kāla-vyāpi*), may pervade many limbs (*bahvaṅga-vyāpi*), or may attain its climax by its own nature (*svarūpeṇa-utkarṣaḥ*).

In this connexion mention is made of Ābhāsas or semblances of Sāttvikas, which are an innovation. They are (*i*) those which arise from the semblance of Rati (*ratyābhāsa-bhāva*), (*ii*) those which arise in

feeble-hearted people who are by nature incapable of them (*sattvābhāsa-bhāva*), e. g. a grammarian or an old Mīmāṃsaka, (*iii*) those which arise from habit in people whose heart is soft externally but hard internally (*niḥsattva*), and (*iv*) those which arise in people who are hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*pratīpa*), e.g. Kaṃsa.

IV. The Vyabhicāri-bhāvas (Auxiliary Feelings)

These, also called Saṃcāri-bhāvas, are subsidiary feelings of a more less transitory nature, which are accessory, and which accompany or interrupt the dominant emotion (Sthāyi-bhāva) without, however, supplanting it. They are likened, in the orthodox manner, to the waves of the sea, whereby the dominant feeling is understood to be the sea.

The thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicāri-bhāvas are categorically accepted, defined and illustrated with reference to Kṛṣṇa-rati. They are : Nirveda (self-disparagement), Viṣāda (despondency), Dainya (depression), Glāni (debility), Śrama (weariness), Mada (intoxication), Garva (arrogance), Śaṅkā (apprehension), Trāsa (alarm), Āvega (flurry), Unmāda (madness), Apasmāra (dementedness), Vyādhi (sickness), Moha (distraction), Mṛti (death), Ālasya (indolence), Jāḍya (stupefaction), Vrīḍā (shame), Avahittha (dissembling), Smṛti (recollection), Vitarka (doubt), Cintā (reflection), Mati (resolve), Dhṛti (equanimity), Harṣa (joy), Autsukya (longing), Ugratā (sternness), Amarṣa (impatience of opposition), Asūyā (envy), Cāpalya (unsteadiness), Nidrā (drowsiness), Supti (dreaming), and Bodha (awakening).

Thirteen more Vyabhicāri-bhāvas are also mentioned (p. 524), but they are included in one or other of the above thirty-three. Under individual Rasas in Vibhāga iv

some other Vyabhicārins are mentioned, but they are special and peculiar to the Rasas dealt with.

The classification of these Accessory feelings is peculiar. They are said to be (*i*) independent (*svatantra*) where they are developed independently of the dominant feeling (Sthāyi-bhāva), or (*ii*) dependent on the dominant feeling (*paratantra*). The dependent may be directly (*sākṣāt*) or indirectly (*vyavahita*) connected, or may be subordinated to two different Rasas (*avara*). The independent may be either *rati-śūnya* (devoid of any touch of the Sthāyin), or *rati-gandhin* (giving a hint of the Sthāyin and incidentally touching it).

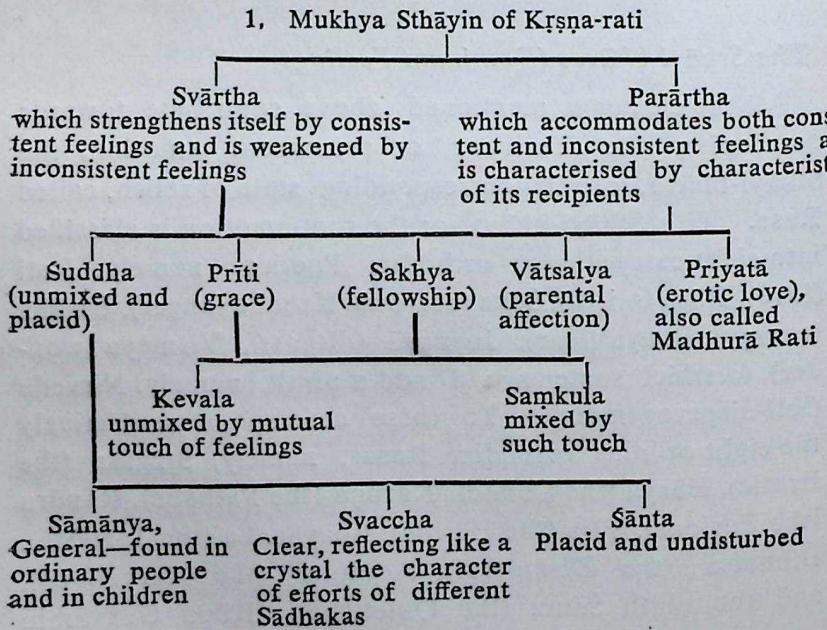
After briefly touching upon the question of Contrariety (Prātikūlya) and Impropriety (Anaucitya) of Bhāvas, the section concludes with the treatment of Bhavotpatti (mere excitement of Bhāva), Bhāva-saṃdhi (contact of two different Bhāvas), Bhāva-śabalatā (allaying of each preceding Bhāva by the succeeding) and Bhava-śānti (toning down of a highly developed Bhāva).

V. The Sthāyi-bhāvas (Dominant Feelings)

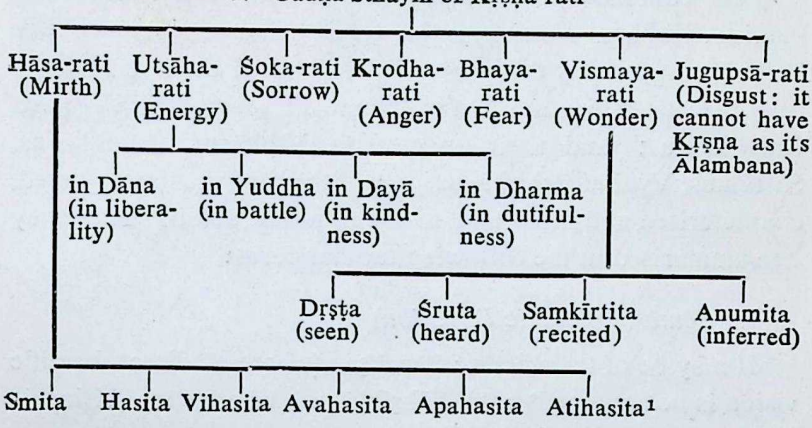
All the elements mentioned above contribute towards developing the dominant or permanent emotion, the Sthāyi-bhāva, into its corresponding state of relish, called Rasa. This Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-emotion is classified into eight categories in orthodox Poetics: namely, Rati (love), Hāsa (mirth), Śoka (sorrow), Krodha (anger), Utsāha (energy), Bhaya (fear), Jugupsā (disgust), Vismaya (wonder), to which some would add a ninth, namely, Nirveda (self-disparagement). To these correspond respectively the eight or nine orthodox Rasas, namely, Śṛṅgāra (the Erotic), Hāsya (the Comic), Karuṇa (the Pathetic), Raudra (the Furious), Vīra (the Heroic), Bhayānaka (the Terrible), Bībhatsa (the Disgustful), Adbhuta (the Marvellous), and the ninth Śānta (the Quietistic). Rūpa Gosvāmin

accepts all these, but his classification and treatment are different.

The Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-emotion of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa is taken to be the feeling which concerns Kṛṣṇa as the object (*śrīkṛṣṇa-viṣayā rati*), and the nine orthodox Sthāyi-bhāvas are evaluated in terms of this idea. The Kṛṣṇa-rati, as the Sthāyin, may be Mukhya (Primary) or Gauṇa (Secondary), according as it is directly or indirectly related. Thus, Sakhya (Friendship) or Vātsalya (Parental Affection) is Mukhya or Primary, while Hāsa-rati (=Hāsottarā Rati or Kṛṣṇa-rati involving Mirth) is Gauṇa or Secondary ; in the former the Kṛṣṇa-viṣayā Rati is direct, while in the latter it subordinates itself to Hāsa. Under the latter, the septet of orthodox Sthāyins (excluding the erotic Rati and Nirveda) is included, while the former includes the two excluded Sthāyins, (Rati, erotic love, and Nirveda, self-disparagement), as well as Prīti (Grace), Sakhya (Friendship) and Vātsalya (Parental Affection), which are innovations. The classification of Mukhya and Gauṇa Sthāyins is, therefore, as follows:

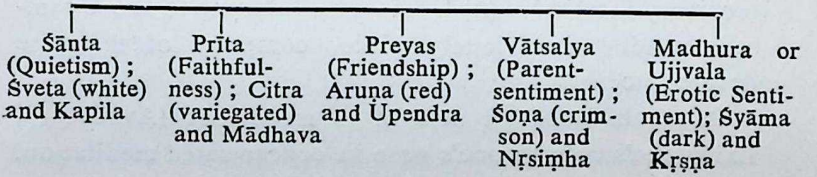


2. Gauṇa Sthāyin of Kṛṣṇa-rati

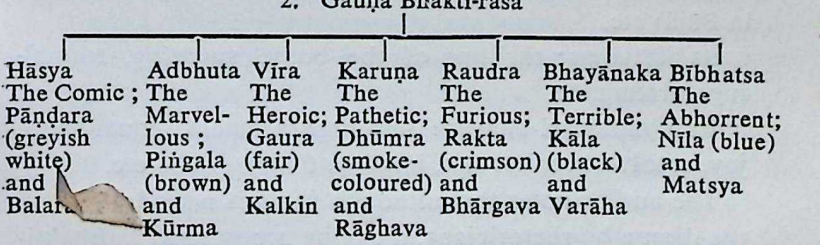


According to the above classification of Kṛṣṇa-viṣayā Rati, as the Sthāyin, the resulting types of Bhakti-Rasa (with their respective coloured figuration and their presiding deities) would be:

1. Mukhya Bhakti-rasa



2. Gauṇa Bhakti-rasa



(The coloured figuration of each Rasa and the attribution of a presiding deity are in accordance with the orthodox rhetorical tradition).

1 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* has also this sixfold classification of Hāsa; but the classification is as old as Bharata (*Nāṭya-śāstra*, ed. Kāvyamālā, vi. 52f).

This concludes the Dakṣiṇa-vibhāga of the work. The Paścima-vibhāga continues the topic, and devotes its five Laharīs respectively to the consideration of the five Mukhya Bhakti-rasas, which are by far the most important in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-sāstra ; and their respective Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, Sāttvikas, Vyabhicāri-bhāvas and Sthāyi-bhāvas are named, characterised and illustrated to the minutest detail. They may be summarised in the following tabular form:

I. *Sānta (Quietistic Devotion)*

It may be of two kinds : Parokṣa (where a direct beatific vision is not attained) and Sākṣātkāra (where such vision is attained); accordingly

Its Sthāyi-bhāva, which is Śuddhā Kṛṣṇa-viṣayā Rati, may be Sama (equable) or Sāndra (compact).

Its Vibhāvas: (*a*) Ālambana—Caturbhuja Nārāyaṇa and the two kinds of Śāntas, *viz.* Ātmārāmas (emancipated Ṛṣis like Sanaka, Sanandana etc.) and Tāpasas (ordinary ascetics). (*b*) Uddīpana—listening to the Upaniṣads, residing in a lonely place, company of the wise devotee etc.

Its Anubhāvas: all acts of a mendicant (Avadhūta), fixing one's eyes on one's nose in concentrated meditation, Aṅguṣṭha-mudrā (different kinds of disposition of fingers in Pūjā) etc.

Its Sāttvikas: thrilling of the body, sweating, trembling, fainting etc.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: self-disparagement, equanimity, joy, resolve, recollection, longing, flurry, doubt etc.

The author notes that although Śama is not admitted in the drama by rhetoricians, it can be accepted as a Bhakti-rasa inasmuch as it involves Śānta-rati.

II. *Prīta (Devotion as Faithfulness)*

It may be of two kinds: Sambhrama-prīta, involving servitude (Dāsatva), and Gaurava-Prīta, involving the feeling

of being brought up as a younger relative (Lālanīyatva). They are separately treated:

1. Saṃbhrama-Prīta

Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Prīti, affection, due to honour (*saṃbhrama*) or esteem (*ādara*) towards Kṛṣṇa as a Master or Lord.

Its Vibhāvas: (*a*) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and his Servants (Dāsas). The latter are either Adhikṛta (Controlled, *e.g.* Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, etc.), Āśrita (Protected), Pārṣada (Courtiers or Assistants, *e.g.* Uddhava, Dāruka etc), and Anuga (Servitors in Vraja or Dvārakā). (*b*) Uddīpana —receiving Kṛṣṇa's favour (*anugraha*), taking the dust of his feet, eating the remnants of his meal etc.

Its Anubhāvas: entire application of self, freedom from jealousy etc.

Its Sāttvikas: all the Sāttvikas, beginning with stupefaction (Stambha).

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all excepting the following nine, namely, Mada, Śrama, Trāsa, Apasmāra, Ālasya, Ugratā, Krodha, Asūyā and Nidrā, which have hardly any scope.

2. Gaurava-Prīta

Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Prīti, affection, due to the sense of (inferior) personal relationship to Kṛṣṇa.

Its Vibhāvas: (*a*) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and the persons related to him as Lālanīyas, either as Kaniṣṭha (younger brother, *e.g.* Śaraṇa, Gada etc.) or as Putra (son, *e.g.* Pradyumna etc). (*b*) Uddīpana—Kṛṣṇa's fondness, his smile etc.

Its Anubhāvas: sitting under Kṛṣṇa, following his footsteps, obeying his orders, obeisance (*praṇāma*), humility etc.

Its Sāttvikas: Stambha etc. as above.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: those mentioned under Saṃbhrama-Prīta.

Both these types of Prīta can become Preman (love), Sneha (affection) and Rāga (attachment) according to the degree of development and the circumstances.

[Jīva Gosvāmin adopts a slightly more elaborate classification of Prīta Rasa into Āśraya-bhakti, Dāsya-bhakti and Praśraya-bhakti. See ch. v below].

III. *Preyas* (*Devotion as Friendship*)

Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Sakhya-rati or the feeling of friendship and confidence (*viśrambhātmā*).

Its Vibhāvas: (*a*) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and his friends of the same age (*vayasya*), either in Vraja (Śrīdāman etc.) or elsewhere (Arjuna etc.). The friend, according to the difference of age and circumstances, may be Suhṛt (a little older in age), Sakhi (a little younger in age), Priya-sakhi (same age), and Priya-narma-sakhi (assistant in love-affairs). A long list of their names, duties and characteristics is given. (*b*) Uddīpana—age, appearance, flute (Veṇu), pleasantry, sport, etc.

Its Anubhāvas: various sports and pastimes, pleasantry, close companionship in sleep and waking etc.

Its Sāttvikas: Stambha, Sveda etc. as are suitable.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all excepting Ugratā. Trāsa and Ālasya, some appearing during union and some in separation.

The Preyas may develop into Praṇaya, Preman, Sneha and Rāga.

IV. *Vātsalya* (*Devotion as Parent-sentiment*)

Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Vatsala-rati or parental affection of kindness and pity (*anukampā*).

Its Vibhāvas: (*a*) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa, and his Elders (Gurus) such as Nanda, Yaśodā, Vasudeva etc. (*b*) Uddīpana—His age, appearance, childishness, smile etc.

Its Anubhāvas: touching the head and the body, blessing, ordering etc.

Its Sāttvikas: all the eight usual Sāttvikas and the flowing of the breasts (*stana-srava*) in persons standing in *loco maternus.*

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all mentioned in Prīta, along with Apasmāra.

It may appear like Preman (*premavat*), Sneha (*snehavat*) and Rāga (*rāgavat*).

The author notes (p. 815) that some writers on Dramaturgy admit this Rasa, and quotes in support Viśvanātha (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, iii. 251); but Viśvanātha is perhaps singular in this respect, and it is possible that his views were themselves influenced by Vaiṣṇava ideas. [See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. ii, p. 276. It may be noted in this connexion the Rudraṭa mentions Preyas (Friendship), which Rasa is accepted by Bhoja Some writers, like Bhānudatta, would even add Śraddhā, along with Bhakti. These indicate the very reluctant admission of these Vaiṣṇava conceptions into the conventional eight or nine categories of orthodox Poetics].

V. *Madhura Rasa* (*Devotion as the Erotic Sentiment*)

As this topic is reserved for more detailed treatment in Rūpa Gosvāmin's next work, *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, it is only briefly dealt with here. Its classification into Saṃbhoga (love in union) and Vipralamba (love in separation) and their further sub-divisions are only just referred to. This is, however, the most important Rasa and is styled in the later work as *bhakti-rasa-rāj.*

Its Sthāyi-bhāva: Priyatā, love, or Madhurā Rati, the sweet feeling, which inspires the mutual (*mithaḥ*) enjoyment (*saṃbhoga*) of Kṛṣṇa and his Gopīs.

Its Vibhāvas: (*a*) Ālambana—Kṛṣṇa and his Beloved Gopīs, of whom Rādhā is the chief. (*b*) Uddīpana—the sound of his flute etc.

Its Anubhāvas: side-long glances, smile etc.

Its Sāttvikas: the usual eight.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all except Ugratā and Ālasya.

Having thus given a detailed exposition of the Primary or Mukhya Bhakti Rasas, the Uttara or last Vibhāga of the work proceeds, in its nine Laharīs, to consider the seven Secondary or Gauṇa Bhakti Rasas, their mutual relation and opposition as subsidiary or contrary sentiments, and lastly, the semblance (Ābhāsa) of these Rasas. Although Rūpa Gosvāmin admits a total of twelve Bhakti-rasas, he tells us that in the authoritative Purāṇas and other scriptures, one finds in fact only the first five Mukhya or primary Bhakti-rasas,[1] that these five are considered as the real Bhakti-rasas, and that the seven Secondary Rasas of Hāsa etc. are generally ancilliary to them.[2] The septet of Secondary or Gauṇa Rasas includes, however, seven out of the nine conventional Rasas, the remaining two alone being admitted into the Primary or Mukhya. The exposition, therefore, of the seven Gauṇa Rasas follows in the main the treatment of orthodox Poetics, and need not be summarised here in detail, especially as they are not regarded as Rasas of primary importance in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra. They are secondary, because they are not always present (*kādācitkodbhavatvena*, Jīva). Thus, Heroism is not essential to Kṛṣṇa-rati, but Heroism which involves Kṛṣṇa-rati becomes a Rasa for that very reason. It is also maintained that these seven Gauṇas can be easily included (*antaḥ-pāta*) in the scope of the five Mukhyas. Thus, the Adbhuta (Marvellous) is included in all the five ; the Hāsya (Comic) in the Sakhya ; the Karuṇa (Pathetic) in the Vātsalya; the Vīra (Heroic), in its different aspects, in the Sakhya and the Vātsalya ; the Bhayānaka (Terrible) in the Vātsalya and the Prīta (Dāsya) ; the Bībhatsa (Abhorrent) in the Śānta ; and the Raudra (Furious) partly in the Vātsalya and partly in the Madhura. The conflict and comity of the Rasas, which constitute the next topic dealt with, can

1 *vastutas tu purāṇādau pañcadhaiva vilokyate*, p. 601.

2 *amī pañcaiva śāntādyā harer bhakti-rasā matāḥ/ eṣu hāsādayaḥ prāyo bibhrati vyabhicāritām//.*

be easily inferred from this relationship to one another. Of the five Mukhya Rasas, the Śānta and the Prīta are mutually agreeable; the Vātsalya is agreeable to none; the Sakhya and the Vātsalya are neither agreeable nor disagreeable to each other; the Madhura and the Prīta are antagonistic. Hence, it is possible that more than one of these Rasas can reside in the same person. Thus, the Sakhya, Prīta (Dāsya) and Vātsalya are found in Balarāma; the Vātsalya and Sakhya in Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma; the Sakhya and Prīta (Dāsya) in Arjuna, Uddhava, Nakula and Sahadeva; and so forth.[1] The five Mukhya and seven Gauṇa Rasas are supposed to react on the mind in five different ways. Thus, the Śānta fills the mind completely (Pūrti); the Prīta, Preyas, Vātsalya, Madhura and Hāsya develop (Vikāśa); the Vīra and the Adbhuta expand (Vistāra); the Karuṇa and the Raudra distract (Vikṣepa); and the Bhayānaka and the Bībhatsa repel (Kṣobha). This is a further working out of the attributes of Vistāra (expansion), Vikāśa (pervasion) and Druti (melting) of orthodox poetics.

The topic of Apparent Sentiment (Rasābhāsa) is next taken up; but the treatment is original. The Rasābhāsa occurs where the ingredients of the Rasa are either insufficient (*aṅga-hīnatva*) or improperly developed (*aṅga-vairūpya*). Three cases are distinguished: (*i*) Upa-rasa, where the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and the Sthāyi-bhāva are improper (*virūpatā-prāpta*), e.g. the Rasa developed in inanimate beings, etc. (*ii*) Anu-rasa, where the Vibhāvas etc. have no reference to Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-saṃbandha-varjita*), and (*iii*) Apa-rasa, where the Rasa is developed in persons hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*tat-pratipakṣa*).

The learning displayed in the work is indeed varied,

1 *Prīti-saṃdarbha*, pp. 441f.—The Rasābhāsa is defined more comprehensively by Jīva Gosvāmin as the conflict of the dominant Rasa with an improper Rasa as well as with improper Vibhāva, Anubhāva, Vyabhicārin etc.

extensive and well digested ; but it is of a limited and miscellaneous kind. The sources are chiefly the Purāṇas and other authoritative Vaiṣṇava scriptures. There is indeed much analytical acuteness ; and the scholasticism, which created the Navya Nyāya at about the same period of time, is very much in evidence, in its zest for formal definitions, nice and hair-splitting distinctions, elaborate classifications, and industrious collection of suitable poetical illustrations. But even if analytical, the attitude is hardly critical ; and in spite of its anxiety to do justice to facts of actual experience, its extreme formalism cannot be doubted. Even if there is psychologising, there is too much of dissection and elusive chasing of protean complexes ; and the essentials are sometimes apt to be smothered by the overwhelming mass of wearisome details. The concern is, no doubt, with the peculiar psychology of Vaiṣṇava emotions, but not a single philosophical work is cited ; and as Jñāna in the orthodox sense is rigidly excluded, philosophical discussions are naturally out of court. The *Bhagavad-gītā* is cited only twice ; and there is hardly any reference to other schools of Vaiṣṇava thought. Of the Pañcarātra, only late and apocryphal works like the *Nārada-pañcarātra* is quoted but not very frequently. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is cited only once, the *Mahābhārata* four times and the *Harivaṃśa* only five times. Of the classical Sanskrit poets, Māgha is quoted twice ; Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya-śataka* once ; and our author's taste for poetical literature is curiously circumscribed to such works as the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka, the *Mukunda-mālā* of Kulaśekhara and the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva. His own religious dramas and poems furnish many illustrative quotations. Rūpa Gosvāmin shows an undoubted mastery of the principles and technicalities of Sanskrit Poetics, but his chief sources appear to be Bharata (quoted twice), the *Daśa-rūpaka* (quoted once), the *Rasa-sudhākara* (quoted once, *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅgabhūpāla) and probably Viśva-nātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which is anonymously quoted with

approval[1] in one place. With the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas he displays an extensive acquaintance, but here again the largest number of quotations comes from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (especially the Daśama), the *Padma* and the *Skanda*, all of which are canonically accepted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. There are nearly four hundred poetical quotations in the work, which by themselves constitute an almost encyclopaedic anthology of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa. We give here a classified index of the works and authors cited in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, which will give an idea of the author's erudition and his literary taste and interests.[2]

(The references are by page, as the numbering of the verses in the printed edition is not regular).

(1) *The Epics etc.*

Mahābhārata 88, 124, 258, 592 ; Rāmāyaṇa 605 ; Harivaṃśa 260, 421, 436, 441, 854 ; Bhagavad-gītā 39, 70.

(2) *The Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas*:

Śrīmad-bhāgavata (especially the Daśama or the Tenth Skandha) 12, 14, 17, 18, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49-56, 59, 60, 68, 69, 70, 71, 78, 83, 94, 96, 101, 102, 103, 104, 114, 115, 124, 126, 129, 132, 135, 138, 140, 142, 147 (praise of the work), 152, 154, 160, 163, 168, 190, 191, 195, 197, 199, 214, 216, 232, 240, 257, 265, 271, 286, 287, 291, 293, 295, 298, 300, 301, 303, 310, 312, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 341, 346, 348, 349, 352, 359, 384, 387, 390, 395, 406, 407, 412, 415, 422, 423, 442, 444, 446, 447, 448, 453, 457, 465, 467, 473, 478, 480, 484, 485, 486, 490, 491, 499, 502, 505, 506, 511, 513, 514, 534, 581, 618, 651, 656, 657, 659, 662, 669, 675, 676, 687, 688, 690, 691, 715, 732, 755, 765, 766, 770, 773, 787, 788, 790, 792, 801, 808, 829, 864, 867, 874, 933.

1 In his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (ed. Rasavihari Samkhya-tirtha, Kashimbazar 1907), however, Rūpa Gosvāmin does not speak favourably of Viśvanātha's work. At the outset of this work, he states that in composing it he consulted the Bharata-śāstra and the *Rasa-sudhākara*, and generally rejected the treatment of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as being opposed to Bharata's views. It must, however, be noted that Rūpa has, both in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Ujjvala nīlamaṇi*, departed very materially from Bharata, and sometimes quotes Bharata merely to criticise him.

2 This and the following indices are not meant to be exhaustive, but it is hoped that no important entry is overlooked.

Padma 16, 19, 20, 34, 56, 66, 82, 87, 88, 93, 95, 96, 106, 109, 110, 117, 118, 134, 136, 137, 143, 144, 177, 188, 192, 200, 215, 351, 354, 501; Skanda 79, 82, 85, 95, 96, 100, 106, 107, 109, 112, 122, 130, 131, 132, 135, 159, 194, 196, 660, 764; Nāradīya 81, 84, 98, 102, 123, 193; Nārasiṃha 109, 117, 130, 211, 669; Brahmāṇḍa 98, 133, 167; Viṣṇu 116, 505; Āgneya 113, 225; Varāha 89, 112; Ādi-Varāha 133; Mahā-Varāha 333; Kaurma 332; Mahā-Kaurma 180; Bṛhad-Vāmana 317; Ādipurāṇa 135, 143; Brahma 83; Brahma-vaivarta 85; Bhaviṣyottara 98, 113, 137; Liṅga 103; Garuḍa 114; Purāṇāntara 99, 118.

(3) *Other Religious Texts and Commentaries*:

Viṣṇudharma 104, 285; Viṣṇu-dharmottara 111, 118, 628, 922; Viṣṇu-rahasya 86, 103; Viṣṇu-yāmala 334; Brahma-yāmala 79; Vaiṣṇava Tantra 333; Nārada-pañcarātra 11, 23, 59, 107; Nārāyaṇa-pañcarātra 218; Pañcarātra 36, 129, 213, 216, 217; Śuka-saṃhitā 195; Agastya-saṃhitā 71, 111, 125; Brahma-saṃhitā 305; Kātyāyana-saṃhitā 86; Tantra 21, 24, 111, 170, 187; Bhāvārtha-dīpikā 27; Śrīdhara-svāmin (author of above) 630; Hari-bhakti-subhodaya 23, 27, 99, 100, 141, 198, 639, 677, 866; Hari-bhakti-vilāsa 72, 129; (Bhagavan-)Nāma-kaumudī 630; (Hari-)Bhakti-viveka 127.

(4) *Stotras*:

Haya-śīrṣīya-Nārāyaṇa-vyūha-stava 57, 58, 182; Aparādha-bhañjana 638; Bilvamaṅgala-stava 626; Stavāvalī 374, 507; Yāmunācārya-stotra 127, 267, 307.

(5) *Poetical Works*:

Bhartṛhari, Vairāgya-śataka 503; Śiśupāla-vadha 267, 279; (Kṛṣṇa-) Karṇāmṛta 202, 203, 379, 670, 671, 674; Bilvamaṅgala 296, 386, 456, 472, Gīta-govinda 314, 881, 821, 829; Govinda-vilāsa 571; Mukunda-mālā 567.

Rūpa Gosvāmin's own works (poetical and dramatic):

Uddhava-saṃdeśa 885; Haṃsa-dūta 479, 689, 876; Lalita-mādhava 281, 290, 303, 322, 372, 453, 470, 471, 632, 789, 808, 822, 939, 946; Vidagdha-mādhava 320, 496, 510, 654, 791, 808, 880, 889, 930, 934; Dāna-keli-kaumudī 441, 555, 749, 824; Padyāvalī 203, 254, 395, 460, 487, 512, 639, 821, 823, 825, 828, 830, 831.

(6) *Rhetorical Works and Authors*:

Bharata 592, 593; Daśarūpaka 865; Sāhitya-darpaṇa (anonymously) 815 (=*SD*, iii. 251); Rasa-sudhākara 451 (=*Rasārṇava-sudhā-kara* of Śingbhūpāla, on ii. 13); Nāṭyācāryāḥ 922.

(7) *Authors quoted by name only, excluding those already indexed*:

Hanūmat 58; Sudeva 630; Śrīmat-Prabhu (=Sanātana Gosvāmin) 200.

(8) *Anonymous References*:

Purāṇāntara, see above. Granthāntara 160 ; Prācām 454 ; Nāṭyācāryāḥ, see above ; Tantra and Vaiṣṇava-tantra, see above.

3. *The Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*

Against this background of a complicated scheme is to be studied the next work, the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*,[1] in which the Ujjvala, or Madhura, or Śṛṅgāra Bhakti-rasa, the Erotic Love of Kṛṣṇa, among the five primary Rasas, has been baptised into transcendence. The very importance of this Rasa is borne out by the fact that it required a separate and specialised enquiry in a supplementary work, which, if it did not exceed in volume the original treatise, did far outshine it in the complication of details and profusion of illustrations. As before, the entire theme is planned and modelled upon that of the Śṛṅgāra Rasa of Sanskrit Poetics, and the general terminology and main concepts belong to its current stock-in-trade. The fundamentals of the whole doctrine of the Erotic Rasa and its rhetorical psychology are worked out from the point of view of Kṛṣṇa as an ideal hero (*nāyaka-cūḍāmaṇi*) ; and as the hero and the heroine in their various moods, aspects and situations form the ground of this erotic sentiment, the work is really an exhaustive dissertation not only upon the sentiment itself, but also upon the *minutiae* of the hero and heroine, their adjuncts and associates, as well as an analysis of their various attributes and expressions of love.

The basic feeling (Sthāyi-bhāva) of the Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa is, as we have already noted, the Priyatā or Madhurā Rati, the fondness or sweet feeling which inspires the mutual (*mithaḥ*) erotic enjoyment (*saṃbhoga*) of Kṛṣṇa

1 Our references are to the Kāvyamālā edition (Bombay 1913) of the work, with the commentaries of Jīva Gosvāmin (*Locana-racanī*) and Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*Ānanda-candrikā*). Viśvanātha also wrote a summary of this work, entitled *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa* ed. Prangopala Gosvami, Navadvīpa 1927), to which occasional references are also made by us.

and the Gopīs.[1] This feeling of Kṛṣṇa, being brought to a state of relish in the heart of the Bhakta[2] by means of its appropriate Vibhāvas. Anubhāvas etc., becomes the erotic Madhura Rasa, which is styled "the chief among the Bhakti-rasas (*bhakti-rasa-rāj*)." The work, therefore, proceeds at once to the detailed analysis of the Vibhāvas etc. of this Rasa.

The Ālambana Vibhāva, or the material ground and object of this feeling, is supposed to be Kṛṣṇa himself and his beloved Gopīs (*vallabhāḥ*). As the Nāyaka or hero of this feeling, a long list of Kṛṣṇa's twenty-five attributes as a lover is given, although most of these are already included in the previous list of his sixty-four general excellences which we have mentioned above. The orthodox classification[3] of the hero, appearing as the beloved (*kāntatvena sphuran*, Jīva), into Dhīrodātta etc. is accepted ; but Kṛṣṇa may figure either as Pati (husband) or Upa-pati (lover), and it is on the latter aspect that the excellence of his love is supposed to rest.[4] As an amour with a married woman is hardly permitted by orthodox theory[5] to form the dominant theme of a play or poem. Rūpa Gosvāmin cites Bharata in support, and states that if some older authorities have spoken lightly of the Upa-pati, such remarks should be understood to have an application to the ordinary hero (*prākṛta nāyaka*), and not to Kṛṣṇa, who incarnated himself for tasting the essence of the Rasa.[6]

1 *mitho harer mṛgākṣyāś ca saṃbhogasyādi-kāraṇam / madhurā-para-paryāyā priyatākhyoditā ratiḥ//*. Of the two aspects of the Līlā (or divine sport) of Kṛṣṇa, namely, Aiśvarya (power) and Mādhurya (sweetness), Jīva Gosvāmin, in his *Prīti-saṃdarbha* (pp. 704-715) declares the superiority of Mādhurya. Hence the supreme excellence of Madhurā Rati follows as a corollary.

2 *svādyatāṃ hṛdi bhaktānām ānītā.*

3 See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. ii, p. 269.

4 *atraiva paramotkarṣaḥ śṛṅgārasya pratiṣṭhitaḥ.*

5 Rudraṭa xiv. 12-13 ; Rudrabhaṭṭa, ii. 40 ; also *Daśa-rūpaka* ii. 19, (*nānyoḍhāṅgi-rase kvacit*). But Śiṅgabhūpāla (*Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, i. 79) classifies the Nāyaka into Pati, Upa-pati and Vaiśika.

6 *rasa-niryāsa-svādārtham avatāriṇi.*

The Parakīyā (=belonging to another) heroine, who is the object of the Upa-pati's love, may however be a maiden (Kanyakā) or a married woman (Paroḍhā). Even if orthodox Poetics deprecates love to a married woman,[1] she is, according to Vaiṣṇava ideas, the highest type of the heroine, and forms the central theme of the later Parakīyā doctrine of the school, in which the love of the mistress for her lover becomes the universally accepted symbol of the soul's passionate devotion to God. Kṛṣṇa as a Nāyaka, again, is conceived to be the most complete (Pūrṇatama) in Vraja, more complete (Pūrṇatara) in Mathurā, and complete (Purṇa) in Dvārakā. In their character as a lover, both the Pati and the Upa-pati, may be (following orthodox classification) the faithful (Anukūla), the gallant whose attention is equally divided among many (Dakṣiṇa), the sly (Śaṭha) and the saucy (Dhṛṣṭa). Thus ninety-six different aspects of Kṛṣṇa as the hero are obtained by this elaborate classification.

The ordinary classification of the Nāyikā of classical Poetics is accepted, but some complication is introduced by conceiving the heroine as the Beloved of Kṛṣṇa (Harivallabhā) from the devotional point of view. The Nāyikā may be Svīyā (one's own) or Parakīyā (another's) according as the hero is husband (Pati) or lover (Upa-pati). Mention is made of Kṛṣṇa's sixteen thousand wives in Vraja and one hundred and eight in Dvārakā, although we are assured that the actual number is infinite! We are told (pp. 41f) that the Gopīs of Vraja were in fact married according to Gāndharva rites (self-choice), and as such they should be taken as Svīyā heroines, but they are generally considered (*prāyena viśrutā*) in Kṛṣṇa's Prakaṭa-līla (Manifest Sport) as Parakīyā, because

1 Rūpa Gosvāmin explains that this is because in orthodox Poetics the concern is with the ordinary hero (*tat tu syāt prākṛta-kṣudra-nāyakādyanusāratalḥ*). He says similarly in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (śl. 11): *neṣṭā yad aṅgini rase kavibhiḥ paroḍhā/ tad gokulāmbujadṛśāṃ kūlam antareṇa/ āśaṃsayā rasavidher avatāritānāṃ/ kaṃsāriṇā rasika-maṇḍala-śekhareṇa//*. This verse is quoted anonymously at p. 80.

of the secrecy of their love (*pracchanna-kāmatā*) and the unmanifest character of the marriage (*avyaktatvād vivāhasya*).[1] There was, however, no jealousy on the part of the Gopas towards Kṛṣṇa for sporting with their wives, because through the Māyā of Kṛṣṇa each had an apparent wife with him (cf. *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, x. 33. 37) ; and the immaculateness of the Vrajadevīs is declared by the assumption that they never had any real union with their husbands.[2] Each of these two kinds[3] of the heroine, the Svīyā and the Parakīyā, is classified again, in accordance with the scheme of classical Poetics, into the adolescent and artless (Mugdhā), the youthful (Madhyā), and the mature and audacious (Pragalbhā). Of these, the Madhyā and the Pragalbhā, according to their capacity for Māna, may be Dhīrā (self-possessed), Adhīrā (not self-possessed) and Dhīrādhīrā (the partially self-possessed).

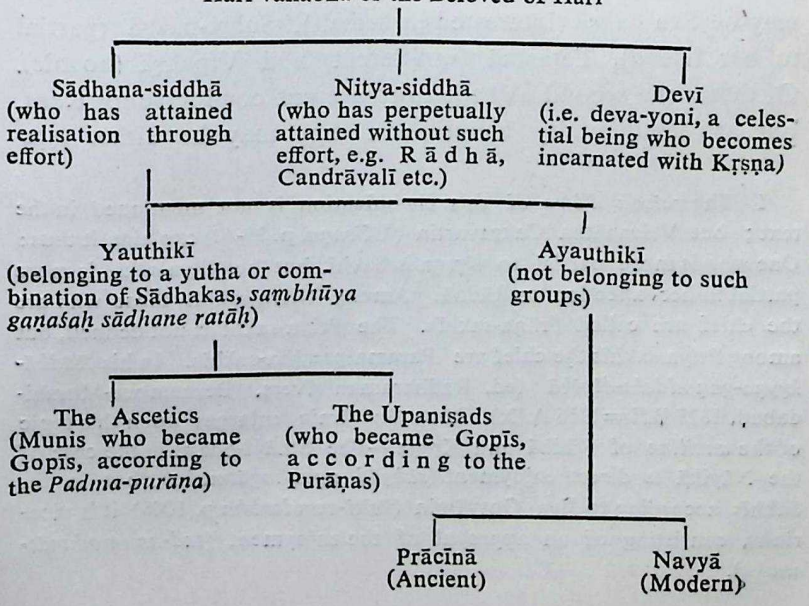
1 Viśvanātha Cakravartin adds (*Kiraṇa*, p. 34) : *kiyantyaḥ gokule svīyā api pitrādi-śaṅkayā parakīyā eva.* Jīva Gosvāmin deals in some detail with this question of the relation of the Gopīs to Kṛṣṇa in his *Prīti-saṃdarbha* (pp. 676-686, 936), for which see below, chap. v. It is differentiated from ordinary sexual relation (*prākṛta kāma*) and characterised as pure love (*śuddha-preman*), and the distinction of Svīyā and Parakīyā is said to be possible only in Prakaṭa Līlā (*vastutaḥ parama-svīyā api prakaṭa-līlāyāṃ parakīyamānāḥ śrī-vrajadevyaḥ*, p. 936). In his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* (ed. Prangopala Gosvami, Nadiya 1925, pp. 547f), Jīva offers the mystical-philosophical explanation that the Gopīs, as well as Kṛṣṇa's wives in Mathurā and Dvārakā, are really his Svarūpa-śaktis. The Parakīyā-bhāva of the Gopīs is not a reality but a mere semblance (Ābhāsa) which, occurring only during the Prakaṭa Vṛndāvana-līlā, is short-lived.

2 *na jātu vraja-devīnāṃ patibhiḥ saha saṃgamaḥ.*

3 The third kind, the Sādhāraṇī, or Sāmānyā or Veśyā (Courtesan), is omitted. The Kubjā, who is extolled (p. 85) for her feeling towards Kṛṣṇa, is apparently regarded as Parakīyā (*bhāva-yogāt tu sairaṃdhrī parakīyaiva saṃmatā*). But Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-saṃdarbha*, p. 933) would frankly regard her as Sāmānyā, whose Dāsya (annointing Kṛṣṇa's body) was raised into Madhura Rasa. As her desire was for Kṛṣṇa, it was directed towards a worthy object and therefore praised ; but, being selfish and frankly sensual, it is deprecated in comparison with the love of the Gopīs, which was free from these traits.

They are further arranged, according to the eightfold diversity of their condition or situation in relation to the hero, into (*i*) the Abhisārikā, who goes out and meets the hero in assignation, (*ii*) the Vāsaka-sajjā, who adorns herself in expectation of the hero, (*iii*) the Utkaṇṭhitā, who is disappointed by his non-arrival through misadventure or involuntary absence, (*iv*) the Vipralabdhā, who is deceived of her expectation by unfaithfulness, (*v*) the Khaṇḍitā, who is outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness in the hero, (*vi*) the Kalahāntaritā, who is separated by quarrel, (*vii*) the Proṣita-bhartṛka, who pines for the absence of the hero gone abroad, and (*viii*) the Svādhīna-bhartṛkā, who has the hero under absolute control. They may again, according to the rank each holds in the affection of the hero, be Uttamā, (best), Madhyamā (middling) and Kaniṣṭhā (lowest).

All this follows pretty closely the older rhetorical convention ; but a further classification from a different theological point of view is also attempted. This classification of the Beloved of Kṛṣṇa may be represented thus in a tabular form:



Of these Rādhā, as the Vṛndāvaneśvarī and eternal consort of Kṛṣṇa, is the foremost Beloved. A whole section is devoted to her, in which she is identified with the Hlādinī Mahāśakti of the Tantra (*tantre pratiṣṭhitā*) ; and a big list is given of her attributes and excellences, with the final remark that her characteristics, like those of Kṛṣṇa, are incapable of enumeration (*saṃkhyātīta*). Although the name of Rādhā is not found in general literature before *Hāla-saptaśatī*, an attempt is made to prove her antiquity by a reference (p. 60) to such late neo-vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads as the *Gopāla-tāpanī* and to the apocryphal *Ṛk-pariśiṣṭa*, as well as to the canonical *Padma-purāṇa* (cf. *Prīti-saṃdarbha* pp. 564-9). Her five kinds of companions, namely, Sakhī, Nitya-sakhī, Prāṇa-sakhī, Priya-sakhī and Parama-preṣṭha-sakhī, are then mentioned, and their individual names are recorded (p. 79).[1]

According to their luck in love (*saubhāgya*), each of the heroine may be again Adhikā (excessive), Samā (even) and Laghvī (light). According to her Svabhāva (temperament), she may be again Prakharā (sharp), Madhyā (equable) and Mṛdvī (mild). According to her attitude to her rivals, she may be Sva-pakṣā (interested in herself), Suhṛt-pakṣā (partial to her friend), Taṭasthā (indifferent) and Vipakṣā (hostile). Of these, the second and the third are not conducive to Rasa, but are incidentally mentioned ; they may be either Iṣṭa-

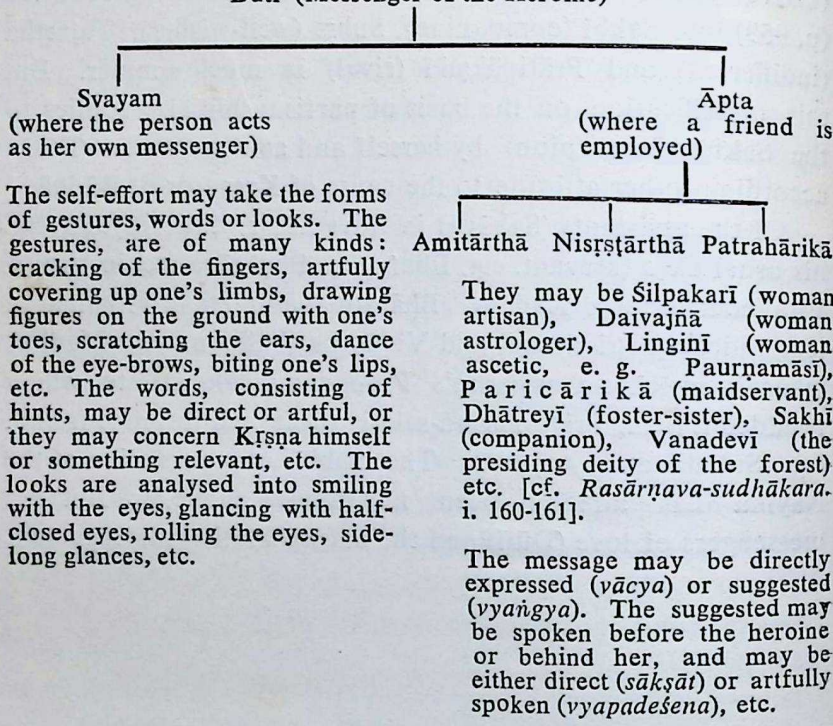
1 The *raison d'être* of this classification is not mentioned in the text ; but Viśvanātha Cakravartin (°*Kiraṇa*, p. 39-40) explains it thus: One who is more partial to Kṛṣṇa is Sakhī, but the Nitya-sakhī is more partial in her affection to Rādhā. Among Nitya-sakhīs, those who are the chief are called Prāṇa-sakhīs. The Priya-sakhī is not defined, but among Priya-sakhīs the chief are Parama-preṣṭha-sakhīs. In his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1323 B.E.=1916 A.D.), Rūpa Gosvāmin enlarges upon this topic of the *ancillae* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.—The Sthāyi-bhāva in the case of the Nāyikā is direct enjoyment (*sākṣād upabhogātmaka*), but in the Sakhīs, according to Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-saṃdarbha* p. 1046) it is vicarious, consisting of an approval of the enjoyment (*tad-anumodanātmaka*).

sādhakā (doing good) or Aniṣṭa-bādhakā (averting evil). The hostile type may be Iṣṭa-hantrī (an obstacle) or Aniṣṭakarī (active maker of mischief). Jīva Gosvāmin's classification (p. 959) into Sakhī (companion), Suhṛt (well-wisher). Taṭasthā (indifferent) and Prātipākṣikī (rival) is much simpler. But this classification on the basis of partisanship also applies to the Sakhī (Companion) by herself and as a messenger (Dūtī), according to her attitude to the cause of Kṛṣṇa or of Rādhā.

Of the assistants (Sahāya) in love-affair, the Nāyaka has his usual Ceṭa (servant, e.g. Bhaṅgura, Bhṛṅgāra etc. in Vraja), Viṭa (courtier, e.g. Kaḍāra, Bhāratībandhu etc.), Pīṭhamarda (comrade, e.g. Śrīdāman) and Vidūṣaka (buffoon, e.g. Madhumaṅgala in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdha-mādhava*), to which is added a fifth, Priya-narma-sakhi (dear and intimate friend, e.g. Subala and Arjuna). The Sakhī or companion of the Nāyikā has already been mentioned above.[1] But her messengers of love (Dūtī) and the nature of the message take

1 The Sakhī is an important person in the Rasa-śāstra and theology of Caitanyaism. Without her the blissful erotic sport of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is not nourished, nor does it expand. No one has access to the sport except the privileged Sakhīs and those devotees who imitate (through Rāgānugā mode) their attitude. Hence the devotional fancy of the faithful Vaiṣṇava adopts the way of the Gopīs and thinks on the sport, day and night, manifested in various erotic forms. It is for this reason that in the hagiology of the sect, as we have already noted, the great Vaiṣṇavas are figured as incarnations of the Sakhīs,—a curious sublimation of the Gopī-myth! In the Kāvyas, Nāṭakas, Stotras and Campūs of Kavikarṇapūra, Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa and Jīva, we shall see presently, the Sakhīs naturally play an important and ubiquitous rôle.

up an entire long section of the work. The classification of the Dūtī may be tabulated as follows:



The self-effort may take the forms of gestures, words or looks. The gestures, are of many kinds: cracking of the fingers, artfully covering up one's limbs, drawing figures on the ground with one's toes, scratching the ears, dance of the eye-brows, biting one's lips, etc. The words, consisting of hints, may be direct or artful, or they may concern Kṛṣṇa himself or something relevant, etc. The looks are analysed into smiling with the eyes, glancing with half-closed eyes, rolling the eyes, side-long glances, etc.

They may be Śilpakarī (woman artisan), Daivajñā (woman astrologer), Linginī (woman ascetic, e. g. Paurṇamāsī), Paricārikā (maidservant), Dhātreyī (foster-sister), Sakhī (companion), Vanadevī (the presiding deity of the forest) etc. [cf. *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*. i. 160-161].

The message may be directly expressed (*vācya*) or suggested (*vyaṅgya*). The suggested may be spoken before the heroine or behind her, and may be either direct (*sākṣāt*) or artfully spoken (*vyapadeśena*), etc.

So much about the Ālambana Vibhāvas. The Uddīpana Vibhāvas, which serve to foster the feeling by conditions of time, place and circumstance, constitute a much less extensive topic, but involve an equal elaboration of detail. Under this section come mainly the definition and classification of the various excellences of Kṛṣṇa and his beloved Gopīs, as well as such eternal (*taṭastha*) objects (e.g. spring, cloud, moon etc.) as would excite the feeling of love. The excellences of Kṛṣṇa having been already catalogued and illustrated in the previous work, the present work confines itself to an elaborate definition and illustration of the excellences of Kṛṣṇa's Beloved, which may be either physical (Kāyika), mental (Mānasika) and verbal (Vācika). The mental and verbal characteristics are dismissed in a few words ; but of physical excellences. such as beauty (Rūpa), complexion (Lāvanya),

softness (Mārdava) etc., prominence is given to the description of the three stages of youth (Yauvana), namely, Navya (fresh), Vyakta (manifest) and Pūrṇa (complete), along with Vayaḥ-saṃdhi (adolescence).[1] Other excellences of Kṛṣṇa refer to the peculiarities of Name (Nāman), Exploits (Carita), Sports (Līlā, e.g. playing on the flute, milking the cows, lifting of the Govardhana hill etc.), Maṇḍana (embellishments), and other relevant (*saṃbandhin*) and related (*saṃnihita*) characteristics, including a description of Vṛndāvana, its rivers, groves, trees, flowers, birds and beasts. Taṭastha Uddīpanas, as we have said above, include the conventional external objects (such as the cloud, full moon, southern breeze, etc.) which excite the feeling of love.

Three kinds of Anubhāvas, which consist of such outward manifestations of the feeling as follow and strengthen it, are distinguished, namely, twenty-two Alaṃkāras, seven Udbhāsvaras, and twelve Vācikas. Of the twenty-two Alaṃkāras or embellishments, the three physical ones (Bhāva, Hāva and Helā) refer to the degree of awakening and manifestation of love in a nature previously exempt ; then there are seven inherent (Sattvaja) qualities, such as brilliance of youth, beauty, sweetness, courage etc. ; and ten natural (Svabhāvaja) graces, such as Līlā (playful imitation of the beloved), Vilāsa (playful gestures), Vicchitti (decoration), Moṭṭāyita (clear expression of desire) etc., conclude the list. All this is conventional ;[2] but the seven Udbhāsvaras, which are new, include such gestures or physical expressions of love as unconscious untying of the knot of the lower garment (*nīvi-visaṃsrana*), dropping of the upper garment (*uttarīya-skhalana*), yawning (*jṛmbhā*), loosening of the hair (*keśa-saṃsrana*), etc. These are really aspects of Vilāsa and Moṭṭāyita mentioned above, but they are separately treated because they have a charm of their own. The twelve Vācikas or conversa-

1 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (i, 164f) speaks of four stages of Yauvana.

2 See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, pp. 271-72.

tional attributues are Ālāpa (agreeable and flattering talk), Vilāpa (lamentation), Saṃlāpa (dialogue), Pralāpa (vain or meaningless words), Anulāpa (repetition), Apalāpa (contrary application of a spoken word), Saṃdeśa (message), Atideśa (taking another's words as one's own), Apadeśa (hinting), Upadeśa (instruction), Nirdeśa (pointed reference) and Vyapadeśa (artful expression of one's desire).[1]

There is nothing novel in the treatment of the Sāttvikas which are really kinds of Anubhāvas. The eight orthodox Sāttvikas are accepted and are illustrated chiefly with respect to the heroine. But each is considered as a result of different subsidiary or auxiliary feelings ; e.g. Stupefaction (Stambha) is illustrated as caused respectively by fear, wonder, sorrow, impatience etc. As in the previous work, the Sāttvikas are classified as Smouldering (Dhūmāyita), Burning (Jvalita), Brightly Burning (Dīpta) and Flaming (Uddīpta).

The section on the Vyabhicāri-bhāvas or accessory feelings is a fairly long one, but the conventional thirty-three of these are accepted and illustrated, with the exception of Ugratā (sternness) and Ālasya (indolence), which, in the opinion of our author, are inapplicable to Śṛṅgāra. As in the case of the Sāttvikas, each of these is described as caused by different feelings, e.g. fear, wonder, anger, shame, contempt, sorrow, etc.[2] After this, a brief reference is made to the Commencement (Utpatti), Commixture (Saṃdhi), Conjunction (Śabalatā) and Allaying (Śānti) of different Bhāvas.

The work then proceeds to the detailed consideration of the Sthāyi-bhāva, the root-emotion, of the Madhura Rasa, and the treatment is entirely original.

The natural or worldly (*laukika*) circumstances which

1 This classification of Vācika follows *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ed. Trivandrum, i. 220f).

2 This procedure follows that of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*.

give rise to the feeling of love or Madhurā Rati, according to the degree of excellence, are:

(*i*) Abhiyoga, manifestation of the feeling, either directly or through a messenger.

(*ii*) Viṣaya, object of the senses, e.g. sound (*śabda*), touch (*sparśa*), smell (*gandha*) etc.

(*iii*) Saṃbandha, sense of glory in beauty, lineage, etc.

(*iv*) Abhimāna, sense of desirability of a particular pleasing object.

(*v*) Upamā, resemblance, however slight.

(*vi*) Svabhāva, nature or temperament, which does not depend upon outward cause. This may again be Nisarga (instinctive and deep-rooted habit) or Svarūpa (causeless self-accomplished essential). This Svarūpa may centre either on Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-niṣṭhā*) or on the Gopīs (*lalanā-niṣṭhā*).

But the Madhurā Rati, according as the heroine is Sādhāraṇī (a courtesan), Svīyā (wife) or Parakīyā (a maiden or a married woman) respectively, may be:

(*a*) Sādhāraṇī, general, e.g., in the case of the Kubjā, where the enjoyment is entirely for oneself (*ātma-tarpaṇaika-tātparyā*, Jīva). It extends up to the Preman (see below) stage of love.

(b) Samañjasā, well-proportioned, as in the case of the conjugal love of Rukmiṇī etc., where the enjoyment is as much for Kṛṣṇa as for oneself. It extends up to the Anurāga stage.

(c) Samarthā, capable, as in the case of the Gopīs where the effort is entirely for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. It extends up to the final Bhāva or Mahābhāva stage.

The Madhurā Rati, in its different aspects or conditions, may again be, successively according to its stages of growth or intensity of manifestation:[1]

1 This classification follows that of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii. 109f) which, however, speaks (in order) of Preman, Māna, Sneha, Rāga and Anurāga, omitting Bhāva or Mahābhāva.

I. Preman, defined as the bond of feeling (*bhāva-bandhana*) which is the indestructible seed (*bīja*) of love and which according to its degree may be Prauḍha (mature), Madhya (middling) and Manda (slight).

II. Sneha which is affection sublimated from Preman and causing melting of the heart (*hṛdaya-drāvaṇa*) on sight, hearing or recollection. It may also be the best (*śreṣṭha*), the middling (*madhyama*) and the lowest (*kaniṣṭha*), according to its intensity. This Sneha is of two kinds: (*a*) Ghṛta-sneha, constant fondness, solidifying like Ghee but impotent in itself in producing the taste, or (b) Madhu-sneha, constant fondness like honey, strong and in itself potent in producing its sweetness.

III. Māna, affected repulse of endearment due to excess of emotion and causing a variety of amatory feelings. This may be Udātta, the high-spirited impulse of Ghṛta-sneha, or Lalita, the sportive and tortuous impulse of Madhu-sneha.

IV. Praṇaya, friendly confidence (*viśrambha*), which may be Maitra, friendship characterised by humility, or Sakhya, fellowship free from apprehension. By a contact with the Udātta and the Lalita Māna respectively, these two kinds of Praṇaya may again be Su-maitra and Su-sakhya. The interrelation or evolution of one from the other is thus indicated: Sneha→Praṇaya→Māna or Sneha→Māna→Praṇaya, the two Praṇaya and Māna acting as mutual cause and effect.

V. Rāga, erotic transmutation of sorrow into joy, which, in coloured figuration, may be either Nīlima (dark-blue) or Raktima (crimson). The Nīlima Rāga may again be Nīlī-rāga, indigo-coloured, unchangeable and not outwardly manifesting itself, or it may be Śyāmā-rāga, dark-coloured, accomplished slowly and manifesting itself a little. The Raktima Rāga, on the other hand, may be Kusumbha-rāga, saffron-coloured, quickly diffusing itself and reflecting other Rāgas, or it may

be Mañjiṣṭha-rāga, coloured like madder, durable and independent.[1]

VI. Anurāga, love as constant freshness. Its aspects are: (*a*) Paravaśībhāva, self-surrender, (*b*) Prema-vaicittya, loving apprehension of separation, (*c*) Aprāṇi-janma, desire for birth as inanimate matter connected with the beloved, and (*d*) Vipralambha-visphūrti, vision of the beloved in separation.

VII. Bhāva or Mahābhāva, supreme realisation of love such as can be realised only by the Gopīs of Vraja. It may be:

(1) Rūḍha, where the Sāttvikas have reached the highest form of excitement (Uddīpta). Its characteristics both in union and separation are (*a*) incapacity for bearing separation even for a moment (Nimeṣāsahatā), (*b*) capacity to stir the hearts of all present (Āsanna-janatā-hṛd-viloḍanatva), (*c*) capacity to make a whole age appear as a moment, and a moment as a whole age (Kalpa-kṣaṇatva kṣaṇa-kalpatva), (*d*) languishment through apprehension of malady even in the presence of happiness (Tat-saukhye'pyārti-śaṅkayā khinnatva), and (*e*) forgetfulness of self and everything even in the absence of actual fainting (Mohādyabhāve'pyātmādi-sarva-vismaraṇatva).

(2) Adhirūḍha, involving a special sublimation of the characteristics of Rūḍha mentioned above. It is again twofold: (*i*) Modana, involving a special heightened charm of the Sāttvikas (*uddīpta-sauṣṭhava*), and is found only in the Rādhā-group. It deepens into Mohana in separation, which causes a deeper heightening (*sūddīpta*) of the Sāttvīkas.

1 *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii. 117f), following Bhoja, speaks only of Kusumbha, Nīlī and Mañjiṣṭha Rāga. See also *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, iii. 195-97.

Its characteristics are: the hero's fainting even in the embrace of the heroine (*kāntāśliṣṭe'pi mūrchanā*), desire for happiness even by undergoing unbearable suffering (*asahya-duḥkha-svīkārād api tat-sukhakāmitā*), causing sorrow to the whole world (*brahmāṇḍa-kṣobha-kāritva*), weeping of the animal world (*tiraścām api rodanam*), craving death for elemental union with Kṛṣṇa (*mṛtyu-svīkārāt sva-bhūtair api tat-saṅga-tṛṣṇā*), and lastly, divine frenzy (*divyonmāda*). This divine frenzy may take the form of various helpless acts and movements (*udghūrṇā*) and of deeply anxious and resentful words on meeting a friend of the hero, here Kṛṣṇa (Citra-jalpa). The Citra-jalpa may take ten forms: Prajalpa (spitting out of words on the incompetence of the hero, in contempt prompted by impatience, jealousy or pride), Parijalpa (display of skill in chiding the hero's cruelty), Vijalpa (jealous irony instinct with resentment). Ujjalpa (proud and jealous declaration of the hero's deception), Saṃjalpa (regretful and ironical declaration of the hero's ingratitude), Avajalpa (jealous declaration of the unworthiness of the hero's love on account of his hard-heartedness, lust and deception), Abhijalpa (hinting the propriety of giving up the hero, which words bring sorrow even to birds), Ājalpa (disparaging declaration of the hero's crookedness, which causes sorrow to self and joy to those who experience his association), Pratijalpa (honouring the messenger and humbly declaring inseparability from the hero) and Sujalpa (enquiry, inspired by simplicity, gravity and humility, after the hero). (*ii*) Mādana, which is pleasant with the sprout of all the feelings (*bhāvas*) and which is always found in Rādhā only. Its characteristics are excess of jealousy even when there is no cause for jealousy and reminiscent con-

templation of everything related to the hero even in a state of enjoyment.

This Sthāyi-bhāva of Madhurā Rati becomes the Madhura or Śṛṅgāra Rasa, the highest type of Erotic Love. It is two-fold according as it is Love-in-union (Saṃbhoga) and love-in-separation (Vipralambha). The Vipralambha may take various forms[1] :

(*i*) Pūrva-rāga, Incipient Love, that is, love before actual union, consequent upon first sight, hearing, dream, or looking at the picture of the beloved, etc. Its various attendant feelings and conditions, succeeding each other in order of intensity and leading even up to death, are minutely described and illustrated. It may be either Prauḍha (developed), Samañjasa (well-proportioned) or Sādhāraṇa (general). The sending of love-letters (Kāma-lekha) is also incidentally discussed. The ten stages of the Prauḍha Pūrva-rāga are : Lālasā (ardent desire), Udvega (anxiety), Jāgara (sleeplessness), Tānava (thinness of the limbs), Jaḍimā (stupidity), Vaiyagrya (impulsiveness), Vyādhi (paleness, heat etc. of the body), Unmāda (dementedness), Moha (unconsciousness) and Mṛtyu (death). Of the Samañjasa the ten stages are : Abhilāṣa (desire), Cintā (reflection), Smṛti (recollection), Guṇa-kīrtana (recital of qualities of the beloved), Udvega (anxiety), Vilāpa (lamentation), Unmāda (dementedness), Vyādhi (illness), Jaḍatā (stupidity) and Mṛti (death). Of the Sādhāraṇa Pūrva-rāga, the stages consist of the first six of the Samañjasa mentioned above, beginning with Abhilāṣa and ending with Vilāpa.

1 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, following Bhoja, speaks also of four kinds of Vipralambha, viz., Pūrvānurāga, Māna, Pravāsa and Karuṇa ; but its Karuṇa is not the same as the Prema-vaicittya of our author.

(*ii*) Māna[1], Resentment as a bar to the realisation of love. It may be (*a*) Sa-hetu (having a cause), the cause or ground of resentment being something seen (*dṛṣṭa*), heard (*śruta*) or inferred (*anumita*), or, (*b*) Nirhetu (without a cause) or Kāraṇābhāsa-sahita (with the semblance of a cause). The causeless resentment is easily allayed, but the caused resentment may be allayed by sweet words (Sāma), offering of presents (Dāna), glorification of oneself (Bheda) and neglect (Upekṣā), or by the sudden accession of other feelings (e. g. sudden fear).

(iii) Prema-vaicittya, apprehension of separation, through excessive love, even in the presence of the beloved.

(*iv*) Pravāsa, psychological effect of separation due to the absence of the hero gone abroad. The separation may be either deliberate (which may again be present, past or future)[2] or forced ; and the exodus may be to a place which is very distant or not very distant. The ten stages of this condition are: Cintā (reflection), Jāgara (sleeplessness), Udvega (anxiety), Tānava (thinness), Malināṅgatā (paleness of the limbs), Pralāpa (lamentation), Vyādhi (illness), Unmāda (dementedness), Moha (unconsciousness) and Mṛtyu (death). With regard to Pravāsa, the author adds that in his eternal sport (Nitya-līlā), there is no real separation of Kṛṣṇa and the Vraja-devīs, for their union is perpetual; but the condition

1 The Māna which looms so large in Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī has, like the word Rasa, hardly any equivalent in modern amatory vocabulary. A curious mixture of joy and sorrow, fear and hope, pride and anger, love and repulsion, it involves also an element of *chalanā*, an indefinable playfulness, which is wayward and yet alluring. It is not pride, anger, mere displeasure of resentment ; it is neither the French "amour propre" nor Teutonic "Empfindelei". A psychological composite like this is untranslatable.

2 So in *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ii. 216).

of Pravāsa is described according to the manifest sport (Prakaṭa-līlā) of Kṛṣṇa, in which he appears to go to Mathurā. In other words, there is an apparent sojourn to Mathurā, but the association with Vṛndāvana is real and permanent.

The Saṃbhoga or Love-in-union is either directly (*mukhya*) or indirectly (*gauṇa*, as in a dream) fulfilled. Of each of these, again, four stages[1] are marked in order of intensity : Saṃkṣipta (brief e. g. occurring after Pūrva-rāga), Saṃkīrṇa (mixed with contrary feelings, e. g. occurring after Māna), Saṃpanna (developed, e.g. occurring after return from near Pravāsa), and Samṛddhimat (complete and excessive, e. g. occurring after return from distant Pravāsa). Its various elements are sight, touch, words, barring the way, Rāsa, sport in the river, stealing of garments, stealing of the flute, kissing, embracing etc. leading up to sexual union.

The number of works cited for poetical quotations in the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* is much fewer. The number of such quotations hardly exceeds two hundred and fifty, as against nearly four hundred of the previous work.[2] As the erotic sentiment

1 The *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* speaks of Saṃkṣīpta, Saṃkīrṇa, Saṃpanna and Samṛddhimat Saṃbhoga. Jīva Gosvāmin (p. 1071) speaks of four kinds of Saṃbhoga occurring after Pūrva-rāga, viz. Saṃdarśana (sight), Saṃsparśa (touch), Saṃjalpa (conversation) and Saṃprayoga (intercourse).

2 We have stated that Rūpa Gosvāmin himself compiled an anthology of Vaiṣṇava poems, the *Padyāvalī*. It contains about four hundred lyrical pieces culled from different sources. But the six hundred and fifty (or more) poetical quotations in these two works of his, by themselves, constitute a varied and exhaustive anthology of Vaiṣṇava devotional literature.—It is doubtful if the recently printed *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-śeṣa* (see above, p. 158) is the lost work of the same name by Jīva Gosvāmin. The thirteen prologue-verses do not contain the name of the author, nor is it given anywhere in the body of the text or the colophon. The date of composition (although the editor thinks that it is the date of copying of the MS) is given as Śaka 1618 (*śāka vasvekartu-vidhau*)=1796 A.D. ; but Jīva could not have been alive at the time. The work deals, not with Bhakti-rasa, but with Kāvya-rasa,

is its theme, there is more scope here for citations from general literary works and less from the Śāstras. The quotations from the Purāṇas and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures are indeed not many, but the author strictly confines himself to such general poetical works as possess a decided Vaiṣṇava leaning, or concern themselves with the theme of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Thus, works like the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva or *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka are freely drawn upon for illustration of the different phases of the Rasa, but the largest number of quotations is supplied by the poetical and dramatic works of Rūpa Gosvāmin himself, which appear thus to have been composed with the special object of illustrating the different phases of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The works and authorities cited are:

(The references are by page, as the numbering of the sections and verses in the printed edition does not facilitate any other way of reference)

(*I*) *The Epics and Purāṇas*:

Harivaṃśa 40, 253, 432 ; Śrīmad-bhāgavata 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 254, 264, 265, 272, 283, 285, 290, 296, 297, 307, 308, 311, 312, 336, 342, 357, 381, 384, 385, 411, 428, 470 ; Padma-purāṇa 52, 60, 460, 40 (Kārttika-māhātmya) ; Viṣṇu-purāṇa 252, 271, 289, 361 ; Bṛhad-vāmana 52.

in seven Prakāśas respectively on Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, Vākya-svarūpa, Dhvani-bheda, Śabdārthālaṃkāra, Doṣa, Guṇa and Rīti, omitting the subject-matter of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* iii, v and vi ; to which rhetorical work it acknowledges its indebtedness in the opening verses (*sāhityānvayi darpaṇam api saṃkalitaṃ kariṣyāmi*). It is, in fact, an unoriginal compilation of traditional definitions, most of which are derived directly from the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which it closely follows ; but, we are told, since the latter work is defective on account of its not being dedicated to Kṛṣṇa, the author takes pains to insert illustrative verses in glorification of the deity, and sometimes even changes old verses freely into Vaiṣṇavite words and ideas. For instance, the last two lines of the well known old verse *niḥśeṣa-cyuta-candanam* (Mammaṭa, i) are thus modified, hardly to its advantage:

satyaṃ jalpasi gopi-bandhu-janatā-vañci-kriyādyañcite
kṛṣṇāṃ (!) *snātum ito gatāsi na punas taṃ gopikā-kāmukam*!

The author may have utilised the *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* of Kavikarṇa-

(2) *Other Religious Texts and Commentaries*:

Brahma-saṃhitā 57 ; Krama-dīpikā 349 ; Gopālottara-tāpanī 60 ; Viṣṇugupta-saṃhitā 43 ; Tantra 61 ; Ṛk-pariśiṣṭa 60.

(3) *Rhetorical Works and Authors*:

Muni (Bharata) 11, 32 ; Rasa-sudhākara 91, 231, 232, 242, 295 (=Rasārṇava-sudhākara of Śingabhūpāla) ; Prācīna 87 ; Prāñcaḥ 86 ; Daśa-rūpaka 30 ; Rudra 43.

(4) *Poetical and Dramatic Works*:

Saptaśatī (of Hāla) 468 ; Gīta-govinda 113, 162, 175, 183, 243, 273, 276, 284, 287, 301, 310, 314, 496 ; (Śrīkṛṣṇa-)Karṇāmṛta 493 ; Bilvamaṅgala (author of above) 277, 285, 435, as Prāñcaḥ 24 ; Vopadeva and his Muktāphala 450 ; Jagannātha-vallabha (of Rāmānanda-rāya) 302, 430 ; Govinda-vilāsa 320 ; Rukmiṇī-svayaṃvara (Īśvarapurī-kṛta) 272, 274 ; Muktā-caritra (of Raghunātha-dāsa) 261 ; Chando-mañjarī (of Gaṅgādāsa, on Prosody) 252, 268.

Rūpa Gosvāmin's own works :

Padyāvalī 10, 101, 162, 181, 228, 241, 265, 277, 287, 300, 305, 306, 364, 392, 395, 396, 417, 453, 454, 490, 491 ; Vidagdha-mādhava 34, 64, 68, 69, 95, 108, 160, 182, 184, 187, 222, 235, 236, 250, 251, 254, 262, 265, 279, 282, 283, 289, 292, 296, 299, 303, 304, 305, 310, 311, 319, 322, 323, 371, 417, 420, 421, 423, 424, 426, 435, 443, 450, 489, 492 ; Lalita-mādhava 37, 77, 83, 182, 209, 228, 233, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240, 241, 251, 278, 284, 291, 293, 294, 299, 302, 304, 309, 318, 333, 388, 395, 451, 453, 455, 474, 485, 487, 493 ; Dāna-keli-kaumudī 161, 222, 231, 234, 256, 270, 321, 358, 360, 373, 375, 410, 484, 488, 492 ; Uddhava-saṃdeśa 93, 102, 147, 161, 238, 240, 282, 296, 298, 302, 347, 439, 451, 452, 469, 492 ; Haṃsa-dūta 189, 286, 304, 309, 316, 324, 454, 456, 470, 484.

It will be clear from what is said that the mood of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious longings in the language and imagery of earthly passion and which is a characteristic feature of later Vaiṣṇavism in general, is seen in its full bloom in these treatises and indeed forms one of the basic inspirations of Caitanyaism. In the older works like the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the mood of Bhakti is presented as an ethical and mystical feeling of an intensely personal

pūra and the *Sāhitya-kaumudī* commentary (on Mammaṭa) by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. It quotes the *Gopāla-campū* of Jīva and the Citra-padya of Rūpa from *Stava-mālā* (pp. 618-20). As it does not deal with Bhakti-rasa, we need not consider this work here.

character, rather than as an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge, but the attitude there is more speculative than passionate. The Bhakti in the *Mahābhārata* in general is often explained by the analogy of the love of the wife for her husband ; and the term Bhakti in the later Sūtras of Nārada and Śāṇḍilya is made interchangeable with the terms Prīti, Bhāva, Rāga or Anurakti as expressions of ardent love and yearning ; but the passionateness of earlier theistic devotionalism was never entirely divorced from intellectual satisfaction or moral earnestness. Though not identical with it, knowledge or belief is still acknowledged as a preliminary to the emotion of Bhakti, and selfless action is not excluded. The mediaeval expressions of the passion, however, dispense with Jñāna and Karman in the orthodox sense, and take their stand exclusively upon mystical emotional realisation (Rasa). All worship and salvation are regarded as nothing more than a blissful enjoyment of the divine sports, involving personal consciousness and relation, direct or remote, between the enjoyer and the enjoyed. But in the emphasis laid on the erotic sentiment in the sports of Kṛṣṇa, the attitude borders definitely upon sense-devotion, and leans perceptibly and dangerously towards the erotic passion. The ultimate felicitous state is conceived as an eternity of enjoyment of the erotic sports of Vṛndāvana, in which the faithful serve Kṛṣṇa as did the Gopīs. The corrective is, no doubt, supplied by theologically representing the erotic relationship as the sport of the Śaktimat with his own Śaktis or Energies, in their Hlādinī or blissful state ; but, however figuratively or philosophically the doctrine is interpreted, the erotic emotionalism is essential and prominent in the devotional writings as a literal fact. In the hands of these erotic emotionalists there is a fresh accession and interpretation of romantic legends ; and the Purāṇic life of Kṛṣṇa being brought to the foreground, the older Epic figure of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is transformed beyond recognition. The ancient epic spirit of godly wisdom and manly devotion is replaced by a

new spirit of mystical and theological fancy, of tender rapture over divine babyhood, and of sensuous and erotic passion of ecstasy over the loveliness of divine adolescence ; and its god is moulded accordingly. The essential truth of the doctrine of Vṛndāvana-līlā, no doubt, lies in its appeal for a more emotional religion and in its protest against the unsatisfying intellectuality of mere metaphysics ; and the whole theory of Bhakti-rasa appeals to the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of human moods and sentiments. But we have also a marked development of the dubious erotic possibilities of the attitude in an atmosphere of highly passionate and sensuous life and literature. In Bengal Vaiṣṇavism the tendency goes a step further. It seeks to realise, in its theory and practice, the actual passion of the deity, figured as a friend, son, father or master, but chiefly and essentially as a lover. The too ardent tendency of the position lapses into sensuousness of a refined type, but the mystical sensibility is chiefly vicarious. The doctrine, no doubt, attempts to transfigure the mighty sex-impulse into a deeply religious emotion, but the way of realisation insists upon an abnormal mental state, which seeks the highest satisfaction in a vicarious enjoyment of the erotic sports of Kṛṣṇa, contemplated not merely in a figurative but also in a vivid literal sense. It is important to note that *the Vṛndāvana-līlā is not a mere symbol or divine allegory, but a literal fact of religious history.* The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa myth, as depicted in the Purāṇas and elaborated in the Kāvyas, Nāṭakas and Campūs, as well as in the Rasa-śāstra, of the sect as the basis of its theology and devotional life, is taken as a vivid historical, as well as super-historical, reality ; and there is no suggestion of its being an allegory. The pressure of modern thought has, no doubt, induced some modern writers on the subject to the desperate method of allegorical interpretation, but the theologians and poets of the sect never think it necessary to spiritualise the myth as a symbolism of religious truth ; for the Purāṇic world to them is manifestly a matter of religious history.

This fervent quasi-amorous attitude, in spite of its subtle and elusive juggling with psychological complexes and theological refinements, inspires not only the Śāstras and professedly devotional works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, but also enlivens its mass of resplendent lyrics in Sanskrit, as well as in Bengali, with the practical possibilities of its mystical erotic impulse. Whatever may be the devotional value of this attitude, the literary gain was immense. This last reach of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, transmuted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism into Preman or love, became an unfailing and rich source of literary inspiration, as well as of religious emotion ; for it was personal in ardour, concrete in expression and original in appeal. Along with its metaphysics and theology was also produced a psychological rhetoric of the endless diversity of the passionate condition, which reproduced, no doubt, the classical phraseology and ideas of Sanskrit rhetoric of Rasa, but whose erotic-religious application and subtilising of emotional details were novel, intimate and inspiring. These aesthetic and emotional conventions were implicitly accepted in its literary productions. In spite of its psychological formalism, its rhetoric of ornament and conceits and its pedantry of metaphysical sentimentalism, there can be no doubt that the inspiration supplied by the erotic emotionalism of such works as those of Rūpa Gosvāmin (with their hundreds of poetical illustrations) to later Vaiṣṇava literature, especially the lyrics composed in Bengali, must have been of a deep and far-reaching character. Even the abstruse dogmas, formulas and shibboleths have had their effect on literary conception and phrasing, but there was an essentially human appeal in its religious attitude, which imparted to its literary effusions an enduring emotional and poetical value. The wistfulness and amazement of its devotional ecstasy, the richly romantic idealism of its mystical erotic sensibility, lifted the lyric literature of Caitanyaism into a high level of artistic and passionate expression, which was endowed, by the virtue of these attributes, with as much human as transcendental value.

CHAPTER V

THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

1. *General Characteristics*

It is difficult to give a proper exposition[1] of the philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism without a detailed reference to the sacred texts which are cited throughout as revealed and indisputable, and on which indeed the faith elaborately bases its philosophical ideas. The whole system is built up on a direct explication of its own peculiar sectarian texts ; and absolute faith in their interpretation by its acknowledged theologians is essential for an acceptance of their truth. Such entire reliance upon verbal authority and verbal interpretation makes it difficult in any exposition to steer clear of the texts which are quoted at every step, but it also impairs the value of its theology and philosophy as an independent system of thought. The usual procedure is to make a dogmatic statement, and then support it not so much by argumentation, which is held at discount, as by a compilation of authoritative texts, chiefly derived from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* Purāṇa, and by interpretation of those texts in the light of the peculiar dogmas and doctrines of the school. The basic theory of the threefold Śakti of the Supreme Being, for instance, is founded upon a text of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, amplified by other texts, while its other fundamental doctrine of the threefold aspect of the deity as the Brahman, Paramātman and Bhagavat is entirely based upon a system of interpretation of a single text of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. The same remarks apply to its central postulate of the highest and exclusive divinity of Kṛṣṇa, while

1 For a brief account of the theology and philosophy of Caitanyaism, as well as of its Rasa-śāstra, see S. K. De, introd. to the *Padyāvalī* (Dacca 1934), pp. liv-civ.

its doctrine of Bhakti is deduced from a peculiar theory of emotional realisation which is based entirely upon a series of devotional texts and dogmatic statements.

It is true that in some older systems of Indian philosophy mere Tarka or discursive reasoning is deprecated as a means of attaining ultimate truth ; and in most systems, belief in Śruti or revelation and interpretation of revealed texts are at least theoretically accepted as the proper mode. But in the speculations of the Bengal school, this attitude of reverence for infallible testimony appears to have been carried to its extreme limit, and theological heresy is counted as a grievous sin. The Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, believing that everything is revealed by the grace of a personal god, theoretically rejects all Pramāṇas (sources of knowledge) excepting Śabda or revealed word, but Śabda as a source of belief has a peculiar significance in this school. We shall have occasion later on to explain its theory of Pramāṇa, but briefly speaking, the appeal is not to reason but to a peculiar system of scriptural authority. It is true that theoretical homage is paid to Śruti or the Veda in the wider sense of Indian philosophy, but the term Śabda in practice denotes other kinds of sectarian scriptures which, as Smṛti, are hardly admitted by older philosophical schools. The Pramāṇa is practically circumscribed to a few Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas and other sectarian texts ; but it is curious to note that these texts are regarded as revealed or authoritative chiefly on the strength of statements to that effect contained in these texts themselves. Older Śruti texts, when convenient, are indeed cited with respect, but we are told that the sense of the earlier Śrutis is unfathomable, and that the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, which can explain them properly, are the only kinds of revelation which are accessible at the present decadent age. In the compilation and exposition of the Purāṇa and Smṛti texts, again, the same dogmatic attitude is prominent. Non-vaiṣṇava texts are rejected as *tāmasika* and untruthful; and even among Vaiṣṇava texts the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* alone is regarded as the quintessence of all Śāstras and

as possessing the supreme authority. Other schools of Vaiṣṇavism propound their doctrines by writing elaborate commentaries on the *Vedānta-sūtra* and interpreting it in their own way ; but the Bengal school regards the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* as Vyāsa's own commentary on his *Vedānta-sūtra*, and therefore confines itself to an interpretation of this Purāṇa in its own light, instead of composing a separate commentary on the Sūtra. The Bengal school, therefore, proceeds almost entirely on an explication of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. If some of the texts cited from this or other sources are apocryphal, this fact makes no difference so long as they fall in with the peculiar doctrines of the school. Even of Vaiṣṇava texts there is a careful selection and arrangement of those which are favourable ; and inconvenient texts are sometimes quietly forgotten or glossed over and sometimes twisted in an ingenious way to suit its particular views. These methods are not unfamiliar to students of sectarian religious literature, but they possess little philosophical interest. The details of such a method may prove interesting and valuable to the faithful devotee, but they hardly appeal either to the general reader or to the critical enquirer.

It would appear, therefore, that as it is chiefly a system of mystical-emotional dogmatics, the strictly philosophical views of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism are intimately mixed up with the details of its devotional theologism and its emotional erotic mysticism, which are set forth in its pious text-books of legend and fancy. Its purely speculative thought, therefore, cannot be easily disentangled from its sentimental and mythical envelopment. The Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, no doubt, presents itself as a deliberate historical religion promulgated by a definite founder, but in the practical working out of the system by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins the direct intuitive realisation or the teachings of the Master[1] hardly find a place.

1 Teachings are imputed, no doubt, especially by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, a disciple of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, but these teachings

Except the usual obeisance and homage to Caitanya and general passages testifying to his identity with the supreme deity, there is nowhere in the extensive works of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva any direct reference to his personal views and teachings. These theologians and philosophers are chiefly concerned with the godhead of Kṛṣṇa and his Līlā as revealed in their older scriptures, and Kṛṣṇa in their theory is not an Avatāra but is alone the supreme deity himself (*svayaṃ bhagavat*). They are almost entirely silent about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme, and it is somewhat strange that in presenting a system of religion in his name they rely upon older sources and do not refer at all to his direct realisation of spiritual truths. The divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive object of worship is elaborately established, but the divinity of Caitanya, which is implicitly acknowledged in Namaskriyās and other devotional verses, is hardly ever discussed. If Jīva Gosvāmin wrote a *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, he never wrote a *Caitanya-saṃdarbha*. It is said in the Bengali biography of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja that these works of the Gosvāmins were not only inspired but were directly communicated to these disciples by Caitanya himself; but even then there is no direct acknowledgment of this fact by the Gosvāmins themselves[1]. There cannot be any doubt that the devout life of Caitanya inspired these faithful disciples, but in the building up of their systems of theology and philosophy there is no reference to the life, personality or views of Caitanya himself. There is, on the other hand, an entire dependence upon a complicated system of text-interpretation, rather than upon any direct and vivid spiritual illumination. It must be admitted that in these treatises we reach a high level of the emotional Bhakti-doctrine in the setting of a vital and practical system of religious beliefs, and

are, as we have stated above (pp. 75, 85), clearly those of the Gosvāmins themselves.

1 See above, p. 115.

the life and personality of Caitanya must have been to his devout followers a powerful exemplification of these beliefs and doctrines ; but we still move in an indefinite haze of mythology, sentiment and speculation, derived from Purāṇic tradition ; while the intellectual seriousness or the ethical nobility of the tenets is hardly propounded with the force of direct realisation, inasmuch as they are completely merged in a floating mass of uncertain myths, legends and traditional beliefs.

The theology and philosophy found in the writings of the Navadvīpa disciples are vague and unsystematic, and can be briefly summarised here. They are concerned more with simple and direct faith than with elaborate discussion ; and their aim is to depict chiefly the passionately devotional life of Caitanya, rather than to set forth his teachings. Unlike the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, they take Caitanya as the centre of their thought and emotion, and regard him as the highest reality and object of adoration of their faith. This has been characterised as the Gaura-pāramya-vāda, which (whatever may have been their personal attitude) the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins never discuss or set forth in their theological treatises. In the eyes of the contemporary composers of Padas on Caitanya, for instance, Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa himself who, in his recollection of Vṛndāvana, pines for Rādhā. They also believe in the Rādhā-bhāva of Caitanya, that is, they regard Caitanya as both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in one personality. They do not, however, consider it necessary to discuss the question but take it as already established by Anubhava or personal experience. Narahari and his disciple Locana, however, develop a doctrine of Gaura-nāgara-bhāva,[1] in which the devotee (in the Rāgānugā way) regards Caitanya as the Nāgara and himself as a Nāgarī ; but this doctrine receives little credit in the orthodox circles. Murāri considers Caitanya as an incarnation (Avatāra) of the Bhagavat. He believes in two kinds of Avatāra—

1 See above, pp. 59, 65.

Yugāvatāra and Kāryāvatāra. In the four Yugas, the different Avatāras, in his opinion, are respectively Śukla, Yajña, Pṛthu and Caitanya ; the ten Kāryāvatāras are Matsya, Kūrma Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Bhārgava, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin, in which list (slightly different from that of Jayadeva) Caitanya's name does not appear (i. 4. 18-33). Elsewhere (i. 8. 9-10), Murāri accepts Caitanya as an Āveśa-Avatāra ; and like his other biographers, he regards Caitanya as having manifested divine character from the very beginning. He thus speaks of Caitanya as an Aṃsa of Hari (i. 5. 4), but, not very consistently, as the Bhagavat himself (i. 15. 1), and bows to him as the Caturbhuja Viṣṇu (i. 1. 14). Kavikarṇapūra, on the other hand, regards Caitanya definitely as Dvibhuja Kṛṣṇa, *śrīmad-vraja-varavadhu-prāṇanātha* (Kāvya i. 8), and believes that his descent was for the purpose of saving men from suffering (ibid, xvii. 7), for refuting Advaitavāda (drama i. 7), and for teaching devotion to Hari, that is, to himself (ibid, i. 28). In his introductory Namaskriyā to his *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū* (śl. 3), he pays homage to Caitanya as his family deity and as Hari himself (*devo naḥ kuladaivataṃ vijayatāṃ caitanya-kṛṣṇo hariḥ*). The faith of the biographers of Caitanya in his divinity is axiomatic and does not require demonstration; but they seek to establish it partly by recording personal feeling and experience of his followers and partly by the enumeration of Caitanya's devotional and miraculous acts. Kavikarṇapūra distinguishes the Vaidhī from the Rāgānugā Bhakti (drama iii. 19), but thinks that the Rāgānugā can never follow a fixed course. He never considers Advaita Mukti as the *summum bonum*, but states (drama i) *mukti-śabdo'tra pārṣada-svarūpa-paraḥ*, and regards Saṃkīrtana to be the sole means of Bhakti. In his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, however, he elaborates a complete hagiology of the faith and purports to develop Svarūpa Dāmodara's doctrine of Pañcatattva, which regards Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita, Gadādhara and Śrīvāsa as the five Tattvas of the faith, but which considers Caitanya as the Mahāprabhu, and Advaita and

Nityānanda as Prabhus. Vṛndāvana-dāsa, accepting the divinity of Caitanya as manifested from his very birth (in which view Locana and Jayānanda also agree) and his identity with Kṛṣṇa, does not consider it as worth discussing, but models the early life of Caitanya (before his Saṃnyāsa) on the Vṛndāvana life of Kṛṣṇa. He rejects, however, the Gaura-nāgara doctrine with contempt and rules out erotic traits from Caitanya's life as Kṛṣṇa, although occasionally, following the Rāgānugā doctrine, he describes the Rādhā-bhāva of Caitanya. All the biographers are concerned more with the description of the inner emotional life of Caitanya than with outward doctrine. A short theological work, called *Śrīkṛṣṇa-bhajanāmṛta*[1] is ascribed to Narahari Sarkār Thākur. It is composed in prose, with interspersed verses, and discusses such questions as the diversity of Vaiṣṇava devotees ; conduct towards the Dīkṣā-guru and the Śikṣā-guru respectively ; the incarnation of Balabhadra in relation to Kṛṣṇa ; Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as Guṇāvatāras of Kṛṣṇa ; Lakṣmī, Rukmiṇī, Jānakī and Rādhā as consorts of the deity, and so forth. Although the work pays homage to Caitanya and regards him as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, there is no trace of the Gaura-pāramya-vāda or Gaura-nāgara-vāda which is prominent in the Padāvalis ascribed to Narahari as a Navadvipa devotee of Caitanya. The genuineness of the attribution is, therefore, open to doubt, and its theology offers nothing new, being obviously influenced (which indication is somewhat strange) by the views of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins. In the following pages, we need, therefore, confine ourselves to the systematic exposition given by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins in their laborious theological treatises.

Having regard to the peculiar method and standpoint of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, it would not be possible for

1 Published in Bengali characters and with a running Bengali translation by the Raghunandana Samiti, Shrikhanda, Burdwan B.E. 1309.

us to refer in detail to the large mass of texts cited in the works of the Gosvāmins for scriptural justification and interpretation. The more or less scholastic disquisition of words and phrases are neither profitable nor possess general interest. The learning displayed in these works is amazing, but it is learning of a limited sectarian kind. The theological acumen is praiseworthy, but the whole discussion and its pot-pourri method are marked more by intellectual subtlety than intellectual virility. All that we can do here is to give a rapid résumé of the main dogmas and doctrines, and indicate only generally the way in which these are sought to be established. As our object is chiefly historical, we shall, as far as possible, avoid criticism and discussion, and confine ourselves to a descriptive exposition of the essential features of its philosophical and theological ideas. Historically again, Bengal Vaiṣṇaviṣm derives a great deal, in an eclectic spirit, from previous Vaiṣṇava systems, especially from the doctrines of the Rāmānuja sect ; but with our limited object in view, it will be necessary for us to avoid all comparative observations and maintain an attitude of descriptive objectivity. We shall also limit ourselves to an account of the subject chiefly derived from the theological and philosophical works of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, excluding its further development in the much later works (18th century) of Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

The main theological presuppositions of the school are set forth in Sanātaṇa's *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, and its supplement *Saṃkṣepa-* or *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* written by his brother Rūpa, although most of their implications find a place in the Saṃdarbhas of their nephew Jīva, more especially in the latter's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*. We shall, therefore, begin with a brief survey of the two *Bhāgavatāmṛtas*[1] and pass on to the more professedly philosophical treatises of Jīva.

1 Our references are to the only available edition of the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* published by Nityasvarup Brahmachari in Devanāgarī characters, (Brindavana?) 1904 ; and to the Murshidabad edition of the

2. THE BṚHAD-BHĀGAVATĀMṚTA

This work has the form of a Purāṇic narrative. with occasional descriptive and poetical flights of fancy, in the course of which there is an exposition of the theology of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The exposition is sometimes direct, but more often implied in the narrative and description; and the work is accompanied by an elaborate *Digdarśanī* commentary by the author himself, which is intended to bring out the theological ideas imbedded in the poetical text. The work begins with obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, the Gopīs including Rādhā, Caitanya, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Yamunā and Govardhana, assigning one verse to each of these objects of reverence, and then proceeds to praise Kṛṣṇa-bhakti and Kṛṣṇanāman. It then makes a general acknowledgment of its inspiration to Caitanya, but does not refer to any special instruction, alleged to have been received from him, in Bhakti-śāstra (I. 1. 10-11).

The work is supposed, in the manner of the Purāṇas, to have been narrated by Jaimini to Janamejaya as a supplement to the *Mahābhārata* itself ! Uttarā, mother of Parīkṣit and devoted to Kṛṣṇa, requests her son to impart to her the essence of the instruction regarding Kṛṣṇa, which was related to him by Śukadeva ; Sanātana's poetico-theological venture purports to be a report of that course of instruction subsequently narrated by Jaimini to Janamejaya. The design is bold and ambitious, but it is possible for pious zeal to dare a great deal. As the work naïvely claims to embody the Amṛta churned from the ocean of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* by such great devotees as Śuka and Nārada, it professes, according to the commentary, to be the gist of all the Vedas ! Al-

Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta, with the Rasika-raṅgadā commentary of Vṛndāvana-candra Tarkālaṃkāra, Radharaman Press, B.E. 1303 (=1896 A.D.). A better edition of this latter work is that published in Bengali characters by Gauracandra Bhāgavata-darśanācārya, which contains, besides Vṛndāvana-candra's commentary, also the Sāraṅga-raṅgadā commentary of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (Calcutta 1934).

though the narrative portion is mostly invented to illustrate certain theological dogmas, there can be no doubt that the author's mind was steeped in the fancies and ideas of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and he attempts deliberately to reproduce its style and treatment ; but it is doubtful if his work attains, as a devotional poetical document, the same level of excellence or the same power of religious appeal.

The work is divided into two parts or Khaṇḍas, of which the first part deals with the imaginary narrative of a quest of Nārada for the greatest favourite and Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa. Leaving aside the large amount of descriptive, narrative and theological matter, the main story is brief and simple. Once upon a time as the great Ṛṣis were sitting on the banks of the Ganges at Prayāga, a certain Brahman devotee of the Bhagavat came there with the purpose of entertaining them with his generous hospitality. When he was returning after accomplishing his object, Nārada came there, praised him for his devotion, and hailed him as the greatest Bhakta and favourite of Kṛṣṇa. The Brahman replied in humility that he did not deserve that honour and that the grace of Kṛṣṇa would be found showered in profusion upon a certain prince of the South. With his curiosity excited Nārada hastened to the South to meet this princely devotee of Kṛṣṇa, but the Southern prince in his turn told him that the honour was undeserved ; for what mortal could attain the grace of Kṛṣṇa in the same way as Indra in heaven did ? (Ch. I). Nārada repaired to Indra's heaven, but he was told there by Indra himself that the real favourite and Bhakta was Nārada's own father, Brahmā. Having met Brahmā in the Brahma-loka, Nārada learnt from Brahmā that his quest must now lead him to Śiva who was a greater favourite and Bhakta ; for was not Śiva reputed to be in close friendship with Kṛṣṇa ? In course of the conversation Brahmā gives an account of Śiva-loka (Ch. II). The indomitable Nārada thereupon flies to Śiva's place, but Śiva and Pārvatī deny that they are the greatest favourites. They instruct

him in a great deal of theology and direct him to Prahlāda, living in Sutala, as a greater Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa (Ch. III). In this way the quest goes on from Prahlāda to Hanūmat, who has attained Dāsya or state of servitude to the Lord (Ch. IV) ; from Hanūmat to the Pāṇḍavas, whom Kṛṣṇa himself served as a charioteer, counsellor, friend, messenger and courtier (Sakhya and Sevā) ; from the Pāṇḍavas to the Yādavas at Dvārakā who illustrate the attitude of Prīti, Preyas etc. (Ch. V) ; from the Yādavas to Uddhava who is the chief Bhakta among them (Ch. VI) ; from Uddhava to the Gopas and Gopīs at Vṛndāvana. Here Nārada discovers at last that the most beloved of Kṛṣṇa are the Gopīs who have attained the Madhura Bhāva, and among whom the chief is Rādhā (Ch. VI-VII). Here therefore ends his quest, and with it the first part of the work concludes. The narrative is obviously intended to explain the characteristics of a Bhakta, and the different stages of devotional attainment, ending in the Madhura or erotic attitude of the Gopīs towards Kṛṣṇa.

The second part gives a more complicated and elaborate poetical narrative with a larger amount of descriptive and theological matter. It is concerned not with the Bhakta's attaining the grace of Kṛṣṇa, but with Kṛṣṇa's mode of manifesting himself to his Bhakta. It thus reverses the process described in the first part, and deals with another kind of quest, namely, the search after the place and form in which Kṛṣṇa reveals himself most perfectly to his Bhakta ; but in the end the conclusions agree, for it is to the highest type of Bhakta that Kṛṣṇa manifests himself most perfectly.

Without going into the details of the story narrated in the second part, it can be outlined briefly. There was a Brahman of Prāgjyotiṣa who worshipped the goddess Kāmākhyā, and through her grace obtained in dream a Mantra of ten syllables (Gopāla-mantra) to meditate upon Kṛṣṇa. He practised uttering of the Mantra, which gave him great peace of mind. Starting on a pilgrimage he comes to Benares where the goddess Kāmākhyā appears to him in a dream and directs him to

go to Mathurā. At Mathurā he meets a young Gopa or cowherd (Gopa-kumāra), who has received the grace of Kṛṣṇa and who now begins to relate his own history. The rest of the work is taken up with the story of the strange and varied devotional experiences of the Gopa-kumāra, which, its allegorical form, is a kind of *Pilgrim's Progress* perhaps of Sanātana's own spiritual experiences. He was the son of a Vaiśya cowherd of Govardhana ; and on one occasion he happened to meet on the banks of the Yamunā a pious Mathurā Brahman named Jayanta, an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa born in Gauḍa and greatly devoted to the worship of Kṛṣṇa. The Brahman becomes his Guru or religious guide, and gives him a similar Kṛṣṇa-mantra of ten syllables. The Gopa-kumāra is filled with a great desire to see Kṛṣṇa, and at the direction of his Guru goes to Puri where he stays for some time and worships the image of Jagannātha. In course of time he becomes the adopted son of the ruler of the province, but the adoptive father dies and the Gopa-kumāra succeeds him on the throne. One day Jagannātha appears to him in dream and bids him go to Mathurā (Ch. I). The second chapter describes how by means of his Mantra the Gopa-kumāra goes to Svarga-loka and sees Indra and his court there. About this time Indra disappears to do penance for having violated Ahalyā, and the Gopa-kumāra is unanimously elected, on the strength of his piety, to be the ruler of Svarga-loka. One *divya* year is spent in this way, but this temporary elevation to Indratva does not satisfy him, and he cannot forget his quest. The advent of Bhṛgu and other Maharṣis who were inhabitants of the Mahar-loka, inspires him one day with a curiosity to visit this superior paradise. He goes to Mahar-loka and worships the Yajñeśvara form of Kṛṣṇa there. The great Ṛṣis of that Loka desire to bestow Brahmanhood on the Gopa-kumāra, but he refuses the honour. Then he proceeds to Jana-loka where reside the great devotees Sanaka, Sanatkumāra, Sanandana and Sanātana, whom he meets, but he is denied a sight of the form of the deity present in that Loka. One of the Ṛṣis,

Pippalāyana, however, instructs him as to the means of obtaining sight of the deity by great devotion and concentration of mind, and shows him the different divine forms in which the deity manifests himself. Then the Gopa-kumāra goes to Puṣkara-dvīpa and sees Brahmā, who lives in the Satya-loka. There the Gopa-kumāra is instructed further in the Bhakti-śāstra, and is advised to return to Mathurā (Ch. II). After meeting his Guru at Mathurā, the restless Gopa-kumāra again resolves to start on his quest. By means of his Mantra he commences a highly allegorical journey. He goes through the disc of the Sun ; and penetrating through the six sheaths (*āvaraṇa*), he gets a vision of the four Vyūhas and the Mahā-siddhis. This is followed by the appearance of Śiva and the Pārṣadas of Kṛṣṇa who have obtained Sārūpya or identity of form with their deity at Vaikuṇṭha-loka. They instruct him in Bhakti-lakṣaṇa or characteristics of the devotional attitude, and tell him that Vaikuṇṭha is attained by devoutly listening to the Līlā-kathā of the Bhagavat, reading the Bhāgavata scriptures and having faith in the efficacy of Kīrtana, which they extol as one of the best means in this decadent age. The Gopa-kumāra again returns to Mathurā (Ch. II). The third chapter deals with a similar visit to Vaikuṇṭha and describes the place and its inhabitants. The deity whom the Gopa-kumāra meets there supplies the information that his Guru Jayanta was no other than the deity himself ; apparently it is an allegorical representation of Caitanya who was Sanātana's Guru. Nārada now comes on the scene and narrates to the awe-stricken Gopa-kumāra the wonders of Vaikuṇṭha-loka, incidentally theologising a great deal on the theory of Avatāra and the worshipping of images (Pratimārcanā). Nārada advises him to go to Ayodhyā, Mathurā and Dvārakā, which places are next visited. At Ayodhyā the Gopa-kumāra meets Hanūmat worshipping Rāma ; and on Hanūmat's direction he goes to Dvārakā (Ch. IV). The fifth chapter describes the visit to the Yādavas at Dvārakā, where the Gopa-kumāra meets Uddhava. Nārada appearsagain, and advises the Gopa-kumāra

to visit Vṛndāvana, which is in reality the earthly Goloka ; he describes briefly the Līlā of Kṛṣṇa and instructs him as to the means of witnessing this eternal divine sport (Ch. V). The last two chapters (VI, VII) are occupied with the visit to Mathurā and Vṛndāvana, with a description of the entire eternal Nitya-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, including Govardhana-dhāraṇa, Kāliya-damana and Rāsa, and the whole is concluded with the attainment of the grace of the deity. The chief object, thus, of the second part is to establish that Vṛndāvana is the real paradise of Kṛṣṇa, where the unmanifest (Aprakaṭa) eternal sport of Kṛṣṇa becomes manifest (Prakaṭa) to him alone who is blessed with real Bhakti for the deity.

The significance of these narratives, versified in the Purāṇic style, cannot be mistaken. But it is not necessary to bring out and explain in detail the theological teachings involved in them, for the doctrinal implications are set forth in more precise and systematic manner of a Śāstra by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta*. This latter work by its title professes to be a summary of the previous work ; but, as an epitome of the theological tenets of the school, it is, in spite of its derivative character, a largely original treatise. We shall now turn to this latter work of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and by an analysis of its content give an outline of its principal doctrines.

3. THE SAMKṢEPA-BHĀGAVATĀMṚTA

This is a much shorter work composed, after the manner of Śāstric compendiums, in the form of Kārikās in the Śloka metre, accompanied by illustrative passages from various authoritative Vaiṣṇava scriptures ; but the author Rūpa himself informs us that his work really summarises (*saṃkṣepeṇa*) what is said at great length by Sanātana in his (*Bṛhad-*) *Bhāgavatāmṛta*. We are told that of all the adorable deities (*upāsya*) Kṛṣṇa is the chief. As one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Bengal school is that Kṛṣṇa as the supreme personal god of the faith is not an Avatāra but the divine

being himself in his essential character, Rūpa Gosvāmin begins his work by a discussion of the essential selfhood or Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa, which is one of the principal themes of his work ; and in this connexion he deals with the different manifestations and appearances of the supreme deity. Like its prototype, the work is divided into two parts, but the order in which the two aspects of the subject are discussed is reversed. Instead of dealing first with the Bhakta as we have it in the original work, the Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa is propounded elaborately in the first part, while the second part, which is very short, determines the character and gradation of the Bhaktas, who are represented as equally adorable. The two parts are, therefore, respectively named Kṛṣṇāmṛta and Bhaktāmṛta.

At the outset the author records his intention to avoid the process of reasoning (*yukti-vistāra*), because he considers Śabda or 'testimony' to be the chief Pramāṇa[1] or source of knowledge ; and he thinks that this position is established by the *Vedānta-sūtra*, I. 1. 3 and II. 1. 11. As Tarka is discarded, the method which he follows is to make a dogmatic statement, which is often definitive, following it up by the process of analysis or classification, and supporting it by elaborate citations chiefly from the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas or other Vaiṣṇava and Tantra texts. Sometimes the cited texts are further elucidated by means of explanatory Kārikās. The work is an epitome and convenient manual of the whole theological speculation of the school, but the most important part of its treatment is concerned with the doctrine of Avatāra[2] and its relation to the deity and the devotee.

1 *pradhānatvāt pramāṇeṣu śabda eva pramāṇyate.*

2 On the subject of Avatāra in general, see H. Jacobi, Incarnation (India) in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vii, p. 193f ; on the Avatāra-doctrine in the *Mahābhārata*, see G. A. Grierson in *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, p. 273 footnote and Mrinal Dasgupta in *IHQ*, 1932, pp. 74-77 ; for some aspects of later development of the doctrine, see F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*, Adyar Library,

The Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa, which is dealt with in the first part of the work, is defined and classified into three aspects:

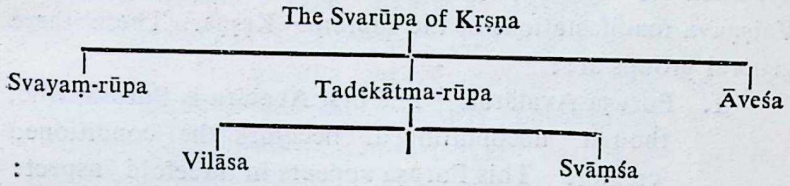
1. Svayaṃ-rūpa, which is not dependent on anything else (*ananyāpekṣi*), that is, self-existent (*svataḥ-siddha*).
2. Tadekātma-rūpa, or hypostatic manifestation which is identical in essence and existence with the Svayaṃ-rūpa, but seems different by its appearance (Ākṛti), attribute (Vaibhava), etc. This manifestation may be either (*a*) Vilāsa, which is of equal power with the Svayaṃ-rūpa (*prāyeṇātma-samaṃ śaktyā*), e.g. Nārāyaṇa who is a Vilāsa of the highest Vāsudeva (Later cult would regard Nityānanda as a Vilāsa in Gaurāṅga-līlā), and (*b*) Svāṃśa, which is inferior in power (*nyūna-śakti*), e.g. Saṃkarṣaṇa or the Matsya.
3. Āveśa, which consists of appearance in the 'possessed' forms of inspired men and prophets, into whom the deity enters through Śakti, Jñāna, Bhakti, etc. Śeṣa is cited as an example of Śakti-āveśa, Sanaka of Jñāna-āveśa, and Nārada of Bhakti-āveśa.

The Prakāśa or mere appearance is not considered in the above classification. It occurs when one and the same form appears at the same time as many, which are really identical in essence (*tatsvarūpa*), e.g. Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā appearing at the same time in the rooms of all his 16,000 wives, as described in *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, x. 70. 2. The deity who is two-handed (*dvi-bhuja*) sometimes appears as four-handed (*catur-bhuja*); this must be regarded as mere Prakāśa.

It must be noted that these forms are not Māyika or produced by illusion, but that they are real and eternal

Madras 1916 and Grierson in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 624-29. For Jīva's treatment of the doctrine see below, chap. v under Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha.

(*nitya-rūpa*). The classification mentioned above may be represented thus in a tabular form:



Usually the Svāṃśa and Āveśa forms appear as Avatāras, the Svayaṃ-rūpa appearing only once in the Dvāpara Age as Kṛṣṇa. These appear as if in a new form (*apūrva iva*), either by themselves (*svayaṃ*, e g. in its self-manifestation as Tadekātma-rūpa) or through some other means (*dvārāntareṇa*, e.g. through a Bhakta like Vasudeva). The commentary explains that the phrase 'as if in a new form' implies that the deity exists at the same time in his essential eternal form. The *raison d'être* of an Avatāra is *viśva-kārya* or work of the world. The Avatāra is thus a partial descent or appearance of the supreme deity in the world with the object of performing some action in the world, either through or without the medium of a phenomenal being. The term Viśva-kārya is not explained by Rūpa Gosvāmin, but Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa explains it as signifying cosmic action or action done in the world,[1] which consists of (*i*) disturbance of the equilibrium of Prakṛti, followed by the evolution of Mahat etc.[2] (*ii*) increasing the delight of the gods and other beings by suppressing the wicked[3] and (*iii*) propagating the bliss of divine love among the expectant devotees and spreading pure Bhakti.[4]

The Avatāras may appear in various forms, but they are classified generally into three groups. The obvious object

1 *viśva-rūpaṃ viśvasmin vā yat kāryam.*

2 *prakṛti-kṣobha-mahadādyutpādanam.*

3 *duṣta-vimardanena devādīnāṃ sukha vivardhanam.*

4 *samutkaṇṭhītānāṃ sādhakānāṃ premānanda-vistāraṇaṃ viśuddha-bhakti-pracāraṇaṃ ca.*

of this classification is to gather together all the Avatāras who are spoken of in legends or pious texts as having appeared or will appear in the world, and unify them as Vaiṣṇava manifestations of the supreme Kṛṣṇa. These three general groups are:

1. Puruṣa-Avatāras. The first Avatāra is Puruṣa, who, though unconditioned, becomes the conditioned creator. This Puruṣa appears in threefold aspect: (*i*) as the creator of the Mahat (*mahataḥ sraṣṭṛ*), who is known as Saṃkarṣaṇa, the Kāraṇodaka-śāyin, (*ii*) as existing in the cosmic egg (*aṇḍa-saṃsthita*), who is named Pradyumna, the Guṇodaka-śāyin, and (*iii*) as existing in all beings (*sarva-bhūta-sthita*), who is called Aniruddha, the Kṣīrodaka-śāyin. This is really a modification of the older Vyūha-doctrine of the Nārāyaṇīya, which doctrine however is referred to independently later on (p. 205 f).
2. Guṇāvatāras. These are Avatāras according to the three Guṇas, of which they are the respective presiding deities; viz. Brahmā as creator (Rajas), Viṣṇu as protector (Sattva) and Śiva as destroyer (Tamas).
3. Līlāvatāras. The character of these Avatāras is not defined, but these forms have been declared by the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, i. 3. They are twenty-four in number as follow: (1) Catuḥsana, that is the four 'Sanas,' who in four forms are really one, namely, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra, who appeared as Brahman ascetics to propagate Jñāna and Bhakti, (2) Nārada, the author of the Sātvata Tantra, (3) the Varāha, four-legged (*catuṣpād*), but also two-legged according to some (*dvipād*), (4) the Matsya, (5) Yajña, (6) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (7) Kapila, (8) Dattātreya, (9) Hayaśīrṣa, (10) the Haṃsa, (11) Dhruva-priya or Pṛśnigarbha,

(12) Ṛṣabha, (13) Pṛthu, (14) the Nṛsiṃha, (15) the Kūrma, (16) Dhanvantari, (17) the Mohinī, (18) the Vāmana, (19) Bhārgava (Paraśu-rāma), (20) Rāghava, (21) Vyāsa, (22) Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, (23) the Buddha and (24) Kalkin. These are also the Kalpa-Avatāras, as they appear in each Kalpa.

The Manvantara-Avatāras. At each of the fourteen Manvantaras there is an Avatāra who destroys the enemies of Indra and becomes the friend of the gods. They are in their order: (1) Yajña, (2) Vibhu, (3) Satyasena, (4) Hari, (5) Vaikuṇṭha, (6) Ajita, (7) the Vāmana, (8) Sārvabhauma, (9) Ṛṣabha, (10) Viṣvaksena, (11) Dharmasetu, (12) Sudhāman, (13) Yogeśvara and (14) Bṛhadbhānu. Of these, Hari, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita and the Vāmana are the chief (*pravara*).

The Yugāvatāras. A Yugāvatāra flourishes at each of the four Yugas. They are according to their individual names (*nāman*) and colour (*varṇa*): In Satya-yuga, Śukla (white), in Tretā, Rakta (red), in Dvāpara, Śyāma (dark) and in Kali, Kṛṣṇa (black).

In each Kalpa these Avatāras become fourfold in accordance with the condition of Āveśa, Prabhava, Vaibhava and Paratva, which terms are now explained. The word Āveśa literally means 'possession'. The Āveśa-Avatāra has already been mentioned ; but this kind of Avatāra, of which examples are the sages Sanaka, Sanandana etc., Kumāra, Nārada, and Pṛthu, is merely *aupacārika* ; that is, they are not real Avatāras but Avatāras by analogy ; because here the Lord enters into particular Jīvas and thus exalts them into Avatāras. Even Kalkin is supposed by some theologians (e.g. in *Viṣṇudharma*) as belonging to this order. The two terms Prabhava and Vaibhava practically mean the same thing, namely, power, but probably differ in the degree of the significance. This class of Avatāras is identical in essence

with the supreme deity (*svarūpa-rūpa*) and they are so called according to the degree of their Śakti or power (*śaktīnāṃ tāratamyena*), but they are inferior to the Parāvastha Avatāra (*parāvasthebhya ūnakaḥ*), The Prabhava-Avatāras may again be classified according as (i) their appearance does not endure for a long period of time (*nāticira-vyakta*), or (ii) their not having an extended reputation (*nāti-viśruta-kīrti*). The examples of the first kind are the Mohinī, Haṃsa and Śukla, who disappeared as soon as their work was finished ; the examples of the second variety include such Śāstrakāra ascetics as Dhanvantari, Ṛṣabha, Vyāsa and Kapila. The Vaibhava Avatāras are the Kūrma, the Matsya, Nārāyaṇa with Nara, the Varāha, Hayaśīrṣa, Pṛśnigarbha, Balarāma, and the fourteen Manvantara-Avatāras beginning with Yajña.

Each of these Āveśa, Prabhava and Vaibhava Avatāras has a place of habitation of his own in a particular Loka. Thus the Kūrma lives in a lake in Mahātala, the Mātsya in a lake in Rasātala, Nara and Nārāyaṇa in Badarī, the two-legged Varāha in Mahar-loka, the four-legged Varāha in Pātāla, the Hayaśīrṣa in Talātala, Pṛśnigarbha above the Jana-loka of Brahmā, Balarāma in the same place as occupied by Kṛṣṇa (although his partial manifestation or Aṃśa named Saṃkarṣaṇa lives in Pātāla), Vaikuṇṭha in Svarga-loka (but also in Vaikuṇṭha-loka which he himself discovered), Ajita in Dhruva-loka, Trivikrama (who is distinguished from the Vāmana) in Tapoloka and the Vāmana in Bhuvar-loka. But all the Avatāras live in a lower region that Paravyoman or Mahāvaikuṇṭha, the highest paradise of the supreme beings. This is given in accordance with the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. The school, however, does not seem to possess any definite cosmology of its own, but follows the *Bhāgavata, Padma* and other Purāṇas indiscriminately.

In this connection the author briefly discusses the alleged Avatāratva of Upendra, the younger brother of Indra, and Nārāyaṇa, the twin-brother of Nara. This allegation however is not, in his opinion, acknowledged by learned people.

The Parāvastha is described as passessed of the Para or complete state (*saṃpūrṇāvastha*), for these Avatāras possess all the six Aiśvaryas and are comparable to a lamp lighted from the original lamp (*dīpād utpanna-dīpavat*). They are the Nṛsiṃha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

With regard to the Nṛsiṃha the author cites the authority of the *Bhāgavata*, *Padma-purāṇa* and Śrīdhara (who is known to have been a worshipper of Nṛsiṃha), and notes that the Māhātmya or greatness of the Nṛsiṃha Avatāra is described in full in the *Nṛsiṃha-tāpanī Upaniṣad*. The Nṛsiṃha lives in Jana-loka, but also in Viṣṇu-loka. Rāma lives in Ayodhyā and in Mahāvaikuṇṭha. Some (e.g. *Viṣṇudharmottara*) are of opinion that the four Vyūhas (Vāsudeva etc.) were incarnated in Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa etc.; but according to the *Padma-purāṇa*, the process of incarnation was as follows: Rāma=Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa=Śeṣa, Bharata=the disc Sudarśana of Nārāyaṇa, and Śatrughna=the Pāñcajanya conch-shell of the deity. Kṛṣṇa, according to the Purāṇas, lives in four places, viz. Vraja, Mathurā, Dvārakā and Goloka.

In this connexion the author discusses the question whether Rāma and the Nṛsiṃha can be regarded as Parāvastha-Avatāras of equal grade with Kṛṣṇa. A Viṣṇu-purāṇa text is quoted to equalise Rāvaṇa, Hiraṇyakaśipu and Śiśupāla, who were hostile respectively to Rāma, the Nṛsiṃha and Kṛṣṇa, but it is shown that the first two of these (Rāvaṇa and Hiraṇyakaśipu) did not attain Sāyujya emancipation because they lacked true Bhakti for the deity. Texts are also cited to show that Kṛṣṇa is the deity himself (*bhagavān svayam*), and not an Avatāra Rāma and the Nṛsiṃha have, no doubt, equal character or Svabhāva with Kṛṣṇa, but they do not possess the distinctive qualification of bringing emancipation to the enemy that is slain (*hatāri-gati-dāyaka*); for while Śiśupāla was finally emancipated, Rāvana and Hiraṇyakaśipu had to suffer re-birth. Although all these Avatāras are perfect (*pūrṇa*), there is yet a difference in excellence according as all the Śaktis or Energies of the Lord find expression in them or not. An Aṃśa is that Avatāra in which the all-powerful expresses only a part of his infinite power, while a Pūrṇa Avatāra occurs where all the powers are fully manifested. Although the Śakti is the same in the case of a lamp and a heap of fire for burning down a house, there is yet a difference in their respective virtue of bringing delight by the removal of cold, and so forth.

Incidentally Rūpa Gosvāmin discusses how contradictory qualities, like unity (Ekatva) and diversity (Pṛthakatva), fullness

(Aṃśitva) and division (Aṃśatva), can inhere in Kṛṣṇa. This is explained as being possible because the power of the godhead is incomprehensible (*acintya-śaktitaḥ*) ; and this position is supported by the citation of Purāṇa texts. The sixteen Kalās (i.e. parts or digits), assumed by the supreme being for the creation of the world (*bhuvanānāṃ sisṛkṣayā*), are spoken of in the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstras as his sixteen Śaktis or Energies. They are enumerated as Śrī, Bhū, Kīrti, Ilā, Līlā, Kānti, Vidyā, Vimalā, Utkarṣaṇī, Jñānā, Kriyā, Yogā, Prahvī, Satyā, Īśānā and Anugrahā ; but their respective characteristics are not explained.

A modification of the much older Vyūha doctrine is next mentioned by our author (pp. 205 f). The four Vyūhas in their order of emergence are given as:

Saṃkarṣaṇa presiding over Ahaṃkāra,
Vāsudeva presiding over Citta,
Pradyumna presiding over Buddhi,
Aniruddha presiding over Manas.

The author refers to the fact that in the Nārāyaṇīya[1], Pradyumna is presented as presiding over Manas, and Aniruddha over Ahaṃkāra, but the above view, in his opinion, is supported by all Pañcarātra scriptures. The four arms of Hari are said to represent the four Vyūhas. In some Sātvata Tantra, we are told, there is an enumeration of nine Vyūhas,[2] viz. Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṃha, Hayagrīva, Mahāvarāha and Brahmā, in addition to the four mentioned above ; but the four appear to be the original and generally accepted Vyūhas. The Vyūha-doctrine is accepted by our author from these older sources, but its exact bearing upon the theology

1 On the older Vyūha-doctrine in the *Mahābhārata*, see Barnett, introduction to his English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 52-55 ; Mrinal Dasgupta in *IHQ*. 1932, pp. 68 f. For later development of the dogma, see Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*, pp. 35 f.

2 Also referred to in *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, p. 154 (*sāttvatām vāsudeva - saṃkarṣaṇa - pradyumnāniruddha-nārāyaṇa-hayagrīva-varāha-nṛsiṃha-brahmāṇa iti yā nava mūrtayaḥ*).

of his own school is not clearly explained. It appears, however, that the school does not accept fully the older position that each of these Vyūhas is a cosmic spiritual evolute or creative emergence in successive order, parallel to the order of cosmic material evolutes of Ahaṃkāra etc.; but it would regard each of the Vyūhas (Saṃkarṣaṇa etc.) as independent creative manifestation of the primal Puruṣa-Avatāra of the supreme being, each having (as already explained) a distinctive character and habitation of his own, like every other kind of Avatāra. Nor can each of these, in the opinion of the Bengal school, be regarded as corresponding to the series of cosmic material causation like Ahaṃkāra, Manas and Buddhi, which are, in its theory, the result of the extraneous Māyā-śakti of the Bhagavat and are therefore non-conscious (*jaḍa*) evolutes. In other words, these Vyūha manifestations are aspects of the Puruṣa-Avatāra of the Bhagavat, who do not correspond but apparently have presiding functions over the creative evolutes of Ahaṃkāra, Manas, etc.

The author next attempts to remove the erroneous view sometimes propounded that Kṛṣṇa is Vāsudeva, the first of the four Vyūhas. He maintains that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the deity himself, who is greater than Vāsudeva; for Vāsudeva is merely an aspect of the Puruṣa-Avatāra for creative purposes. Every other form or manifestation as declared by the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (i. 3. 28) is Aṃśa and Kalā, but Kṛṣṇa is the supreme Bhagavat himself. This position is supported by a series of Purāṇa texts, which establish that inasmuch as there is an excess of qualities, especially of the quality of Mādhurya, Kṛṣṇa is superior in turns to Brahman, Puruṣa, Nārāyaṇa, and consequently to all other deities, Vyūhas and Avatāras. In this connexion the *Gopāla-tāpanī* Upaniṣad is cited as one of the greatest authorities. It is noteworthy that the Bengal school admits the reality practically of all deities mentioned in the Śāstras, as well as of all Vyūhas, Avatāras and other forms or manifestations

testified to by the Purāṇas ; but it denies their alleged superiority to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is *par excellence* the only supreme deity ; the other deities are there, but they are inferior to Kṛṣṇa and even derive their existence from him. Jīva Gosvāmin, for instance, states in his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, that Brahmā is the first Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa, but Śiva, being described in the scriptures as an ideal Vaiṣṇava, is greater than Brahmā, while Lakṣmī who is the foremost embodiment of the teaching of Bhakti, is greater than Śiva, and is therefore admitted into the highest companionship (*parama-sakhya*).

The question as to how the Unborn can be born is answered by the mystical dogma of incomprehensible power (Vaibhava) and by the metaphor that although the fire remains hidden in the fuel, it comes into existence by friction. The cause of divine manifestation is found in the theory of grace or Prasāda, which the deity vouchsafes to his faithful devotee as an aspect of his inherent divine Śakti.

Then the author proceeds to discuss the Līlā or divine sport of Kṛṣṇa, which is a display of his inherent divine Energy or Śakti. This topic is further elaborated in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin in its philosophical aspect; but here the dogma is barely stated and supported by authoritative texts. The Līlā, as an aspect of divine Śakti or Energy, is real and eternal (*nitya*), whether it is manifest (Prakaṭa) or unmanifest (Aprakaṭa). Hence also are Kṛṣṇa's forms (Mūrtis) and Avatāras real and eternal. His Prakaṭa Avatāra-līlā, that is, his manifest birth in its real and eternal character, is the result of his grace or Anugraha to the world, and he shows himself in the way in which his faithful devotee wishes to see him. As the Līlā is eternal, his true Bhakta even to-day sees Kṛṣṇa sporting in Vṛndāvana. His qualities or Guṇas are not *prākṛta* or phenomenal, because he is beyond the sphere of the three Prākṛta Guṇas of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. It is for this reason that he is sometimes called Nirguṇa or attributeless, but his real attributes are non-natural or supersensuous (*aprākṛta*), being an essence of his

inherent self (*svarūpa-bhūta*). Hence his form (Rūpa) and name (Nāman), his greatness (Aiśvarya) and his retinue (Pārṣadas) etc. have, through his display of Līlā, a super-sensuous reality, although in his essence he is formless (*a-rūpa*), nameless (*a-nāma*), etc.

That the Kṛṣṇa-līlā is real and eternal is laid down in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures. The Līlā, which is a display of the divine Śakti or Energy, is of two kinds, namely, Prakaṭa or manifest, and Aprakaṭa or unmanifest; the one is cognisable in the external world (*prapañca-gocara*), the other is not. In the Prakaṭa-līlā Kṛṣṇa seems to go to and fro from Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā, but in the Aprakaṭa-līlā he stays eternally in Vṛndāvana which he never forsakes as his eternal habitation. Here he sports with one Gopī (*gopyaikayā*, p. 334) and appears as Dvibhuja, although elsewhere he is sometimes Caturbhuja. At Vṛndāvana he is Kṛṣṇa, but at Mathurā he becomes Vāsudeva, while at Dvārakā he manifests his Pradyumna and Aniruddha forms,—which theory is a curious mystical attempt to reconcile the old Vyūha theory with the new Kṛṣṇa legend. His birth as the son of Devakī appears in his Prakaṭa-līlā, but in his Aprakṭa-līlā he is the eternal son of Yaśodā. In the Prakaṭa-līlā there is an apparent separation from Vṛndāvana but during all this time he is really in union with his beloved ones. This union is of two kinds, namely, Āvirbhāva and A-gati. The Āvirbhāva occurs when he appears to his dear ones who long for him during separation; e.g. at the time of Uddhava's message, Kṛṣṇa appeared in Vṛndāvana, although he lived apparently in Dvārakā. When to prove the genuineness of his promise and to show his love to his dear ones he comes in his chariot to Vṛndāvana, it is called A-gati, e.g. the advent as described in *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, x. 39. 33 f. Thus by means of his manifest and unmanifest Līlā he remains at the same time in the three places, Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā. His habitation is in reality twofold, namely, Vṛndāvana and

Dvārakā, the former again being twofold, namely, Vṛndāvana and Mathurā. The Goloka or the highest paradise of the deity is really a Vaibhava, or display of Śakti, of Vṛndāvana itself. In all these places his Līlā is Nitya, but Vṛndāvana is the best because here he lives eternally in all his glory and sweetness. This sweetness or Mādhurya consists of his power (Aiśvarya), his sport (Krīḍā), his flute (Veṇu) and his personal appearance (Mūrti), all of which exist in fullness in Vṛndāvana.

From what has been indicated in the two works of Rūpa and Sanātana mentioned above, as well as from other authoritative sources like the works of Jīva (to be discussed below), we can now summarise the theory of Avatāra propounded by the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism thus:

(*i*) The supreme being, though one, can manifest himself in various forms, all forms being real, perfect, eternal and intelligential, but there are degrees of excellence in the character of the manifestations.

(*ii*) The Avatāra is real and not illusory, but he is also supernatural (*divya*) and eternally existent (*nitya*).

(*iii*) The form or body assumed is non-natural and incorruptible (*aprākṛta*) and has nothing of the grossness of earthly forms (*apārthiva*). It is an intelligential essence (*jñānātmā*), but it consists of a Vigraha or concrete form of pure existence, bliss and intelligence (*saccidānanda-vigraha*) like the form of the deity himself. The Avatāra thus retains absolute knowledge, absolute existence and absolute bliss, as well as omnipotence and power to grant salvation (*mokṣadatva-svabhāva*). But

(*iv*) The Avatāra assumes human nature in two ways, namely, the shape and form of man (*manuṣya-saṃniveśatva*) and the ordinary human acts (*manuṣya ceṣṭā*).

(*v*) The humanity is real, but it is human reality without its imperfections. Hence Jīva Gosvāmin

speaks of Aprasiddha-mānuṣatva and Aprākṛtatva of the Avatāra.

(*vi*) As the Avatāra retains divine power and perfection, he is capable of performing superhuman (*atimartya*) acts.

(*vii*) Although some of the Avatāras appeared in past ages, yet being eternal they are still worthy of worship. Each Avatāra has not only a distinctive form or body, but also a place of habitation in a particular Loka.

(*viii*) The Avatāra is a partial descent or manifestation in the sense that the deity exists at the same time in his essential and complete form. The obvious object of descent is to do good to the world,[1] but since the supreme being cannot be regarded as having a particular motive, the descent occurs as an aspect of his grace (Prasāda), which is a display of his inherent Śakti, to his faithful devotee.

It is clear that this theological dogma rests ultimately on a curious combination not only of mythology and philosophy but also of the natural and the supernatural, of the real and mystical,—a trait which characterises the whole religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism ; for the Vṛndāvana legend is taken not as religious myth but as religious history.

The second part of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Saṃkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛta* is a very brief section ; and, as its title *Bhaktāmṛta* implies, it deals entirely with the theme of the Bhakta or devotee of Kṛṣṇa. It gives us the gist of the first part of the *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* of Sanātana Gosvāmin and practically summarises it in a precise form.

1 It should be noted that the Avatāras are not taken as ideals of perfection to which humanity moves in gradual evolution (cf. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, i, p. 545-46). On the contrary, the whole theory suggests implicit pessimism regarding the capacity of humanity by requiring the appearance of an Avatāra from time to time to rescue it !

It lays down at the outset that the adoration of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta is as indispensable as the adoration of Kṛṣṇa himself. The neglect of the Bhakta would be deemed a religious fault or demerit. A list is given from the *Padma-purāṇa* enumerating the chief Bhaktas famed in myth and legend, namely, Mārkaṇḍeya, Ambarīṣa, Vasu, Vyāsa, Bibhīṣaṇa, Puṇḍarīka, Bali, Śaṃbhu, Prahlāda, Vidura, Dhruva, Dālbhya, Parāśara, Bhīṣma, Nārada and others. Various Purāṇa texts are further cited to establish the worship of the Bhakta ; for he alone is the greatest Bhakta who is a Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta ; and he who worships Kṛṣṇa but does not worship his Bhakta must be deemed an arrogant and misguided person.

Of the Bhaktas, Prahlāda is the chief, but the Pāṇḍavas are greater than Prahlāda on the testimony of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* itself. Some of the Yādavas, again, are greater than the Pāṇḍavas. But of the Yādavas, the chief Bhakta is Uddhava, whose greatness is praised in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. The Vrajadevīs or Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, however, are greater than Uddhava, who himself desired to possess the sweetness of their love for Kṛṣṇa. Hence those who desire to worship Kṛṣṇa must also worship the fair damsels of Vraja. But of these Vraja-sundarīs, again, Rādhā is the greatest ; which conclusion indicates that there is no greater Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa than his eternal consort Rādhā.

These are the principal theological dogmas of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The works mentioned above either give a poetical account of them in the form of imaginary narratives, or set them forth in the form of precise and systematic statements, supported by illustrative or explanatory Purāṇic texts ; but they hardly attempt any elaborate philosophical justification of them. Such an attempt, however, is made in the six Saṃdarbhas of Jīva Gosvāmin, with its supplementary *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, as well as incidentally in his *Krama-saṃdarbha* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. We now turn to these six Saṃdarbhas and their supplementary works.

Sanātana's *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* being a poetical work composed in the style of the Purāṇas, hardly gives ony scope to the citation of authorities, but Rūpa's more systematic supplement contains a larger number of quotations and references. The following index of works and authors, actually cited by name in the *Saṃkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛta*, will give a rough idea of its sources and authorities. The largest number of quotations is of course derived from the Purāṇas, chiefly the *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma-purāṇa*, and these constitute the principal original authorities. Some Tantra works as well as sectarian devotional treatises are also cited, but these form secondary authorities.

[The references are by pages to the Murshidabad edition of the work, printed at the Radharaman Press, B.E. 1303 (=1896 A.D.)]

The Epics and the Purāṇas:

Mahābhārata (Mokṣa-dharma, Nārāyaṇīya only) 30, 54, 208, 306, 308-10 ; Harivaṃśa 112, 126, 157-59 ; Śrīmad-bhāgavata (especially Daśama) 19, 21, 25, 27, 30, 31, 50, 55, 57, 58, 60-64, 69, 71-85, 87-89, 91, 95, 96, 99, 101, 104-7, 124-5, 132, 136, 138, 169, 171-73, 181, 182, 190-93, 197-98, 210, 213, 220, 221, 223, 227, 235, 261, 265-68, 275, 280-81, 285-86, 288-89, 301, 314-15, 317, 328 (anon.), 332-33, 338-40, 365, 372-74, 378-81, 384-88, 392 ; Pādma or Padma-purāṇa (generally Uttara-khaṇḍa) 22, 43, 54, 56, 70, 73, 96, 112, 123, 135, 141, 170, 208, 227, 242, 244, 246, 249, 284, 303, 304, 307, 313, 321, 342, 344, 358, 359, 370, 376, 377, 393 ; Skanda 123, 179, 220, 286, 320 (Mathurā-khaṇḍa), 345-46 (Ayodhyā-khaṇḍa), 379 ; Viṣṇu-purāṇa 24, 54, 91, 92, 144 f, 159, 226 ; Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava 303 ; Brahmāṇḍa 53, 76 (anon, but this according to commentary), 96, 264, 273, 286, 296, 302, 368, 370 ; Ādi-purāṇa 378 ; Mahāvarāha 59, 165 ; Kūrma-purāṇa 171, 274, 279 ; Bṛhad-vāmana 389 ; Purāṇa 66 (Matsya, according to commentary), 143, 295, 301, 315, 393 ; Paurāṇika Upākhyāna 284 (Padma-purāṇa, according to commentary).

Tantra and Āgama:

Saṃmohana Tantra 366 ; Sātvata Tantra 25, 190, 209 ; Śrī-yāmala 334 ; Bhārgava Tantra 244 ; Tantra 374 ; Svāyaṃbhuva Āgama 165, 219 ; Āgama 393.

Other Devotional Texts and Commentaries:

Gītā 161, 228 ; Vedānta-sūtra (two sūtras cited anonymously) 13, 178 ; Maharṣi Brahma-sūtra-kṛt 13, 178 ; Brahma-saṃhitā 15, 28, 44, 47, 49, 196, 232, 287, 355, 356 ; Vāsudeva-Upaniṣad 305 ; Vāsudevādhyātma 307 ; Nārāyaṇādhyātma 312 ; Madhvācārya-bhāṣya 310 ; Gopāla-tāpanī 368 ; Nṛsiṃha-tāpanī 134 ; Viṣṇu-dharma 113 ; Viṣṇu-dharmottara 51, 66 (Mārkaṇḍeyena bhāṣitaḥ), 110, 111, 117, 141, 200-201, 273, 274 ; Pañcarātra 208, 243 ; Nārada-pañcarātra 166 ; Svāmin, Svāmi-pāda or Śrīdhara-svāmin 24 (from the commentary on Viṣṇu-purāṇa), 68, 131 (from Bhāvārtha-dīpikā), 191, 383 ; Brahma-tarka 226 (evidently a work on Logic, but it is not known elsewhere ; Rūpa and Jīva perhaps got their reference to this work from Madhva's writings); Bhakti-viveka 186 ; Hari-bhakti-sudhodaya 377 ; Bilvamaṅgala 142 ; Krama-dīpikā 219 ; Rāmārcana-candrikā 134.

Anonymous Citation:

Bhāgavatāḥ purātanāḥ 331.

4. THE SAṂDARBHAS OF JĪVA GOSVĀMIN

These works give us the entire philosophy as well as theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in a systematic form. They consist of six Saṃdarbhas, viz. *Tattva-*; *Bhagavat-*, *Paramātma-*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa-*, *Bhakti-*, and *Prīti-* ; there is also a supplementary work on the first three Saṃdarbhas, called Anuvyākhyā and named *Sarva-saṃvādinī*,[1] which contains explanatory comments on obscure points and dilates upon

1 Our references are to the following editions of the texts: *Tattva*, *Bhagavat*, *Paramātma*, Radharaman Press edition, Murshidabad, B.E. 1317, 1324, 1335 respectively ; *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, edited by Prangopal Gosvami, Navadvipa, B.E. 1332 ; *Bhakti*, edited by Syamlal Gosvami (along with the five other Saṃdarbhas), Calcutta Śaka 1822 ; *Prīti*, edited by Prangopal Gosvami, published from Noakhali (no date) ; *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, edited by Rasik Mohan Vidyabhusan, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta B.E. 1327=1920 A.D. All the Saṃdarbhas has been published by Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭh (with notes and indices). The *Krama-saṃdarbha* has been printed along with the text (and the commentaries of Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha Cakravartin) by the Radharaman Press, B.E. 1310 (=1903 A.D.).

topics which have been imperfectly dealt with in the original texts. Jīva Gosvāmin also wrote a running commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, but since these Saṃdarbhas profess to give an exposition of the speculative ideas of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism chiefly by a direct explication of texts, skilfully selected and arranged from that work according to the philosophical design of the cult, they constitute in reality a sectarian commentary on a considerable portion of the *Bhāgavata*; and the general name of this collection of Saṃdarbhas is therefore appropriately given by its author as *Bhāgavata-saṃdarbha*. The word Saṃdarbha means a systematic stringing together or collection; and the work in question, though considerably original in its outlook and presentation, is deliberately designed to possess this characteristic. After acknowledging the inspiration of the work to Rūpa and Sanātana, the author informs us that a Bhaṭṭa friend of theirs, belonging to the South (Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa), had already composed a work on the subject, compiling it from the treatises of old Vaiṣṇavas (Vṛddha Vaiṣṇava). This acknowledgment is repeated at the commencement of each of the six Saṃdarbhas; and we are told that from this original, the present Saṃdarbhas were composed on the same lines but in a more orderly form and sequence. Jīva Gosvāmin himself explains in his *Sarva-saṃvādinī* that the phrase *vṛddha vaiṣṇava* includes what is written by old Vaiṣṇava writers like Rāmānuja, Madhvācārya, Śrīdharasvāmin and others, and that there is nothing in it which is a figment of his own imagination. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa informs us that this Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who was one of the six Gosvāmins and associates of Rūpa and Sanātana. Rūpa and Sanātana, again, not only preceded Jīva in life and thought but were also his acknowledged preceptors in the Vaiṣṇava doctrine and practice. In spite of this customary appeal to old authorities and modest disclaimer of originality, the work, however, is not a mere compilation but betrays a systematic plan and execution, as

well as originality in its ideas and methods, and in spite of considerable affinities it cannot be regarded as belonging to the same schools of thought as those of Rāmānuja or Madhva. To Jīva Gosvāmin belonged the whole heritage of Vaiṣṇava philosophical thought, upon which, as a matter of fact, he freely draws, besides utilising Śruti (chiefly Upaniṣadic) and Purāṇa texts ; and no important proposition is laid down which is not supported by some such text. But the system which he builds up on this foundation is essentially his own and deserves an independent consideration. As the work, however, consists chiefly of a string of *Bhāgavata* quotations and of a system of interpretation of that authoritative text, it is in appearance at least a series of Saṃdarbhas or systematic collections.

The scope and object of the work are indicated by the author himself in the *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, which informs us that they are identical with those of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, of which his own work is merely an exposition. He states accordingly that the main Tattva or principle to which his work, like the *Bhāgavata*, is related (Saṃbandha) is Kṛṣṇa-tattva, which is higher than any other Tattva ; that its subject-matter (Abhidheya) is Bhakti or the devotional attitude by which alone that Tattva is attainable ; and that its motive (Prayojana) consists of Prīti, or love for Kṛṣṇa as a means of worship. The six Saṃdarbhas are consequently arranged on this Śāstric plan. The first four are devoted to the Saṃbandha-tattva and are intended to establish Kṛṣṇa as the highest deity and the most exclusive object of worship ; the *Bhakti-saṃdarbha* deals with the Abhidheya-tattva which is Bhakti ; while the last *Prīti-saṃdarbha* is concerned with the Prayojana-tattva, which is Prīti considered as the best way of divine worship. In other words, Jīva Gosvāmin is concerned in the first Saṃdarbha, with a theory of knowledge (Pramāṇas) which leads on, in the next three Saṃdarbhas, to a theory of ultimate reality (Tattva), while the last two Saṃdarbhas are devoted to a theory of *summum bonum*

(Niḥśreyasa or Puruṣārtha) and the means of attaining it. In the survey we propose to make in the following pages we shall generally follow this order of treatment, and give a brief résumé of the successive works with a view to setting forth the main doctrines in their general outline ; but for convenience and continuity of treatment we shall occasionally have to gather together and deal in one place our author's remarks on various topics which are sometimes scattered over the different books. The method which Jīva Gosvāmin follows of laying down principles by the explication of texts naturally involves a great deal repetition and digression. We shall try to avoid them as far as possible, although in any faithful account of his works they are to a certain extent unavoidable.

a. THE TATTVA-SAṂDARBHA

The *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, which is preliminary, deals chiefly with Pramāṇa or source of knowledge, and concludes with a general discussion of the Prameya or subject to be known, this last topic being further elucidated and elaborated in the succeeding Saṃdarbhas.

Jīva Gosvāmin's theory of Pramāṇa, which is widely accepted by the school, is very simple. He rejects without much ceremony the conventional six or eight Pramāṇas, namely, Perception (Pratyakṣa), Inference (Anumāna), Testimony (Śabda), Analogy (Upamāna), Postulation or Assumption (Arthāpatti), Non-recognition (Abhāva or Anupalabdhi), Equivalence (Saṃbhava) and Tradition (Aitihya), on the ground that they are all, with the exception of Śabda, defective and unreliable. In his *Sarva-saṃvādinī*[1] he discusses the

1 Here he speaks of ten Pramāṇas, adding Ārṣa (*i.e.* knowledge derived from the sayings of Gods and Ṛṣis) and Ceṣṭā (*i.e.* knowledge derived by physical effort, *e.g.* by lifting a thing) to the above eight ; but Ārṣa may be included in Śabda and Ceṣṭā in Pratyakṣa. The Ceṣṭā is accepted by Tāntric writers.

question at some length[1] and takes pains to show the limitations of each of these Pramāṇas, except Śabda. Besides, the ordinary man is naturally liable to four kinds of error, namely, Bhrama (error due to wrong perception of one thing for another), Pramāda (error due to heedlessness), Vipralipsā (error due to the wish to deceive) and Karaṇāpāṭava (error due to the insufficiency of the senses). The Pramāṇas are also not capable of comprehending the incomprehensible and superphysical. Jīva's analysis easily leads him to the conclusion that the other Pramāṇas being defective and insufficient, Śabda or Testimony alone as a Pramāṇa is valid ; for in his opinion Śabda is free from these defects and is independent of

1 Of the ten Pramāṇas with which Jīva Gosvāmin is concerned here, the Pratyakṣa or Perception is said to be of five kinds based respectively upon the five senses, but to these is added Mānasa Pratyakṣa or internal perception, which is independent of the sense-organs. Apart from the fact that each of these six kinds of Pratyakṣa may be either *sa-vikalpa* or *nir-vikalpa*, the Pratyakṣa may also be either *vaiduṣa* or *avaiduṣa* according as it belongs to the learned or the non-learned. While the former is free from error and becomes the basis of Śabda itself when it is the Pratyakṣa of the great seers, the latter is liable to error and is thus very defective as a Pramāṇa. The so-called universal Pratyakṣa, which is supposed to consist of what is perceived by all, can never be discovered as the standard of truth, because it is not possible to bring together the whole of the perceiving world. The Pratyakṣa can be accepted as a Pramāṇa only when (as in the case of Vaiduṣa) it involves Śabda, and not otherwise. The Anumāna, again, is essentially syllogistic, but syllogistic inference does not always lead us to truth. The validity of the Anumāna depends on that of the Vyāpti or invariable concomitance of the major and middle terms, but the Vyāpti is not always invariable. The existence of fire cannot invariably be inferred from the existence of smoke, for smoke may also arise where the fire is just extinguished. The Vyāpti is only probable and never certain ; the Anumāna, therefore, is at best only a source of probable knowledge. The other Pramāṇas hardly require detailed consideration. They are not independent Pramaṇas at all but are valid in so far as they involve Pratyakṣa, Anumāna or Śabda, and can be accepted as Pramāṇas only to that extent. These minor Pramāṇas can never give us the knowledge of higher realities.

the other Pramāṇas, which can never supersede it. Moreover, Śabda can touch things which the other Pramāṇas cannot. It must, however, be noted that the other Pramāṇas are not absolutely rejected, but they are rejected only as *independent* sources of knowledge. They may be employed as Pramāṇas subsidiary to Śabda. Thus, Inference is not altogether rejected as a Pramāṇa, and the author himself largely employs argumentation. But Inference, according to the Vaiṣṇava theory, is not a Pramāṇa if it is independent of the testimony of the scriptures. If it is based on the scriptures, the inferential process is a valuable aid to knowledge. It is clear, however, that even this attitude, by making the other Pramāṇas subordinate, exalts Śabda as the chief and infallible Pramāṇa.

It is concluded, therefore, that as a source of knowledge the only authentic and reliable Pramāṇa is Śabda, which is the source of all superphysical knowledge and which consists of revealed words (*aprākṛta-vacana-lakṣaṇa*). This position, in the opinion of our author, is supported by the Vedānta-sūtra-kāra by the Sūtras ii. 1. 11 (*tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt*), i. 1. 3 (*śāstra-yonitvāt*) and ii. 1. 27 (*śrutis tu śabda-mūlatvāt*), as well as by the Vaiṣṇava scriptures. This is indeed the general position of the Vedānta, but the earlier Vedāntists appear to have believed not in Śabda in general but in Śruti, which denoted pre-eminently the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. But in later sectarian schools the word Śabda came to be employed in an extended sense so as to indicate other kinds of scriptures, which the earlier philosophers regarded as Smṛtis but which now came to be recognised as of equal value with the Śrutis. It is argued that the Vedas in the present decadent age are difficult to master and understand, and the sages who interpret them do not agree. The scriptures which can rightly determine this obscure sense of the Vedas are the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which therefore constitute the only kind of Śabda that is practically more valuable to us and, being of equal authority, the only authentic source of knowledge in the

present age. The Purāṇas were brought into existence, for this specific purpose of rendering the unfathomable sense of the Vedas comprehensible to the ordinary mortal, by the great sage Vyāsa, who was himself the classifier of the four Vedas and an incarnation of the supreme being for that purpose. The Purāṇa is so called because it completes or fulfils (*pūraṇa*) the sense of the Veda. It is argued that a complement cannot be different from that which it completes; the defective parts of a gold bangle can be made good by gold alone and not by any baser metal. It is further stated that those topics of the Veda which are called Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Gāthā and Kalpa are elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇa; and in this sense also the Purāṇa elucidates and amplifies what is vaguely or implicitly contained in the Vedas. Thus, those who know the four Vedas with the Upaniṣads and the Vedāṅgas, but do not know the Purāṇas cannot, in the opinion of our author, be regarded as truly learned men. The two sets of scriptures, the Veda and the Purāṇa, are both revealed and are ultimately identical in purport, but they are sometimes regarded as different because of the use of accent (*svara*) and some peculiarities of arrangement (*krama-bheda*) in the earlier texts. But apart from its greater intelligibility and accessibility, the Purāṇa is even superior to the Veda, because it can be studied not only by the twice-born male (Brāhmaṇa) but also by women and Śūdras and does not suffer from the limitation of caste, sex or age. By these indications the denotation of the word Śabda as a Pramāṇa is not confined to Śruti alone, but is extended to the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which must be regarded as a part (and in practice the most authentic part) of the Veda. This position is supported by a skilful compilation of texts, but as the texts are mostly selected from the Purāṇas we have the curious method of establishing their authenticity chiefly on the strength of statements made by themselves.

Of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, again, the Purāṇa is to be preferred as a source of knowledge. But we are told that in

the present age the individual Purāṇas are not all available in their completeness, and they celebrate different gods. Hence, the average poor mortal is too puzzled by their diversity to understand their real sense. The doubt regarding the admissibility of some of them naturally arises from the fact that the different Purāṇas appeared at different periods of time, and that though they were suitable for the epoch for which they were composed, they are not all suitable for the present age. We find, therefore, the classification of Purāṇas into Sāttvika, Rājasika and Tāmasika groups. Verses from the *Matsya-purāṇa* are quoted to explain that the Sāttvika Purāṇas deal with the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, the Rājasika with that of Brahmā, and the Tāmasika with that of Śiva. There is a fourth miscellaneous kind (*saṃkīrṇa*) which speak of Sarasvatī, the Pitṛs and other deities or semi-divine beings.[1] In his *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* (p. 143) Jīva Gosvāmin points out that Purāṇas like Skanda are sometimes full of errors,[2] and states that such Purāṇas as deal with the glory of Śiva and other gods should not be accepted by Vaiṣṇavas.[3] It is the Sāttvika Purāṇas alone, which are devoted to Kṛṣṇa, that should be regarded as authentic. In other words, Jīva Gosvāmin would make us accept only those Purāṇas which are explicitly or implicitly Vaiṣṇava ; for, like most other sectarian apologists, he believes that the Purāṇas of his own school alone are capable of revealing the entire truth to be found in the Vedas, the other Purāṇas either failing to understand or misrepresenting the import of the Śruti.

Even among the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, the highest place of

1 The words ascribed to the Buddha are not regarded as valid Śabda-pramāṇas ; for the scriptures which ascribe divinity to him also state that his words were meant to delude the demons (*Sarva-saṃvādinī*, p. 5). In his *Gopāla-campū* (Uttara, p. 1079), Jīva speaks of *śākya-durvākya*, which may be good alliteration but perhaps not good taste.

2 *skandādau kvacid bhrāmakam asti.*

3 *tathāvidhaṃ śivādi-pratipādakaṃ śāstraṃ ca na vaiṣṇavair grāhyam.*

authority is assigned to the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which can on no account be superseded. It may be objected that since Vyāsa composed his *Brahma-sūtra* with the special view of determining the sense of all Veda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa, why should this treatise be taken as authoritatively final ? In reply, it is stated that the *Brahma-sūtra* has not been accepted by the followers of the other sages who have composed other Sūtra works. Moreover, the Sūtras are brief and cryptic, and have been differently interpreted. Hence it is held more reasonable to accept one great available Purāṇa, which is revealed scripture, which gives us the essence of all Veda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa and which forms in reality Vyāsa's own commentary of the *Brahma-sūtra*. Such a Purāṇa, it is maintained, is the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which is accepted as the one supreme authority and the greatest of all Pramāṇas[1] although our author very conveniently forgets that the *Bhāgavata* also, like the *Brahma-sūtra*, is not acknowledged on all hands.

This exclusive authority of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* is maintained on the supposition that Vyāsa himself, after having composed the *Brahma-sūtra* and having brought the different Purāṇas into existence, was not completely satisfied ; he therefore composed the *Bhāgavata* which he obtained through Samādhi or spiritual meditation. In this final work he found a synthesis of all Śāstras, and it forms the only genuine commentary of his own Sūtras.[2] The work proceeds with an exposition of the Gāyatrī, which forms the essence of the Vedas ; but the chief reason of its authoritativeness is found in the fact recorded by itself that it was revealed to Vyāsa in his spiritual meditation. Because of this direct revelation by the Bhagavat (*sākṣād bhāgavatodita*), it is the most Sāttvika of all the Purāṇas, dear to the Lord and desired by all his devotees. The theory of the school, thus, believes

1 *sarva-pramāṇa-cakravartībhūtam.*
2 *nija-sūtrāṇām akṛtrima-bhāṣya-bhūtam.*

that the themes of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Bhāgavata* respectively are identical, for what appeared to Vyāsa's mind in a subtle shape and was expressed by him in the form of brief Sūtras, is alleged to have been amplified in the *Bhāgavata* in the form of an extensive Bhāṣya on these Sūtras. To demonstrate the correctness of this belief, Jīva Gosvāmin makes several attempts to show directly that some of the Bhāgavata verses have the same meaning as some of the Sūtras of Vyāsa. In his *Paramātma-saṃdarbha*, pp. 257 f, for instance, he gives a detailed exposition of the first verse of the *Bhāgavata* as containing the entire gist of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the Gāyatrī. As the *Bhāgavata* is thus taken to be the only genuine and original Bhāṣya of the *Brahma-sūtra* written by Vyāsa himself, the other commentaries, written by later scholars according to their limited light, have to be rejected in its favour. It is for this reason that the *Bhāgavata* is studied with belief and devotion by those who desire to realise spiritual truths, for this work has undoubtedly attained the position of the lord of all scriptures.[1] The extensive popularity of the work, which has been widely accepted, praised and commented upon, also testifies to this position. A series of commentaries written by great scholars and devotees exists, and Jīva Gosvāmin gives a brief enumeration of those which he found most noteworthy, namely, Tantra-bhāgavata (mentioned in the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra*), Hanūmad-bhāṣya, Vāsanā-bhāṣya, Saṃbandhokti, Bṛhat-kāmadhenu, Tattva-dīpikā, Bhāvārtha-dīpikā, Paramahaṃsa-priyā and Śuka-hṛdaya ; besides these, there are works on the *Bhāgavata*, such as Muktāphala, Hari-līlā and Bhakti-ratnāvalī, all of which are worthy of consideration.

One might ask in this connexion as to why the great Śaṃkara did not accept the *Bhāgavata* as the original Bhāṣya of the *Brahma-sūtra*. This question is answered by a pious appeal to a mythical legend. We are assured that Śaṃkara

1 *sarva-śāstra-cakravarti-padam āptam.*

did not entirely disregard the *Bhāgavata*, but for a special reason he only concealed his own predilection for the superior teaching of Bhakti and preached deliberately a doctrine of non-duality which tended to obscure it. This special reason is found in the pious legend recorded in the *Padma-purāṇa* that Śaṃkara was an Avatāra of Śiva, who in Vaiṣṇava scriptures is a devotee of the Bhagavat, and was entrusted with the mission of making men disbelievers in order that the progress of the world might be continued.[1] Śaṃkara, however, is taken to have given expression to his true personal views on the matter in such works of his as the *Govindāṣṭaka*, which is concerned with Kṛṣṇa-līlā as described in the *Bhāgavata*. He has thereby implicitly subscribed to doctrines to which he appears to be explicitly indifferent in his other works. Even if he did not comment on it, Śaṃkara thus recognised the value of the *Bhāgavata* by writing hymns inculcating Bhāgavata ideas. Moreover, Madhvācārya, who was a direct pupil (*sākṣāc chiṣyatāṃ prāptaiḥ*)[2] of Śaṃkara, wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* in order to combat wrong

1 The verse occurs in the *Padma-purāṇa, Uttara-khaṇḍa*, Ch. 62. 31, and cited in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha*. It purports to be an address of the Bhagavat to Śiva: *svāgamaiḥ kalpitais tvaṃ hi janān mad-vimukhān kuru/ māṃ ca gopāya yena syāt sṛṣṭir eṣottarottarā//*

2 These words are omitted in some editions of the text (e.g. in editions by Nityasvarup Brahmachari and by Satyananda Gosvami) possibly to avoid an historical error on Jīva Gosvāmin's part. The words, however, occur in the Berhampore edition, as well as in the manuscripts of the *Tattva-saṃdarbha* which we have consulted in the Dacca University collection. That the words must have occurred in the original is clear from the fact that otherwise the word *antara* in the immediately following sentence (*tac-chiṣyāntara-puṇyāraṇyādi-rītika-vyākhyā-praveśa-śaṅkayā*) would be meaningless. It appears that, in Jīva's opinion, Madhva in his commentary followed what Jīva considers to be the real teaching of Śaṃkara as embodied in such works as *Govindāṣṭaka* and thereby counteracted the evil effects of commentaries written by Śaṃkara's other disciples like Puṇyāraṇya, who followed the Śaṃkara-bhāṣya at Kṛṣṇa's bidding to serve a particular purpose of the deity.

views promulgated by such other pupils of Śaṃkara as Puṇyāraṇya, who advocated Śaṃkara's Advaita-vāda.

Having thus established the superiority of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* as the chief, original and unerring source of revelation and as the best of all Pramāṇas, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to state that in his own Saṃdarbhas he has only explained the drift of the *Bhāgavata* for determining the highest truth. This description is correct in so far as he proceeds to build up his doctrines on a system of interpretation chiefly of that religious text. It does not indeed mean that he has given us the true sense of the *Bhāgavata*. He may or may not have done so ; but it certainly means that his own elaborate system is entirely based upon a direct explication of the *Bhāgavata* in the light of the peculiar tenets of his school. Other schools have also attempted explanations of the *Bhāgavata* but they have hardly gone to this extreme limit of basing their fundamental doctrines solely on the interpretation of that text. No doubt, the Bengal school, by this method, has attempted to secure for itself the authority of one of the greatest and most universally revered religious works of mediaeval times ; but this gain has been counterbalanced by the fact that its doctrines stand or fall according as the *Bhāgavata* is accepted as possessing such exclusive authority or not. Indeed, the unquestioning acceptance of the *Bhāgavata* must be regarded as one of the fundamental postulates of the school ; and even if there may be other interpretations, that of its own theologians must be unquestionably accepted. In this respect the commentary of Śrīdhara-svāmin is acknowledged by this school *minus* its Māyā-doctrine. Referring to this commentary, which attempts to reconcile the Advaita-vāda of Śaṃkara with the Bhakti-vāda of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava sects, Jīva Gosvāmin explains, in accordance with the belief of his school, that the real object of Śrīdhara was not to effect such a reconcilation but to teach the doctrine of Bhakti. If the great commentator diversified this teaching with Advaita-vāda it was done in order to lure the innumerable Advaita-vādins

of the Madhya-deśa. The exposition of Śrīdhara, who is called a Parama Vaiṣṇava, is therefore accepted by this school in so far as it follows the pure Vaiṣṇava tradition. The Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja in the same way is accepted with great respect as coming from the South, which is a great stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism, although it cannot be said that, in spite of occasional borrowings, the peculiar tenets of Rāmānuja and his sect have been accepted in their entirety. As to the Advaita theory of Śaṃkara, Jīva Gosvāmin does not think it necessary to refer to it in detail in his work, as it is fairly well known. We are also informed that all the Vedic and Purāṇic texts cited are given as he found them himself in the original works ; but some texts, which he himself had not seen, are derived from previous works of such Madhva writers as Vijayadvaja, Brahmatīrtha and Vyāsatīrtha, who have written commentaries respectively on the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Brahma-sūtra*.

Having stated his theory of Pramāṇa, his sources and his method, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to indicate briefly the chief Prameya or object of knowledge. In this connexion he states the Saṃbandha, Abhidheya and Prayojana of his work, which we have indicated above, and which, the author himself informs us, is identical with those of the *Bhāgavata*. They are respectively the Bhagavat-tattva or Kṛṣṇa-tattva and the Prīti-tattva elaborated successively in the two succeeding Saṃdarbhas. In connexion with this statement of the scope and object of his work, Jīva Gosvāmin tells us about the origin of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which arose from the extraordinary illuminating Samādhi (or Īśvara-praṇidhāna, as the *Yoga-sūtra* puts it) of Vyāsa, in the course of which he obtained a complete revelation of the highest spiritual truth described in the work. Jīva Gosvāmin, by way of indicating the central themes, now discusses the character of that beatific vision and details some of the principal truths revealed to Vyāsa. This Samādhi is described in the *Bhāgavata* i. 6. 4-11, which is now quoted and its chief implications considered. Vyāsa had vision not only of

the two partial aspects of the supreme being, namely, Brahman and Paramātman, but also of the Bhagavat who represents the most complete manifestation as the Perfect Person. This distinction, to be explained fully later on, forms one of the fundamental doctrines of the Bengal school, but the authority for this doctrine is found in the *Bhāgavata* itself, of which it is supposed to form the Saṃbandha-tattva. Vyāsa also realised the essential difference or duality, as well as identity, between the Jīva and the Parameśvara, which forms the very foundation of his inspired work ; for, from Vyāsa's own words it appears that, although the Jīva consists of pure consciousness (*cid-rūpa*), it is yet overpowered by the Māyā-śakti, which is the cause of Saṃsāra, while Māyā, being an extraneous Śakti of the Bhagavat, the Bhagavat is superior to it and is untouched by its influence. Hence the Jīva and the Bhagavat are perceived as different in essence (Svarūpa) and capacity (Sāmarthya). In this connexion our author takes some pains to refute the view of the Advaita-vādins that the difference is not real but is due to a difference in attributes (Upādhi), by means of which the unconditioned Brahman conditions itself (Paricchеda-vāda) or limitedly reflects itself (Pratibimba-vāda)[1] as Jīva. As the implications of these theories are discussed more fully later on, it is not necessary to linger over them here. Our author does not in the same way believe in the theory that the Brahman is the only one so-called Jīva (Eka-jīva-vāda). He maintains, on the authority of the *Bhāgavata*, that there is a plurality of Jīvas. Each of the individual Jīvas, as pure consciousness, forms a part of the highest being, but it is also an agent and enjoyer of its own action. This capacity for activity, however, does not make the Jīva independent of the Lord, for the Jīva,

1 Explained as the theory which believes that the conscious principle which reflects itself in Vidyā is Brahman, and which reflects itself in Avidyā is Jīva, like the sun reflected respectively in an open lake and in a closed pitcher. The theory is discussed more fully in *Śarva-saṃvādinī*, p. 113 f.

as a subordinate or servant, merely carries out the will of the master. This relation of master (Sevya) and servant (Sevaka) of the Paramātman and the Jīvātman is a real and eternal distinction ; and it continues even when the bondage, which is due to the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, is removed and his grace is obtained. As Bhakti or devotion to the Lord is the highest good, Mokṣa or emancipation is indeed a small matter, and the Jīva in its duality continues as a separate worshipping entity even after emancipation. In this way is established the Abhidheya of the *Bhāgavata*, namely, the necessity of worshipping the Bhaṛgavat (Bhagavad-bhajana or Bhakti).

From the same indications is also affirmed the necessity of divine love or Prīti as the Prayojana or motive of the *Bhāgavata* ; for the removal of the fetters of Māyā is possible only by this means. The *Bhāgavata* was specially composed to induce and direct deluded Jīvas to such worship as lead them to Bhakti, which is the sole way of salvation. The means of worship, of course, relates to Sādhana-bhakti, that is, Bhakti which arises from direct instruction of the Śāstra (*upadeśāpekṣa*), but Sādhana-bhakti is the first step to Prema-bhakti which arises only from the grace of the deity (*tat-prasādāpekṣa*). Even Jñāna or divine knowledge, such as the Advaita-vādins speak of, is not possible without Bhakti.[1] Thus, the Bhakti-tattva consists of the Upāsya (the deity to be worshipped), the Upāsaka (worshipper) and the Upāsanā, (worship). The object of the *Bhāgavata* is to establish clearly that the only Upāsya is Kṛṣṇa, who is not an Avatāra but the Bhagavat or supreme deity himself. That the attainment of divine love (Bhagavat-preman) is a higher bliss than the bliss of attaining Brahman (Brahmānanda) or Mokṣa-nirvāṇa is also shown by the fact that Vyāsa composed the *Bhāgavata* with the express purpose of teaching it to Śuka, who had already attained Brahmānanda, and leading him further to

1 *jñānādes tu bhakti-sāpekṣatvam eva.*

Bhagavat-preman. The case of Śuka also indicates that it is possible to worship the Bhagavat even after the so-called emancipation consequent upon the attainment of Brahman.

Jīva Gosvāmin then proceeds to show from the *Bhāgavata* that the spiritual truths or Tattvas, which Vyāsa attained in his Samādhi, are such as have been accepted by all Tattvajñas or philosophers, for they are testified to by the experience of all emancipated devotees.[1] The highest of all these Tattvas, which forms the central theme of the *Bhāgavata*, is stated briefly in i. 1. 2 and i. 2. 11, to the elucidation of which, as a fundamental principle, Jīva Gosvāmin now turns his attention. In the first of these verses it is stated that the Reality or Vāstava Vastu can be known only from the *Bhāgavata*, while the second verse describes what this Reality or ultimate principle is in the following terms:

vadanti tat tattvavidas tattvaṃ yaj jñānam advayam|
brahmeti paramātmeti bhagavān iti śabdyate||

"The Tattva which the knowers of reality call *advaya jñāna* is expressed by the designations of Brahman, Paramātman and Bhagavat."

This verse is said to sum up the concept of absolute reality as propounded by the *Bhāgavata*, of which it forms, as it were, the main Sūtra. At any rate, it is accepted as such by Jīva Gosvāmin who practically deduces his whole philosophy on its basis ; for the Advaya-jñāna-tattva, referred to in the first line of this verse, is now explained in the rest of his *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, while the three aspects of the divinity, embodied in the three concepts of Brahman, Paramātman and Bhagavat and mentioned in the second line of the verse, are dealt with in the three succeeding Saṃdarbhas. A preliminary analysis of the verse, therefore, is important from this point of view. In the first line of the verse the ultimate reality or Tattva is spoken of as Advaya-jñāna-tattva, while the second line designates three concepts of the same reality as Brahman, Para-

1 *sarvātmārāmānubhavena sa-hetukam.*

mātman and Bhagavat. It will be necessary to understand at the outset what is signified by the main concept Advaya-jñāna, which is the pivot round which the Vaiṣṇava concept of absolute reality propounded by Jīva Gosvāmin revolves. The rest of the *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, therefore, is devoted to the elucidation of this fundamental Tattva, from which fact the Saṃdarbha itself receives its name.

The term Advaya-jñāna does not signify Nirguṇa Advaita-jñāna of the monistic idealists of the Advaita school, but a dualistic Saguṇa interpretation is given of the phrase. The term Jñāna is explained as consisting of pure consciousness (*cideka-rūpa*) which is self-luminous (*sva-prakāśa*). The word Advaya does not mean 'sole' or 'without a second,' but it signifies 'that like which there is no second Tattva or Reality.' The ultimate reality is called Advaya because there is no other self-existent conscious or unconscious principle which is similar to it.[1] The Jīva is no doubt a conscious principle similar to it, but the Jīva is not self-existent inasmuch as it is subordinate to the Paramātman as the ultimate conscious principle. Nor is there any other self-existent unconscious, that is, material, principle which is similar to it ; for such principles as the phenomenal world, time, space etc., are not in their turn independent of the ultimate principle. Thus, there is nothing equal to it, as Jīva Gosvāmin further explains in his *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, in the same (*svajātīya-bheda*) or different (*vijātīya-bheda*) category. In itself also (*svagata-bheda*) the ultimate reality is Advaya, because it is an indivisible substance in which there is no difference between the essence and the form, such as is found between the conscious principle and the organic body in a human being. It is also called *advaya* in the sense that its own infinite Śaktis or Energies are the only things which accompany it (*sva-śaktyeka-sahāyatvāt*), but which cannot exist without its ultimate existence (*tena vinā tāsām asiddhatvāt*). But the ultimate reality as the

1 *svayaṃsiddha-tādṛśātādṛśa-vāstvāntarābhāvāt.*

Advaya is not mere consciousness ; it is a unity of consciousness, existence and bliss. In other words, the word *tattva* or essential principle, indicating the highest good (*parama puruṣārtha*), implies by the qualification of *advaya* the unity of the highest knowledge or consciousness (Jñāna) and the highest bliss (Parama Sukha), as well as of eternal reality (Nityatva). The Advaya-jñāna-tattva is finally identified with the Bhagavat as the highest and most perfect manifestation of the Absolute ; and as such it forms the essential theme of the *Bhāgavata*.

It is necessary to understand the true nature of the Jīva as a conscious principle in order to realise the nature of the Paramātman of which it is a part, and with which, as an eternal, pure and indivisible conscious principle, it is identical. As this subject, however, of the relation of the Jīva to the Paramātman is dealt with in more detail in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha*, we shall advert to it later in that connexion. But since the Paramātman far transcends the Jīva and forms its ultimate support, it has been designated the Āśraya or the ground by the *Bhāgavata* (ii. 1. 70). In this connexion it is pointed out that the Purāṇa deals with ten topics, viz., Sarga, Visarga, Sthāna, Poṣaṇa, Ūti, Manvantara, Īśānukathā, Nirodha, Mukti and Āśraya. These terms are explained in the *Bhāgavata* ii. 10. 3-6 (also xii. 7. 10-15) ; Jīva Gosvāmin discusses them but shows that of these the last is the most important. This theory of Āśraya, however, is established by the mystical conception of the three kinds of Puruṣa (*Bh* ii. 10.8-9). It is shewn that the Ādhyātmika Puruṣa or Jīva is identical with the Ādhidaivika Puruṣa (e.g. Sūrya) ; while the Ādhibhautika Puruṣa is the visible body, the word *puruṣa* in the last case meaning only the Upādhi of the Jīva. None of these can be the ultimate ground or Āśraya, as they are dependent on each other. It is the Paramātman who is self-existent (*svayaṃ-siddha*) and independent of every other Āśraya (*ananyāśraya*) ; he alone can be the Āśraya of these as well as of everything else. If the

Jīva is sometimes called Āśraya, it is only because the Jīva is a part (*aṃśa*) of the Paramātman. Throughout the *Bhāgavata*, especially in its tenth book, Śrīkṛṣṇa, as the Paramātman, is described as the sole Āśraya.

b. THE BHAGAVAT-SAṂDARBHA

The principal object of this Saṃdarbha is to establish and explain the concept of the Bhagavat. Having explained the concept of the Absolute as implied by the phrase *advaya-jñāna-tattva* in the verse cited above from the *Bhāgavata* (i. 2. 11), Jīva Gosvāmin now turns to an interpretation of the second line of the same verse, which further amplifies that concept. The line signifies that although the Absolute is one and indivisible, it has threefold aspect, according to the particular capacity of realisation of the devotee (*upāsaka-yogyatā-vaiśiṣṭyena*). The same ultimate reality, therefore, can be viewed respectively as Brahman, Paramātman and Bhagavat, although it is never, as Jīva Gosvāmin carefully notes, designated by the term Jīva. Our author now proceeds in this Saṃdarbha to explain these three concepts of the Absolute, which he takes as three stadiums or gradations of one and the same Reality. Here he deals principally with the concept of Bhagavat as the highest and most perfect manifestation of the Advaya-jñāna-tattva. It is not perfectly clear if this peculiar doctrine of graded Trinity is actually and consistently implied in the *Bhāgavata*; but it is, at any rate, one of the fundamental postulates of the school which Jīva Gosvāmin represents. It is possible to find conflicting texts existing on the subject, but our author attempts to reconcile them, partly by rejecting those which go against the theory, partly by ingenuities of interpretation, and partly by presuming that the apparently contradictory terms or ideas are to be taken in different senses in different contexts ; for instance, by presuming that some apply to the concept of the Brahman, some to that of the Bhagavat.

The concept of the Paramātman and its relation to Prakṛti

and Jīva are dealt with in detail in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha*; the present Saṃdarbha, as its title implies, has for its principal theme the concept of the Bhagavat. There is no need for a Brahma-saṃdarbha, for if the concept of the Bhagavat is clearly realised, that of the Brahman will also be understood, and the latter concept has already been fairly fully explained by the school of Advaita philosophers. The Brahman (neuter) is in fact the *nirviśeṣa* state of the Bhagavat, and as the non-differentiated substance it corresponds to the Brahman of the school of Śaṃkara. But the Bhagavat represents the higest being in the hierarchy of spiritual manifestations, the most perfect person in whom all the *viśeṣas* are most perfectly developed. In orther words, the Brahman is unqualified, but the Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of blessed and perfect attributes. In the Bhagavat all the divine Śaktis or Energies eternally come into full play, but in the Brahman they remain in a potential or indiscrete state.[1] The essence of the Bhagavattā or Lordship consists in this actualisation of the Śaktis, the nature of which will be explained later on ; and the Bhagavat, as the religious concrete, can be realised in the full display of his distinctive features, potencies, attributes, dwelling places and associates. The Brahman, on the other hand, is the philosophical Absolute, in which these attiributes and powers remain undifferentiated ; it is devoid of all *viśeṣas*[2] and forms an

1 *avivikta-śakti-śaktimattā-bhedatayā pratipādyamānam.*

2 The idea of Viśeṣa is not specifically mentioned by Rūpa Gosvāmin, in his *Saṃkṣepa Bhāgavatāmṛta*, although we are not sure if it is not already there by implication. But it is difficult to believe that Rūpa and Jīva could differ on such a fundamental issue. The theory of Viśeṣa or differentiation, however, is dealt with in some detail by Rādhādāmodara in his *Vedānta-syamantaka* (ed. U. C. Bhattacharya, Lahore 1930, pp. 11-12), a work which, in spite of its name, belongs to the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism and attempts to reconcile Vedānta doctrines with its sectarian tenets. The *viśeṣa* is also explained by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his *Siddhānta-ratna* (ed. Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1927). According to these writers the Viśeṣa is

absolutely homogenous and indivisible substance. Thus, thought cannot be predicated as an attribute of the Brahman, but thought forms its very essence ; that is, the Brahman is not a thinking being but the thought-substance itself ; in the same way, the Brahman cannot be said to exist but it is existence itself. The Bhagavat is regarded as the Lord in full manifestation (*pūrṇa āvirbhāva*), because the appearance in this case is accompained by all the divine Energies (*sa-śaktika āvirbhāva*), while the Brahman, from this point of view, constitutes an imperfect or incomplete manifestation (*asamyag āvirbhāva*). The sacred texts, therefore, describe the Brahman as the bodily lustre (*tanubhā*) of the Bhagavat ; and in the *Gītā* the Bhagavat describes himself as the *pratiṣṭhā* of the Brahman. In other words, the realisation of the Bhagavat, as taught by the theistic Vaiṣṇava school, indicates a stage superior to the realisation of the Brahman of the Advaitavādins ; and we are told that the Brahman is the object of realisation of the Paramahaṃsas who are Jñāna-yogins, but the Bhagavat reveals himself only to the Bhāgavata-paramahaṃsas, who are Bhakti-yogins. Although the Bhagavat is one and indivisible reality, this distinction is possible because some Śādhakas do not possess the fullest capacity of realisation; to them the highest reality therefore appears in the general or incomplete form of the Brahman.[1] Such Sādhakas

not exactly a difference but it functions as a difference (*viśeṣaś ca bheda-pratinidhiḥ*) and produces the consciousness of difference when there is no real difference (*bhedābhāve'pi tat-kāryaṃ pratyāyayan dṛṣṭaḥ*). It is thus the power by which there is a realisation of difference in non-difference (*bhedābheda*), or as Baladeva puts it: *yatra bhedābhāvo bheda-kāryaṃ ca pramimīte, tatraiva bheda-pratinidhir viśeṣaḥ kalpyate.* It is by means of this *viśeṣa* that the same substance appears as different, and this *viśeṣa* is a power inherent in the Lord, who as the Bhagavat thus exhibits himself as the Brahman and Paramātman. The whole Acintya Bhedābheda theory of the school is based upon this conception of differentiation of Viśeṣa.

1 *śrī-bhagavān evākhaṇḍaṃ sādhaka-viśeṣāṇāṃ tādṛśa-yogyatvā-bhāvāt sāmānya-bhāvodayotvena tad-asamyaṅ-mūrtir eva brahma.*

are the philosophers of the Advaita school, but the Bhaktas proceed a stage further. There is, however, no absolute difference between the two forms ; for the difference is one of degree only, and the limitation is in relation to the capacity and stage of realisation of the devotee.

In order to elucidate the concept of the Bhagavat further, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to discuss and analyse its attributes and explain its divine Energies or Śaktis. He begins by showing that these attributes reside really and eternally (*nitya*) in the Bhagavat in intimate or inner relation, which is understood in philosophical terminology as the Samavāya (perpetual co-inherence) relation, as opposed to the mere Saṃyoga or separable relation. In other words, the Guṇas and Śaktis are not adventitious or *āropita*, but essential or *svarūpa-bhūta*. In this connexion the author refers to the etymology or Nirukti or the word Bhagavat and shows, on the authority of the Purāṇas, that the various syllables indicate the various attributes and Śaktis which go to make up the concept! Thus, the syllable *bha* in the name implies the sense of supporter and protector (*bhartṛ* or *saṃbhartṛ*) and refers to his creating and sustaining the Bhakti of his devotee ; while the syllable *ga* bears the sense of leading (*gamayatṛ* or *netṛ*) and signifies the idea of his making the devotee attain the bliss of divine love (Premānanda). Altogether the name is made to imply the totality of the virtues of Aiśvarya (power), Vīrya (potency), Yaśas (fame), Śrī (prosperity), Jñāna (knowledge) and Vairāgya (non-attachment), which constitute the sixfold lordliness of the Bhagavat.[2] The terms are thus explained: Aiśvarya=power to subjugate all (*sarva-vaśīkāritā*), Vīrya=magical potency similar to that of precious stones, magic spells etc. (*maṇi-mantrāder iva prabhāvaḥ*), Yaśas=fame arising from excellent qualities of mind, body and speech (*vāṅ-manaḥ-śarīrāṇāṃ sādguṇya-khyātiḥ*). Śrī=

2 In another Purāṇic version these six virtues are enumerated as Jñāna, Śakti, Bala, Aiśvarya, Vīrya and Tejas.

all kinds of prosperity (*sarva-prakāra-saṃpad*), Jñāna = omniscience (*sarvajñatvam*) and Vairāgya = non-attachment to the things of the phenomenal world (*papañca-vastvanā-saktiḥ*). These attributes, however, must be conceived as having received their perfect and infinite development in the Bhagavat.

But Jīva Gosvāmin takes pains to show that the three Prākṛta Guṇas (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) can be predicated only of the Jīva, and not of the Bhagavat, who is beyond their sphere. We shall see later that these Guṇas are due to the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, but having eternally subjugated or transcended this Śakti, which is extraneous to his essential self, the Lord himself is entirely unaffected by its influence. If therefore he has any Guṇa, it is *aprākṛta* or non-phenomenal. We are told that in the Vaikuṇṭha where he dwells, there is no Sattva, Rajas or Tamas ; but there is only a function of his Svarūpa-śakti or Intrinsic Energy, namely, a pure existence or Śuddha Sattva, which is *prākṛtātīta* or beyond the sphere of the phenomenal world. It is called Pure or Śuddha because it is untouched by the influence of his extraneous Māyā-śakti, to which are due the evolution of Prakṛti and the Guṇas. The absence of Rajas indicates, we are further informed, that the Lord is incapable of being created (*asṛjyatva*), that of Tamas implies that he is indestructible (*anāśatva*) and that of Sattva signifies that he consists of pure existence (Sat), pure consciousness (Cit) and pure bliss (Ānanda).

In order to understand the concept of the Brahman and the Bhagavat, as well as of the Paramātman, it would be necessary to understand the nature of Śakti or Divine Energy, upon whose degree and quality of display the distinction really rests. Jīva Gosvāmin now turns to the peculiar theory of Śakti which his theistic school teaches ; but he points out at the outset that the Śaktis possess the two characteristics of Acintyatva and Svābhāvikatva. By Acintyatva is meant that the Śaktis in themselves are inscrutable and beyond the reach

of human thought and reason (*tarkāsaha*) or that they are capable of bringing about impossible effects (*durghaṭa-ghaṭakatva*) ; but it also refers to the peculiar relation in which these Śaktis stand to the Śaktimat, the possessor of the Śakti, and which consists of an inscrutable relation of difference in non-difference (*acintya-bhedābheda*). By Svābhāvikatva is meant that the Śaktis are natural to the Lord and constitute in their totality his very self or essence, although in his infinite power he actually transcends them. These ideas will be made clear as we proceed with a detailed consideration of the theory of Śakti.

The Śakti or Divine Energy of the Bhagavat is viewed in three aspects and is accordingly grouped into three classes, namely, Śakti as Svarūpa, Śakti as Taṭasthā and Śakti as Bahiraṅgā. These are successively called Parā or Svarūpa-śakti, Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti, and Bahiraṅgā or Māyā-śakti. The division bases itself upon a text of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* which style them respectively as Parā, Kşetrajñā and Avidyā. The present Saṃdarbha, which is concerned chiefly with the question of the Svarūpa of the Bhagavat, deals naturally with the Svarūpa-śakti, leaving the consideration of the other two Śaktis to the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* to which they are primarily relevant. The Svarūpa or Parā Śakti, as the name itself implies, may be described as that Energy which constitutes the intrinsic perfect selfhood of the Bhagavat and is therefore inseparable from him. This Energy is thus Antaraṅgā or intrinsic, as opposed to the other Māyā-śakti which is Bahiraṅgā or external and never affects his true self. This Māyā-śakti causes the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the phenomenal world, and consists of an aspect of Bahiraṅga Vaibhava or extraneous power in the form of the material Prakṛti or Pradhāna. Although unconnected with the essential self, this Energy is as real as the other, and not a power of illusion such as the Advaita-vādins presume ; the resulting phenomenal world therefore is also realatively real. Through this Māyā-śakti, the Bhagavat limits himself into his partial

manifestation as the Paramātman, who is thus the godhead immanent in Spirit (Jīva) and Nature (Prakṛti). It must be admitted that a Śakti cannot stand by itself, it must inhere in a body ; in this sense the Bhagavat is much as the substratum of the Svarūpa-śakti as of the Māyā-śakti ; and in the form of the Paramātman the Bhagavat is a direct displayer of Māyā-śakti. But this Śakti is said to be extraneous to his essence or Svarūpa, because this self-determined limitation does not exist in his highest form as the Bhagavat and is not perceived by the Jīva as soon as the latter releases itself from the diverting influence of the Māyā-śakti by the power of Bhakti, which is an aspect of the display of his Svarūpa-śakti. Thus, the highest form of the deity is uncontaminated by the Māyā-śakti, and that highest uncontaminated form, therefore, can be attained only when the Jīva is no longer under the bondage created by the Māyā-śakti. The Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti is, as the name itself implies, that form of the divine Energy which, being distinct from both, does not fall under either of the above categories of Antaraṅgā and Bahiraṅgā Śaktis, and which is yet related to both. The Jīva or individual self is an aspect of this Śakti which the Bhagavat displays in his rôle of Paramātman. Being subject to the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva cannot, until released, be connected with the Svarūpa-śakti, which is beyond the affection of the Māyā-śakti ; but since the Bhagavat is the ultimate essential source of the Jīva, who can in spite of deviation return to the Lord by shaking off the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva can yet be finally connected with the essential Svarūpa-śakti. Hence to explain the nature and position of the Jīva it is necessary to presume an intermediate Taṭasthā Śakti which is connected with, but distinct from, both the Antaraṅgā (Svarūpa-) and Bahiraṅgā (Māyā-) Śaktis.

Thus, in the highest form of the Bhagavat there is a direct and full display of his Svarūpa-śakti, which goes to make up his Svarūpa or perfect self. The other two Śaktis are displayed indirectly through the medium of his partial form of Paramātman. In other words, these two Śaktis have scope

only when the Jīva is in the earlier deluded (*vimohita*) stage, but when it attains the Bhagavat himself, the Jīva is subject only to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Lord, of which Bhakti is a function. The highest form of the Bhagavat himself is indifferent to the work of the Paramātman or the other two Śaktis, which give rise to creation, rebirth and bondage ; but this indifference implies that the Bhagavat possesses the attribute of impartial benevolence to all. The delusion (*saṃmohana*) of the Jīva produced by the Māyā-śakti is not in itself pleasing to the Lord, and in his highest form of the Bhagavat he has nothing to do with it ; but it is due to the Jīva's natural averseness (*bahirmukhatā*) to the Bhagavat. This disinclination at a lower stage is due again to the deity's Taṭasthā Jīva-śakti, which is equally prone to his intrinsic Svarūpa- and to his extrinsic Māyā-śaktis. But the question arises—why should the Bhagavat, who is merciful to the Jīva, permit this act of delusion by the Māyā-śakti which is a cause of suffering ? The reply is that the Māyā, as a Śakti, having power over creation, is as such an eternal servant of the Lord, towards whom it is not possible for her to assume a hostile attitude ; but as the Lord is at the same time full of mercy to the Jīva he desires that the Jīva should for fear of Māyā take refuge in him and work for deliverance. As to the ultimate question of the reason or necessity of such complicated display of three kinds of Energy, the answer is that it is an aspect of his inscrutable (*acintya*) Līlā or divine sport, and the existence and character of the threefold Śakti, as explained above, are facts vouched for by the *Bhāgavata* and other scriptures. If one objects to the absurdity of imagining two contradictory Śaktis residing in the deity, the reply is that the Lord's power is inscrutable and even contradictions merge in him.

The Svarūpa-śakti, viewed in its different aspects, is classified, on the authority of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, into Saṃdhinī, Saṃvit and Hlādinī Śaktis, which correspond roughly to the Sat, Cit and Ānanda of orthodox philosophy. The Saṃdhinī

Śakti is the energy of existence of the self-existent being which also upholds the existence of the Jīva and Prakṛti. It is in relation to this Śakti that the Bhagavat is described as the ultimate reality, and the world and the individual as relative reality.[1] By the Saṃvit Śakti, the Bhagavat is both the knowledge and the knower, and makes others possessed of knowledge.[2] The last Hlādinī Śakti is the Bhagavat's energy of infinite bliss, by which he is bliss itself, becomes blissful and also causes in the devotee pure bliss.[3] These Śaktis exist infinitely in the Bhagavat ; but since the Jīva is only an *aṇu* or infinitesimal part of the Bhagavat, the smallest atom of the limitless divine existence, knowledge and bliss is capable of causing the existence, knowledge and bliss of the Jīva.

All these aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti are regarded as collateral attributes, existing inseparably and eternally in the Bhagavat ; they are yet graded in a peculiar manner. Although in their totality they form the very self of the Bhagavat and therefore constitute an undifferentiated unity, yet of Saṃdhinī, Saṃvit and Hlādinī each succeeding Śakti is supposed to include and supersede the preceding.[4] The Hlādinī Śakti, therefore, is the most important, as it includes and transcends the other two. This prominence given to the Hlādinī Śakti explains the peculiar standpoint of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism which conceives that its deity is essentially composed of infinite bliss, which is his highest attribute and which necessarily involves the other attributes of knowledge and existence. By this Śakti also he has the power of communicating atoms of this infinite bliss to his Associates (Pārṣadas) and his Devotees (Bhaktas). It must be noted in this connexion that the Svarūpa-śakti is supposed to take two forms, namely, (*i*) the Svarūpa, which refers to the Lord himself, and (*ii*) Svarūpa-

1 *sattva-rūpo'pi yayā sattāṃ dadhāti dhārayati ca sā saṃdhinī.*

2 *jñāna-rūpo'pi yayā jānāti jñāpayati ca sā saṃvit.*

3 *hlāda-rūpo'pi bhagavān yayā hlādate hlādayati ca sā hlādinī.*

4 *tatra cottarottara-guṇotkarṣeṇa saṃdhinī saṃvid hlādinīti kramo jñeyaḥ.*

Vaibhava, which includes his Associates, his Residence, his Devotees etc., which are thus parts or functions of himself. The theory which gives exclusive prominence to the Hlādinī Śakti may, therefore, be expressed in theological language by saying that this is the eternal Līlā or divine sport of the Lord, which consists of pure and infinite bliss and which he enjoys with his Associates and Devotees ; for they are merely aspects of his divine energy, and their very existence, consciousness and bliss are relative to the absolute existence, conciousness and bliss of the Lord. This brings us to the idea, to which we shall revert later on, of the Lord as Rasa or Ānanda which attribute is nothing but an aspect of the Hlādinī Śakti. This Rasa, which constitutes the Śvarūpa of the Lord, must be taken ultimately to signify the highest and best Rasa recognised by the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstra of this school, namely, Mādhurya or Madhura Rasa, which is another name of the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment. This attitude is a kind of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious ideas in the intimate language of earthly passion, for it conceives divine love as a reflex of the human emotion. The Śaktimat in his infinite bliss sports with his own Śaktis ; in other word, the godhead realises himself in his own bliss. The Śaktis are accordingly represented, in terms of human relationship considered in its emotional aspect, as his consorts or wives ; and this devout yet sensuous attitude entirely humanises the deity and his consorts and presents them in a lovable human relation to their Associates and Devotees. As the Lord is not only infinite bliss himself but he also makes others enjoy the bliss, the Bhakti or ecstatic devotion, by means of which a taste of this infinite bliss is attained, is also an aspect or function of the Hlādinī Śakti. We shall see presently in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* that as Kṛṣṇa is identified with the Bhagavat, Rādhā, who is his eternal consort and greatest Bhakta, is represented as the highest form of his Hlādinī Śakti.

This brings us to the question of the nature of the relation

of the Śaktis to the Śaktimat. As the Jīva is also an aspect of the divine Jīva-śakti, the relation is the same as that between the Jīva and Paramātman ; and the question accordingly assumes importance as one of the fundamental metaphysical questions regarding the relationship of the individual to the universal self. We shall have occasion to deal with the question from this point of view in connexion with its treatment in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* ; but we may briefly indicate here that the relation between the Śāktis and the Possessor of the Śaktis is represented as an incomprehensible (*acintya*) relation of sameness and difference (*bhedābheda*), the whole theory thus receiving the designation of Acintya-bhedābhedavāda (incomprehensible dualistic monism), a peculiar point of view which distinguishes the Bengal school from other Vaiṣṇava schools by the qualifying word *acintya* which brings in a mystical attitude. It speaks of the inconceivable existence of distinction and non-distinction. The Śaktis are non-different from the Bhagavat, inasmuch as they are parts or Aṃśas of the divine being; but the very fact that they are parts only makes the superlativeness of divine attributes inapplicable to them, and there is thus an inevitable difference. The Śaktis, therefore, possess a reality which is indeed relative to that of the Lord but which is nevertheless absolute in itself. The respective character of the reality, however, of the three kinds of Śakti, namely, Antaraṅgā, Bahiraṅgā and Taṭasthā, is not, as their names are designed to imply, entirely identical. This distinction has already been explained above, but it is also illustrated by an analogy. It is like the threefold aspect in which the sun manifests itself, namely, the solar disc (*maṇḍala*), the solar rays (*raśmi*) and the solar reflexion or halo (*bimba*), the Antaraṅgā or Svarūpa-śakti corresponding to the luminous disc or body of the sun itself, the Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti to its rays scattered away but ultimately contained in the sun itself as the original source, and the Bahiraṅgā or the Māyā-śakti being regarded as the reflection which is a real but dazzling emanation from the solar disc,

obscuring it, but existing outside and not forming an integral part of the sun.

Although this is the principal classification of the Śaktis, they are said to be infinite in number, and all of them are presented as wives of the Lord. As such they are distinctive deities, having name, form and personality. The Antaraṅgā Mahāśakti of the Lord is Lakṣmī or Mahālakṣmī, who forms his Svarūpa and, being the first manifestation, is the ground or Āśraya of all other Śaktis. The Bahiraṅgā Śakti is of course named Māyā. Each of these again has many aspects and is named accordingly. The text mentions only some of the aspects of Mahālakṣmī as Svarūpa-śakti ; but each of them can also have an additional significance as aspects of the Bahiraṅgā Māyā-śakti. Thus Śrī as an aspect of Mahālakṣmī signifies divine excellence or Bhagavat-saṃ ad ; but Śrī as an aspect of Māyā means worldly excellence or Jagat-saṃpad. In the same way, Ilā is both Līlā-śakti and Bhū-śakti ; and Kānti, Kīrti etc. are similarly interpreted as possessing two meanings and included in both the aspects of Śakti. As an aspect of Lakṣmī, Vidyā is the source of spiritual knowledge (Tattva-jñāna), and of the bliss of divive love (Premānanda) by which the Lordship of the Bhagavat is suppressed voluntarily and posited into a personal relationship with the devotee ; but as an aspect of Māyā it becomes Avidyā which has the function of obscuring and causing the Jīva to forget his own nature. Lakṣmī is again classified into Saṃdhinī, Saṃvit and Hlādinī ; but the support (*ādhāra*) of these Śakti-mūrtis are Vimalā, Jayā, Yogā, Prahvī, Īśānā and Anugrahā. The functions of these are indicated roughly by the names themselves ; for instance, Jayā=Utkarṣaṇī, power of eminence ; Yogā=Yogamāyā or Sarjanārthā Śakti, creative power ; Prahvī=Vicitrānanda-sāmarthya-hetu, the power which causes the capacity for excellent bliss ; Īśānā=Sarvādhikāritā, mastery over all beings etc. The Māyā is to be similarly classified but the subject is dealt with later on in the next book. The Jīva-śakti is Guṇamayī, consisting of the three

Guṇas, viz. Sāttvikī, which causes bliss (Hlādakarī), Tāmasī which causes suffering (Tāpakarī), and Rājasī which possesses the power of causing a mixed effect (Miśrā).

This conception of inherent Śaktis in the Lord naturally presumes the idea of the Bhagavat as the Perfect Person, and conceives him not as a formless entity but as an embodied substance in which inhere infinite attributes and energies. Scriptural texts are cited in which the supreme being is described as *cid-ghana, ānanda-ghana, rasa-ghana* etc., and it is maintained that the word *ghana* (=compact or solid) implies the idea of Mūrti or image, in accordance with the dictum *mūrtau ghanaḥ* of Pāṇini. The Lord is therefore not *amūrta* or unembodied, but possesses a blessed Mūrti or form.[1] It is, however, clearly explained that by this form or body of the Lord, his Mūrti or Vigraha, is not to be understood any gross or sensuous body like that of human beings. The limited limbs and senses of the Jīva are due to the Jīva-śakti only, and therefore they are phenomenal (*prākṛta*) and material (*jaḍa*) ; but the Lord in his Svarūpa-śakti possesses a non-phenomenal and spiritual body. This body consists entirely of pure existence, knowledge and bliss, and he is therefore called Saccidānanda-vigraha. As there is no distinction of form and essence (*svagata-bheda*) in the Bhagavat, there is no differentiation between the different organs, so that existence, knowledge and bliss, which constitute his form, are eternally simultaneous and non-different from his essence. The divine person (Vigraha) is therefore identical with the divine essence (Svarūpa) in the supreme unity of the godhead. The attributes, like intelligence, bliss etc., are merely terms or symbols to indicate aspects of his essence ; and their totality is called form or body because of its eternally self-manifest character (*vyakti*). His body, or what may be called his body, is his soul ;[2] it is eternal, supernatural and spiritual

1 *sa ca bhagavān pūrvodita-lakṣaṇa-śrīmūrtyātmakaeva, na tvamūrtaḥ.*

2 *deha-dehi-bhidā cātra neśvare vidyate.*

and has nothing gross, natural and material in it ; but at the same time it is not *nirviśeṣa* or undifferentiated, it is something real and *saviśeṣa* possessing its own divine attributes. He is *vi-karaṇa* in the sense that he does not possess the human organs of senses, but he is also *sa-karaṇa* in the sense that he possesses divine or non-natural forms of these. The Śruti texts establish that this body is *like* that of the human being, but the similarity is only in respect of form and not of the ingredients. The Lord is not subject to change (*vikāra-rahita*) or limitation, but by his Svarūpa-śakti he can limit himself into a conditioned or unconditioned form.[1] Hence, it follows that Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat never entered into a gross body like an ordinary Jīva, but only appeared to do so.[2] This divine form is no doubt unthinkable, but for purposes of meditation or devotion it is thinkable. The scriptures describe the form sometimes as two-handed, sometimes as four-handed, or even six-handed or eight-handed, and as possessing head, eyes, feet etc. The assumption of these various forms does not imply impermanence or changefulness, for they are all real and eternal (*nitya*) and coexist in him, like the diverse forms of a Vaidūrya-maṇi (Lapis-lazuli), which make their appearance simultaneously. But Jīva Gosvāmin cites authorities to show that, although no particular divine form exists apart from his other forms, the two-handed form of the divinity, of which presumably man is the image, is the best and most beautiful for purposes of meditation and worship ; for it exhibits his attributes to their best advantage.

The Lordship of the Bhagavat which is described above is thus intrinsic to his selfhood ; and the attributes and energies have no touch of gross quality in them but inhere in his essential character (*svarūpa-bhūta*). The Vigraha or

1 *svarūpa-śaktyaiva paricchinnam aparicchinnam ca tad evaṃ vapuḥ.*

2 *dehīva jīva iva ābhāti kriḍati, iva-śabdena śrīkṛṣṇas tu na jīvavat pṛthag dehaṃ praviṣṭavān iti gamyate.*

the form of the Bhagavat is not something different from his essence but is eternally identical with it (*pūrṇa-svarūpa-bhūta*) and therefore possessed of essential reality. It follows from this that when the Lordship or Vibhutva is manifested in the state of an Avatāra, it is also intrinsic, real and eternal, even if the Avatāra seemingly belongs to a past age. The Lord is unborn, but when we speak of his birth, only appearance or Prādurbhāva is meant[1]. Though the appearance occurs in the phenomenal world, it is itself not phenomenal but an expression at will of his essential divine Svarūpa. Although the chief Vigraha of the Bhagavat is one, he is capable of assuming simultaneously infinite forms,[2] whether these forms be mere Prakāśas. Āvirbhāvas or Avatāras ; hence his attribute of Sarva-rūpa-svabhāvatva or the capacity of assuming all kinds of forms and shapes. Even when the deity assumes phenomenal forms, he retains his non-phenomenal Svarūpa. But he appears to the devotee in the form or plane of realisation which has been attained by the latter's devotion.[3] It is, however, laid down that the deity always appears only in the form which is agreeable to his devotee. If he appeared in the disagreeable form of an ox to Rantideva, that form was illusory (*māyika*), for what is supersensuous cannot be horrible.[4]

Having established the general character of the Bhagavad-vigraha, Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to analyse in detail some of its special characteristics. These attributes are not something imposed from outside but they form invariable (*avyabhicāri*) aspects of the divine essence and therefore they are the deity's inherent attributes (*svābhāvika dharma*). These may be briefly summarised here as forming the constituent

1 *ajananasya janmetyanena prābhurbhāva-mātraṃ bodhayati.*

2 *ekam api mukhyaṃ bhagavad-rūpaṃ yugapad ananta-rūpātmakaṃ bhavati.*

3 *yathā yādṛśaṃ yeṣām upāsanā-phalodaya-bhūmikāvasthānaṃ tadā tathaiva te paśyanti.*

4 *aprākṛtatvena kutsitatva-saṃbhavābhāvāt.*

elements of the concept of Lordship: (1) The attribute of all-pervasiveness (*sarva gatatva*), by means of which the Bhagavat can not only pervade the universe, but, in spite of being one, he can appear as many at different places, not in a different but in the same form. This, we are told, is not Kāya-vyūha, or mere illusory multiplication of the same form, all of which act in the same way in different places ; for here, though the various forms are the same they can act in different ways.[1] Each of these appearances thus is not illusory but real, and has the same divine characteristics and capacity of independent action.[2] In other words each appearance (*prakāśa-bheda*) has different egoism (*abhimāna-bheda*) and different series of acts (*kriyā-bheda*), and this may occur simultaneously at the same or different places. (2) The attribute of self-luminosity or self-manifestation (*svaprakāśatva*). (3) The attribute of surpassing both the gross and the subtle (*sthūla-sūkṣmātiriktatva*), implying also the fact that the Lord is beyond mundane existence (*sat*) and non-existence (*asat*). (4) Non-liability to change or limitation (*avikāritva*). This attribute implies that the Lord is not subject to the six Vikāras or forms of evolution, viz., Janman (birth), Astitva (existence), Vṛddhi (growth), Pariṇāma (transformation), Kṣaya (decay) and Vināśa (destruction). He is also independent of the fourfold fruit of action (*caturvidha-kriyā-phala-rāhitya*), namely, Utpatti (production), Prāpti (acquisition), Vivṛti (expansion) and Saṃskāra (fruition or merit). (5) Possession of indwelling spirit-form (*pratyag-rūpatva*), not visible to the mortal eye. Hence he is the Antaryāmin or the inward ruler, and is called Adhokṣaja, which term is explained as signifying that he exists beyond perception of the senses.[3] He can be seen or perceived only

1 *teṣāṃ prakāśānāṃ tayaivācintya-śaktyā pṛthak pṛthag eva kriyādīni bhavanti.*

2 *ekatve'pi pṛthak prakāśatvam, teṣu pṛthak pṛthak kriyādhiṣṭhānāditvam.*

3 *akṣajam aindriyakaṃ jñānaṃ tad adho'rvāg eva yasya.*

in virtue of his own Energy (*nija-śaktitaḥ*), and this Energy comes into play only through his grace.[1] (6) Non-liability to mundane (*prākṛta*) birth (Janman), form (Rūpa) and action (Karman), but also the capacity of assuming all these in a real and eternal character (*nitya*) by his Svarūpa-śakti. We are told that such assumption of birth, though real and eternal in character (*nitya*), constitutes only an Āvirbhāva and not actual mundane or human birth, but it either resembles mundane birth or is sometimes different from it.[2] In other words, the appearance assumed in the phenomenal world is really non-phenomenal, although in all respects it may appear as phenomenal.[3] The deity is really Svayaṃ-rūpa, that is, his form is identical with his essence ; hence if he assumes the attributes of birth, childhood etc., these are not phenomenal, but attributes of his inherent divine nature.[4] Of the same character is the form (e.g., Matsya) which is assumed in an Avatāra ; and this form, as well as the exploits of an Avatāra, he can assume or discard at will. In the same way, his Karman or action is not guided by any motive,[5] inasmuch as the Bhagavat is motiveless (*āpta-kāma*), but it is due to his Ānanda or Hlādinī Śakti.[6] It is an aspect of his Līlā or divine sport which is natural to his essence of bliss.[7] As Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa explains the idea in his *Govinda-bhāṣya*: That the most complete should proceed to the act of diversified creation is due to his Līlā, which is not preceded by any desire of the fruits of action for himself.[8] Jīva

1 *tādṛśa-śakter apyullāse tat-kṛpaiva kāraṇam.*

2 *śrīmūrter ayam āvirbhāva eva, na tvasmadādivaj janma ; prākṛta-janmānukaraṇenāvirbhāva-mātratvam, kvacid ananukaraṇena vā.*

3 *prapañca-vad bhāti na tu prapañca-rūpam.*

4 *bhagavad-vigrahe śiśutvādayo vicitrā eva dharmāḥ svābhāvikāḥ santi.*

5 *na tu prayojanāpekṣayā.*

6 *tathā karmaṇo vailakṣaṇyaṃ svarūpānanda-vilāsa-mātratvam.*

7 *svarūpānanda-svābhāvikyeva tallīlā.*

8 *paripūrṇasyāpi vicitra-sṛṣṭau pravṛttir līlaiva kevalā, na tu sva-phalānusaṃdhi-pūrvikā.*

Gosvāmin further explains that this Līlā arises from the awakening of the bliss intrinsic to the deity, and it has no reference to any particular motive of himself.[1]

In this way Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to analyse the concept of Lordship or Bhagavattā and discusses in detail the various divine attributes which constitute its principal features. One of the interesting points which he deals with as a fundamental creed of his school is the theory of the efficacy and eternity of the blessed name itself (Nāma-māhātmya). The theory is based partly on the old doctrine of the eternity of sound ; but the Bengal school goes a step further in maintaining the essential identity of the name and the possessor of the name (*nāma-nāminor abhedaḥ*). In other words, he believes that the name itself is the essence of the Lord,[2] so that one who utters the name with devotion attains the Lord himself. Not only the name but even the syllables (*akṣara*) or its symbol (*saṃketa* ; for instance, the syllable *Om*) are enough to produce the same effect. Just like the Avatāras of the Lord, this is a kind of Varṇa-Avatāra.[3] The deity, however, is often called Nameless or Anāman in the scriptures, but this usage is on a par with the employment of terms like birthless (*ajanman*), formless (*arūpa*) or actionless (*akartṛ*). It does not mean that he has no name but that his name is *aprākṛta* or *aprasiddha* ; that is, his name is not like the common names we have in the phenomenal world, but it possesses a spiritual significance and efficacy. It is for this reason that the name or names which have been established in the Śāstras as bringing the Bhagavat himself instantaneously into consciousness are alone appropriate, and not those which are merely imaginary.[4] In the same way Jīva Gosvāmin speaks

1 *svarūpānandodrekeṇa sva-prayojanam ananusaṃdhāyaiva līlāyate.*

2 *bhagavat-svarūpam eva nāma.*

3 *avatārāntaravat parameśvarasya varṇa-rūpeṇāvatāro'yam.*

4 *ato yaiḥ śāstre'ti-prasiddhair nāmabhiḥ śrī-bhagavān eva jhaṭiti prāṭo bhavati.....teṣāṃ svataḥ-siddhatvam, anyeṣāṃ kalpanāmayatvaṃ jñeyam.*

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2 *bhagavat-svarūpam eva nāma.*

3 *avatārāntaravat parameśvarasya varṇa-rūpeṇāvatāro'yam.*

4 *ato yaiḥ śāstre'ti-prasiddhair nāmabhiḥ śrī-bhagavān eva jhaṭiti pratīto bhavati.....teṣāṃ svataḥ-siddhatvam, anyeṣāṃ kalpanāmayatvaṃ jñeyam.*

of the colour which is appropriate to the deity, for the coloured figuration of deities plays an important part in sectarian devotion in general. He informs us that the particular colours of the deity are not due to the presence of particular Guṇas. The dark (*kṛṣṇa*) colour of the Bhagavat does not indicate Tamo-guṇa, but it is a peculiar suggestion of his Svarūpa-śakti (*svarūpa-śakti-vyañjitatvam*). The white colour is often taken to signify Sattva-guṇa, but the colour of the Indian crane (Baka), a bird which is proverbial for its cunning and its tendency to mischief, is white.

Jīva Gosvāmin concludes this topic by summing up that all this assumption by the Lord of birth, form, action, name and colour has no motive behind it, but they are to manifest his Svarūpa-śakti and make his devotee enjoy its bliss ; for the Bhakti or devotional attitude itself is an aspect of his peculiarly wonderful nature which consists of the display of intrinsic bliss.[1] If one argues that the Lord has no form, name, birth and colour, this very argument would tend to put a limitation to his unlimited Śakti.[2] It is by Bhakti alone, and not by Sāṃkhya and Yoga, that the true character of the Lord is attained.[3] That the divine Vigraha is the Bhagavat himself has been realised and testified to by great sages.[4] This intuition of the great sages or Mahad-anubhava is said to be the only true Pramāṇa (*satya-pramāṇam*). For these great men are really Āveśa-Avatāras who, being inspired by the Lord, themselves partake of the nature of his Vigraha. So also do his partial manifestations, his Aṃśas or his Guṇāvatāras ; and their appearance possesses the same

1 *svarūpānanda-vilāsa-bhūta-paramāścarya-svabhāva-viśeṣaḥ.*

2 *yadi tasmin nāma-rūpitvādikaṃ nāsti, tarhi tacchaktimattvaṃ prati sāntatvaṃ prasajyeta.*

3 *yoga-sāṃkhyayos tattvaṃ na samyak prakāśate kiṃ tu bhaktau eva.*

4 *śrī-vigrahaḥ sa eva ca bhagavān iti vidvadbhiḥ pratīyate prayujyate caiva.*

eternal, real and supernatural characteristics.[1] But the Lord himself in his supreme form is far superior to all these.

From the theory described above that the supreme deity is the Perfect Person, having a peculiar form and a characteristic set of attributes, it follows that he has also a transcendental dwelling place, distinctive colour, decoration and associates peculiar to himself as a personal god. Of his dark colour we have spoken above. No doubt he dwells in the Jīva or individual self and pervades the universe, but this is only in his partial aspect as the Paramātman. In his complete and perfect form as the Bhagavat he has a Dhāma or residence far beyond the phenomenal world (*prapañcātīta*). His decorations are also transcendental and are a part of his divine essence. A symbolical meaning is therefore assigned to some of his ornaments ; for instance, the Kaustubha which the Lord bears on his breast is not a mundane precious stone, but typifies the Jīva-śakti. These are thus manifestations of the deity's self assumed through his grace to his devotees, who alone have a beatific vision of them. All this is established by the vision of the great devotees, which is its only and true Pramāṇa. In the same way the Vaikuṇṭha-loka (sometimes called the Goloka or Mahā-vaikuṇṭha, to distinguish it from a lower Vaikuṇṭha), which is his place of residence (Dhāma), as well as his Associates or Attendants (Pārṣadas), represents eternal and transcendental expression of his Svarūpa-śakti. The word Dhāma has also the sense of lustre, and is explained as the Lord's inherent power of manifestation[2]; but as a personal god, the deity is represented as having a real. and not merely figurative, abode for the display of his Svarūpa. This Loka, which is conceived as the highest paradise of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, cannot, on account of its being beyond phenomenal existence, be attained by Jñāna or Karman,[3] but only by Bhakti. Once attained

1 *tadaṃśānām api tādṛśatvam.*

2 *svarūpa-bhūta-prakāśa-śaktiḥ.*

3 *jñāna-karmabhir aprāpyām, prapañcātītatvāt.*

there is no fall from it (*tato'skhalanam*). Since it is beyond the phenomenal world, it follows that it cannot be attained by means of the three Guṇas ; it is therefore called Nirguṇa or Guṇātīta ; for it is said in the *Bhāgavata* (xi. 25. 21) that by the Sattva-guṇa men reach Svar-loka, by the Rajo-guṇa the Nara-loka and by the Tamo-guṇa the Naraka or Hell ; but the Loka of the Bhagavat is beyond the reach of these three Guṇas. Hence it is eternal and beyond Prakṛti (*prakṛteḥ param*), which is an effect of the Māyā-śakti. It is consequently beyond the Māyā-śakti itself, so that the Jīva can never reach it as long as he is subject to that Śakti. This Loka, being an expression of the Svarūpa-śakti, can be attained only by another aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti, namely, Bhakti. Like the Vigraha of the Bhagavat himself, his Loka, which is thus really and eternally a part of himself, consists of the three attributes of Sat, Cit and Ānanda (*saccidānanda-rūpatva*). It is called by the Vedic name of Viṣṇupada, and it is higher than all other Lokas, such as Svar-loka, Śiva-loka etc. Just as the form or Vigraha of the Bhagavat makes its appearance in the world, so it is said that his Dhāma, Pada or Residence also sometimes makes its appearance.[1] Although this appearance is real, it is usually not manifest (*aprakaṭa*), but it becomes manifest only to the vision of the devotee who can always perceive the deity's eternal divine sport in his favourite earthly resorts like Dvārakā, Mathurā or Vṛndāvana.

The above remarks apply also to the Pārṣadas or Attendants and Associates, who are the Lord's eternal retinue (Parikara) in his Paradise, being parts of his own self (*tadaṅgabhūta*) and expressions of his intrinsic Ānanda or Hlādinī Śakti.[2] Thus, Śrī or Lakṣmī, his eternal consort, is, as we have already noticed, inseparable from his Svarūpa-

1 *evaṃ ca bhagavad-vapur āvirbhavati loke, tathaiva kvcit kasyacit tatpadasyāvirbhāvaḥ śrūyate.*

2 *bhagavad-ānanda-śakter vilāsamayatvam.*

śakti (*svarūpānatiriktatvam*). The subject is treated in detail in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*; but in the present connexion Jīva Gosvāmin points out that to the deity's Pārṣadas the bliss of worship (Bhajanānanda) is greater than the bliss they enjoy from their being merged in the divine self (Svarūpānanda). The theory of this school is that release does not mean cessation from devotional activity; even these emancipated souls who are the deity's Pārṣadas engage in an eternal worship of the Bhagavad-vigraha. They desire only a taste of his Mādhurya, and not of his Brahmatva,[1] because it is the nature of the Vigraha of the Bhagavat, which consists of bliss, to make others enjoy that bliss (*sukhadatva*) as a Vilāsa of his Svarūpa-śakti.

This last position Jīva Gosvāmin now attempts to establish by reverting to his original topic of the distinction between the two forms of the deity, namely, Brahman and Bhagavat. The distinction is not a distinction of one into two, for the concept of ultimate reality is one and indivisible; nor is it a mere difference in designation according to difference of appearance.[2] It is due to the deity's inherent power of Viśeṣa or differentiation, by which there is a consciousness of difference even when there is no actual difference and by which the same substance appears as different. It must not, however, be supposed that the Lord's possession of Viśeṣa necessarily makes him conditioned or qualified, for the possession of an infinity of attributes is the reason why he cannot be qualified or conditioned by any one of them. The relation of Brahman to Bhagavat is thus one of difference in non-difference. The distinction arises from the stage or degree of realisation of the two kinds of devotee whose capacities are different and who follow different paths of Jñāna and Bhakti according to their respective capacity of

1 *kevala-tan-mādhuryāpekṣayā, na tu brahmatvānubhavāpekṣayā.*

2 *ekam eva tattvaṃ dvidhā śabdyata iti na vastuno bheda upapadyate; āvirbhāvasyāpi bheda-darśanān na ca saṃjñā-mātrasya.*

worship.[1] But the manifestation of the Bhagavat-form is said to be superior to that of the undifferentiated Brahma-form, because in the former stage of realisation the true self of the deity in its perfection is revealed through a complete display of his Svarūpa-śakti or Intrinsic Energy.[2] In the Brahma-form the full and special character of the deity is not reached ;[3] even the Prakāṣa of the Brahman is not independent but due to the Śakti of the Bhagavat. It must not be supposed that the vision of the one form is real and the other unreal, for the authority of the scriptures shows both to be real ;[4] nor should the one be regarded as a part of the other through the function of transformation or Vikāra, for the supreme deity is not subject to any Vikāra.[5] The two forms in their essence are identical, but the apparent difference is due to a difference of vision based upon a difference of the mode of worship.[6] In the one case, where the deity reveals himself in his undifferentiated state of Brahman, the vision is incomplete (*asaṃpūrṇā dṛṣṭi*) ; in the other case, where the vision takes in the full Vigraha of the Bhagavat, accompanied by all his Śaktis which form his essence, it is perfect (*saṃpūrṇā*). For this full or proper vision (Samyag-darśana) we are told that Bhakti is the only means,[7] for Bhakti is due to a display of the deity's Svarūpa-śakti itself. This, therefore, establishes the superiority of the Bhakti mode of worship to every other mode ; for according as the deity reveals himself in his twofold aspect as the

1 *sva-sva-darśana-yogyatā-bhedena dvividho'dhikārī dvidhā dṛṣṭaṃ tadupāsta iti.*

2 *svarūpa-śakti-prakāśenaiva svarūpa-prakāśasyādhikatvāt, nirviśeṣa-brahma-prakāśasyāpyupari śrī-bhagavat-prakāśa-śravaṇāt.*

3 *brahma-prakāśe tad-visiṣṭānupalambhanāt.*

4 *tatrāpyekasya darśanasya vāstavatvam anyasya bhramajatvam iti na mantavyam, ubhayor api yāthārthyena darśitatvāt.*

5 *na caikasya vastunaḥ śaktyā vikriyamāṇāṃśakatvād aṃśato bhedaḥ, vikṛtatva-niṣedhāt tayoḥ.*

6 *upāsanā-bhedena darśana-bhedaḥ.*

7 *bhaktir eva samyag-darśane hetuḥ.*

Brahman and the Bhagavat, his Svarūpa-śakti reveals itself correspondingly as Jñāna and Bhakti. The way of Jñāna is indeed not wholly rejected, but since the Bhagavat is spoken of as the Aṅgin (principal) and the Brahman as Aṅga (subordinate), the Brahmānubhava or perception of the Brahma is included (*antargata*) in the perception of the Bhagavat. But, at the same time, in the direct realisation of the Bhagavat through Bhakti, the realisation of the Brahman is not distinct (*na sphuṭaḥ*) and therefore superfluous. The bliss arising from the Brahmāsvāda is entirely merged in the superior bliss of Bhagavad-darśana. Hence it is maintained that devotional worship or Bhakti for the Bhagavat is superior to the release or Mokṣa consequent upon the knowledge or Jñāna of the Brahman. It is for this reason, as already noted above, that even the emancipated souls make light of mere Mokṣa and delight in the continuous worship of the Bhagavat (Bhajanānanda).

Having established the superiority of Bhakti to Jñāna, Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that the scriptures which speak of Bhakti are superior to the scriptures which speak of Jñāna; that is, the devotional texts are superior to those which are merely philosophical. For, those scriptures which are inspired by Bhakti lead to the Bhagavat, those which are actuated by Jñāna lead to the Brahman. It is true that the Brahman being an appearance of the Bhagavat, scriptures like the Upaniṣads which lead to the Brahman may also lead ultimately to the Bhagavad,[1] yet, the Brahman being an imperfect appearance, the scriptures, which speak of Brahman, only dimly and incompletely perceive the true character of the Bhagavat. It follows from all this that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* is the greatest and the most authoritative of all scriptures; because, apart from its other causes of greatness, it has for its exclusive theme the Bhagavat-tattva which is the greatest

1 *brahmaṇi carantīnām api yathā śrī-bhagavati paryavasānam.*

of all Tattvas[1]. It is superior to both the Jñāna-kāṇḍa and the Upāsanā-kāṇḍa of the Vedas, not only for the reason stated above, but also because its Ṛṣi-author was an incarnation of the Bhagavat himself, than whom a greater author cannot be found (*parama-śreṣṭha-kartṛtva*), and the direct beatific vision of the deity (Bhagavat-sākṣātkāra) is described in the work itself. Hence all desirous of attaining the highest spiritual truth should constantly listen to it.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin interprets the real purport of the four verses known as *Catuḥ-ślokī* (ii. 9. 32-35), which speak of the Bhagavat, and form the keynote of the *Bhāgavata* itself. He explains that divine love is here called *rahasya* or secret (ii. 9. 30) because it consists of an indescribable blissful attitude which manifests by itself, and remains invariably inclined towards the Bhakta.[2] The Bhagavat as the ultimate reality is really indeterminable (*anirdeśya*), and even the Vedas cannot properly reveal him. But the secret is revealed by Sādhana (Worship) and Preman (Love), which are phases of Bhakti. Jīva Gosvāmin in this connexion only briefly refers to the topics of Sādhana-bhakti and Prema-bhakti, which are dealt with more fully in his *Prīti-saṃdarbha*. The Sādhana-bhakti is to be learnt from one's spiritual preceptor and from the injunctions of the Śāstras, but Prema-bhakti develops spontaneously through divine grace. By the Sādhana-bhakti Brahma-jñāna is possible but the Bhagavat is attainable by Prema-bhakti alone. The meritorious acts prescribed by the Vedas, however, may lead one in the way of Sādhana-bhakti, and in this manner he becomes better fitted for the highest Prema-bhakti. The Bhagavat is thus the Samanvaya or the synthesis of all Śāstras, and he is in fact the supreme import of all the Vedas (*sarva-vedārthatva*).

1 *śrī-bhāgavatasya bahudhā śraiṣṭhye satyapi tathā-bhūtasyāpi bhagavadākhya-parama-tattvasyākarṣa-vidyā-rūpatvād eva paramaṃ śraiṣṭhyam āha.*

2 *bhakteṣu sarvathānanya-vṛttitā-hetur nāma kim api sva-prakāśaṃ premākhyam ānandātmakaṃ vastu rahasyam iti vyañjitam.*

Hence, the sacred scriptures which give an account of the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-kathā*) have an efficacy the importance of which cannot be exaggerated.

c. THE PARAMĀTMA-SAṂDARBHA

The concept of the Paramātman, which is the main theme of this Saṃdarbha, may be briefly described as the concept of the godhead in relation to Nature (Prakṛti) and Spirit (Jīva). In relation to the concept of Brahman, which implies the indiscrete and unconditioned (*nirviśeṣa*) Absolute, the concept of the Paramātman indicates a particular conditioned (*sa-viśeṣa*) state; but in relation to the concept of the infinitely conditioned Perfect Person implied in the concept of the Bhagavat, the Paramātman is not a complete but a partial manifestation, having relation chiefly to the Māyā-śakti and the Jīva-śakti. In a passage in his *Krama-saṃdarbha*, which is repeated in his *Bhakti-saṃdarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmin concisely sums up the three concepts thus: "By Brahman is termed pure consciousness which is other than that of the particular attributes characterised by the group of Śaktis; the Paramātman indicates consciousness conditioned by (the Jīva-śakti which is) a part of the abundant Cit-śakti, and by the Māyā-śakti, which consists of the function of inward regulation (in all beings); the Bhagavat is the consciousness conditioned by the complete and perfect manifestation of all the Śaktis."[1] It would follow from this that the Paramātman has two aspects, namely, Bhagavad-aṅgatva in relation to the Jīva, and Jagad-gatatva in relation to Prakṛti or Pradhāna. In other words, the Paramātman is that phase of the godhead which is immanent, on the one hand, in the conscious Jīva, and on the other, in the non-conscious or material Prakṛti.

The necessity for postulating these concepts is not difficult

1 *śakti-varga-lakṣaṇa-taddharmātiriktaṃ kevalaṃ jñānaṃ brahmeti śabdyate, antaryāmitvamaya-māyāśakti-pracura citśaktyaṃśa-viśiṣṭaṃ paramātmā, paripūrṇa-sarva-śakti-viśiṣṭaṃ bhagavān.*

to understand. For a theistic sectarian faith which believes in a personal god, the concept of the Bhagavat as a Person is a philosophical necessity and justification ; while the Advaita concept of Nirviśeṣa Brahman has to be recognised and reconciled, from its sectarian point of view, as a lower manifestation, vouchsafed to the religiously defective but intellectually keen seekers after spiritual truth. The reason for the third concept of the Paramātman is somewhat more complex. The idea of the Antaryāmin as the inward ruler is Upaniṣadic, and Deussen is probably right in thinking that from this idea developed the concept of a personal god in later theistic systems, in which the idea is, as here, implicitly recognised. The term as well as the underlying idea of the Paramātman in relation to the Jīvātman, in which is also absorbed the idea of the evolution of Prakṛti, is a legacy of older philosophical systems. The difficulties, however, of the Advaita doctrine of Māyā and of its highly monistic and idealistic interpretation of the relation of the Jīva to Brahman made these theories unacceptable in their entirety to the dualistic school which Jīva Gosvāmin represents. As the school believed, somewhat in the Sāṃkhya manner, in the relative reality of the world, the Vedāntic theory of the unreality of the illusory world was not consistent with its dualistic position. To obviate these difficulties and to reconcile the traditional ideas mentioned above with its own view of a personal god, the deity in the lower form of the Paramātman had to be endowed with two real and eternal Śaktis in relation to the Jīva and Prakṛti, the working of which, however, is supposed not to affect the essential selfhood of the god, just in the same way as the Advaita-vādin's Māyā does not affect the impersonal and unconditioned Brahman.

The theme of the present Saṃdarbha is, therefore, the consideration of the relation of the Jīva and Prakṛti to the Paramātman and the corresponding functions of Jīva-śakti, and Māyā-śakti, of which the Paramātman-form is, as it were, the presiding deity.

We have already seen that the Jīva is an expression of the Jīva-śakti of the Bhagavat. This Śakti is called Taṭasthā or aloof, because it does not come under either of the categories of Svarūpa-śakti and Māya-śakti, but is still closely connected with both. As the Bhagavat is the ground of the Jīva-śakti, the Jīva is indeed a part, albeit an infinitesimal part, of the Bhagavat ; but as the Jīva is liable to the influence of the Māyā-śakti it cannot come directly under the Svarūpa-śakti, which is unaffected by this influence. But on account of its ultimate affinity with the Bhagavat, the Jīva even in bondage has the inherent capacity of releasing itself ; and when emancipated, it becomes a part of the Svarūpa-śakti and is placed eternally beyond the influence of the Māyā-śakti. This release, we have seen, comes through Bhakti, which itself is an expression of the Hlādinī or blissful aspect of the deity's Svarūpa-śakti ; but this topic will be dealt with in its proper place in the *Bhakti-saṃdarbha.*

This idea of the Jīva-śakti will be clear from a consideration of the essential character of the Jīva. In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin quotes the authority of Jāmātṛmuni who is said to have been a predecessor of Rāmānuja. This authority informs us that the Jīva is neither a deity nor a man, nor a movable animal, nor an immovable plant ; it is neither the body, nor the senses, nor the mind, nor life, nor intellect ; it is neither an unconscious material object (*jaḍa*), nor liable to change, nor yet consisting of mere consciousness ; but, positively considered, a long list of distinguishing attributes can be predicated of it. It is self-luminous to itself (*svasmai svayaṃ-prakāśaḥ*), uniform (*eka-rūpaḥ*), possessing its own identity (*svarūpa-bhāk*), conscious (*cetanaḥ*), having the attribute of pervading (*vyāpti-śīlaḥ*), consisting of Cit and Ānanda (*cidānandātmakaḥ*), subject of the consciousness of 'I' (*aha-marthaḥ*), different in different organism (*pratikṣetraṃ bhinnaḥ*), atomic in size (*aṇuḥ*), always pure (*nitya-nirmalaḥ*), possessing its own peculiar attribute of knowledge, action and enjoyment (*jñātṛtva-kartṛtva-bhoktṛtva-nijadharmakaḥ*),

and always possessing the natural tendency of resolving into a part of the Paramātman (*paramātmaika-śeṣa-svabhāvaḥ*).

These terms will not be fully intelligible from the imperfect English rendering given above but will require some explanation to make them clear. From the negative characteristics described above, the Jīva appears to possess two prominent attributes which are interrelated, namely, the attribute of unchangeableness and of retention of identity in the midst of difference. In other words, the Jīva retains its identity in whatever individual existence it may lie, divine, human or otherwise. It is indeed an entity whose presence is brought about in the organic body by the Māyā-śakti, but it is distinct from the several parts (the senses, the mind, the body, etc.) of its receptacle. It is thus distinct from the body, and unlike the body it is not subject to change or decay; it is only through the Māyā-śakti that the Jīva in delusion identifies itself with the body. It is, however, not a mere aggregate of (gross or phenomenal) consciousness (*jñāna-mātrātmako na ca*), nor yet a production of material nature (*na jaḍaḥ*). It is a single permanent principle which manifests itself in and unifies a system of temporal and spatial states and activities, but is still different from this system and retains its identity through all these states and activities. This idealistic interpretation of the Jīva, however, is not new, but its differentiation, by means of the Māyā-śakti, as a subtle principle, which is neither mere consciousness nor mere unconsciousness, is presented in a way which is entirely peculiar to this dualistic school.

Positively considered, the Jīva possesses a large number of distinguishing characteristics, but since they are interconnected, they may be briefly explained under a few broad headings. One of the chief attributes of the Jiva is that it is an entity which possesses consciousness (*cetana*). This must not be understood to mean that it is made up of a mass of gross consciousness alone, which view really resolves into a materialistic position, but that it is the underlying conscious

principle itself. It follows from the acceptance of this attribute that the Jīva is self-luminous, that is, it reveals itself to itself by its own consciousness[1] ; but it also has the capacity of revealing others.[2] Its state of consciousness means that by its own consciousness it can stimulate the body etc. into consciousness, like the light of a lamp which by revealing itself reveals others.[3] This self-luminosity, however, cannot be in relation to the Paramātman, whose self-luminosity does not depend on anything else and from whom its ultimate illuminating power comes ; but it is self-luminous in relation to material objects.[4]

But the Jīva is atomic (*aṇu*), the word 'atom' meaning the smallest and finest indivisible entity conceivable. Hence the Jīva is called 'a particle of atom of consciousness' (*cit-kaṇā* or *aṇu-cit*). And yet by virtue of its being a conscious principle it is capable of pervading the whole body (*vyāpana-śīla*). In other words, it does not occupy space, yet pervades by consciousness the whole of the organism which it inhabits.

This conscious principle is represented by the word 'I' and signifies the ego (*aham-arthaḥ*) but this *Aham* is not the empirical ego (*prākṛta ahaṃkāra*), which is an act of material Nature (Prakṛti) upon the Jīva. This consciousness, we have seen, is pure and indivisible, and is therefore to be distinguished from the ephemeral, diverse and impure consciousness given by the senses.[5] This is what is meant by saying that the Jīva is not a mere aggregate of consciousness given by the senses, but it is the essential conscious principle itself (*upalabdhi-mātra* or *jñānaika-rūpa*). For, the Jīva is beyond the reach of the body which is liable to change and decay (*vikāra* or *vyabhicāra*); it is the eternal witness as distinguished

1 *svasmai svayaṃ-prakāśaḥ*

2 *svayam eva prakāśate, anyān api prakāśayati.*

3 *cetanatvaṃ nāma svasya cid-rūpatve'nyasya dehādeś cetayitṛtvam, dīpādi-prakāśasya prakāśayitṛtvat.*

4 *jaḍa-pratiyogitvena.*

5 *jñānam ekam, indriya-balena vividhaṃ kalpitam.*

from the thing witnessed (*draṣṭṛ-dṛśya-bheda*). The true nature of this consciousness or the real ego can be realised in the state of dreamless sleep when the phenomenal consciousness (*ahaṃkāra*) is set at rest and the Jīva remains as a self-conscious witness (*sākṣya-sākṣi-bheda*). This can also be inferred from the ordinary experience that the body is liable to suffering, but the Jīva is always the object of divine love (*duḥkhi-premāspada-bheda*).

It follows from the above characteristics of the Jīva that it is always pure (*nitya-nirmala*), and this purity consists in its real ego, which is not affected by the impure effects of the Māyā-śakti ; for the Śuddha Jīva is said to be *māyātīta* or beyond the sphere of Māyā. In relation to the body and the phenomenal world, however, its gross consciousness, which is the effect of the Māyā-śakti, overpowers it and obscures its real nature even to itself. Even if the Jīva, like the Bhagavat, consists of pure consciousness (*cid-rūpa*), it is yet inferior to, as well as different, in this respect, from the Bhagavat, who is eternally superior to and unaffected by his own extraneous Māyā-śakti. But in its essence it is a part or Aṃśa of the Bhagavat. Its liability to Māyā and bondage in Saṃsāra, as well as its individual separate existence even after emancipation, makes it different from the Bhagavat, both in Svarūpa and Sāmarthya ; but it is at the same time identical in its intrinsic affinity with the Bhagavat who is its ultimate source. This peculiar relation of identity in difference is also expressed by the postulate that the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat conceived, not as the ground of Svarūpa-śakti, but as the ground of Jīva-śakti, which latter being a Taṭasthā Śakti, it is different and yet closely connected with both the Svarūpa-śakti and the Māyā-śakti.

From this point of view all Jīvas have been classified into two groups, viz. (*i*) those who are eternally inclined to the Bhagavat[1] and naturally susceptible to his Svarūpa-śakti, and

1 *anādita eva bhagavad-unmukhāḥ.*

(*ii*) those who are eternally averse to him[1] and therefore naturally prone to the Māyā-śakti. The former are still Taṭastha like the latter, and are Jīvas who cannot be included in the category of Īśvara, but they possess in a greater degree the capacity of releasing themselves. Possessing in a potential state the intrinsic attributes of consciousness and bliss, which are also divine attributes, they are easily disposed to the influence of the deity's highest Svarūpa-śakti. Those coming under the second group become, on account of their hostile attitude, an easy prey to the Māyā-śakti and its bondage, and are therefore overwhelmed into rebirth (*saṃsāra*), from which their only way of release is through Bhakti ; for Bhakti brings them again under the influence of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat.

From the dualistic conclusion that the Jīva, in spite of its essential identity, is yet different and has a separate existence as an eternal spiritual atom, which continues even after emancipation, it follows that the Jīva is not one but many. Our author does not believe in the extreme monistic theory that the Paramātman is the only so-called Jīva (*eka-jīva-vāda*), the apparent multitude of Jīvas being no other than the Paramātman. On the other hand, he appears to agree with Rāmānuja's interpretation of *Vedānta-sūtra* ii. 3. 48 that although the Jīva is a part or Aṃśa of the Paramātman, and is essentially of the same character as an entity, it is yet actually separate and resides in a separate Kṣetra or sphere (*pratikṣetraṃ bhinnaḥ*). But, even admitting a plurality of Jīvas, this school does not accept the theory of actionless Puruṣa who only looks on and experiences the consequences of the acts of Prakṛti. A dualistic view such as this school upholds cannot make the Jīva altogether independent of the fruits of action, even though its extreme theistic leanings make it present a somewhat modified dualism and make all actions subordinate to the will of the Lord.

1 *anādita eva bhagavat-parāṅmukhāḥ.*

In its view, therefore, the Jīva is both a knower and an agent, and an enjoyer of the fruits of his own Karman. This capacity for activity as an agent is a permanent and inherent capacity, but the activity is not independent of divine control, inasmuch as the Jīva is an eternal servant of the Lord.

This intrinsic connexion of the Jīva with the Paramātman is indicated by the qualifying epithet *svataḥ sarvadā paramatmaika-śeṣa-svabhāva* ; that is, the Jīva has always the natural tendency of ultimately resorting to the Paramātman alone as its ground. From this divine source it receives not only its attribute of consciousness but also its attribute of bliss (*cidānandātmaka*), of which more will be said hereafter.

Although the Jīvas are many and separate, they are yet related to one another. There is a sameness in all Jīvas (*eka-rūpa-bhāk*) because of the Jīva's essential divine character. Differences, however, arise, in the first place, from a difference in the nature of acts done in this or previous births, which make each suffer weal or woe accordingly and possess different character. Apparently, this occurs in the phenomenal world ; but even when bereft of the gross body and freed from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti, the different Jīvas occupy different positions as the Parikara or Attendant of the Bhagavat in the hierarchy of spiritual existence, according to the difference in their respective devotional attitude.

This brings us now to the consideration of the character of the Māyā-śakti in relation to the Jīva and the Bhagavat. The Vaiṣṇava idea of Māyā as a Śakti, even if it is presented as a Bahiraṅgā or extraneous Śakti, is not the same as the Śaṃkarite idea of Māyā as a kind of illusion, from which however the original idea might have been borrowed and assimilated. Enough has already been said above which would give a general idea of this Māyā-śakti, but one of the principal themes of this Saṃdarbha is to expand this idea and consider in detail the functions of this Śakti. It is called Bahiraṅgā (outer or external), because it does not form an ingredient of the real or intrinsic selfhood of the Lord. As

a Śakti or Energy, however, it is real, and its effects are also real, but as it appertains to the deity in his partial or incomplete manifestation and not in his true nature, it is felt only at a lower plane of existence. In a verse quoted from the *Bhāgavata* ix. 33 in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* (p. 92), the Śakti is defined as:

ṛte'rthaṃ yat pratīyeta na pratīyeta cātmani/
tad vidyād ātmano māyām//

According to the interpretation given by Jīva Gosvāmin the verse may be translated thus: "What would be perceived outside the substance, i.e., outside the intrinsic selfhood of the Lord,[1] and what would not be perceived irrespectively of it, is called the Lord's own Māyā." If the Lord in his essence is perceived, the Māyā is not perceived ; that is, the Śakti is perceived outside his self.[2] But the Śakti cannot be perceived by itself without the Lord as the substratum[3] ; that is, as an energy it presupposes the idea of an energising substance or being, and cannot stand by itself.

The Māya as a Śakti has been classified into Jīva-māyā which is also called Nimitta-māyā, and Guṇa-māyā which is also called Upādāna-māyā. The classification is based upon the two functions of the principle of causality, namely, efficient and material causation, ascribed to the Māyā-śakti ; and each of the aspects has a reference respectively to the Jīva and the Prakṛti, the individual Self and material Nature. In the first aspect, the Māyā-śakti obscures the pure consciousness of the Jīva,[4] and in the second it brings about the material world as a balance of the three Guṇas[5] or some-

1 *artham paramārtha-bhūtaṃ māṃ vinā.*

2 *mat-pratītau tat-pratītyabhāvāt, matto bahir eva yasya pratītir ityarthaḥ.*

3 *yasya ca madāśrayaṃ vinā svataḥ pratītir nāsti.*

4 *jīva-jñānam āvṛṇoti.*

5 *sattvādi-guṇa-sāmya-rūpaṃ guṇa-māyākhyaṃ jaḍāṃ prakṛtim udgirati.*

times causes change or evolution of forms by disturbing the equilibrium of the three Guṇas.[1] Hence, Māyā is called *sṛṣṭi-sthityanta-kāriṇī*, or the Śakti which causes the creation, support and dissolution of the world ; and in the Upaniṣads, Māyā is represented figuratively as tri-coloured (*trivarṇa*), which term has a reference to the three Guṇas.

The function of the Nimitta- or Jīva-māyā is two-fold, consisting of Science (Vidyā) and Nescience (Avidyā), the first causing emancipation and the second bondage. The Jīva in itself is eternally self-conscious of its true nature and is therefore, as Śuddha Jīva, eternally emancipated (*svato mukta eva*) ; sometimes this consciousness is explicit (as in the case of eternally emancipated souls), but more often it is implicit or obscured (as in the case of those who are subject to ignorance or nescience caused by Māya). The Vidyā is the gateway for the ingress of this implicit consciousness. It may be objected that if the Vidyā leads to deliverance, it should be an aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti and cannot be counted as an expression of the Māyā-śakti. But the Vidyā-vṛtti, as a Māyā-śakti[2] must be taken to imply that it is not a form of the supreme consciousness itself but only a door or opening to the revelation of that consciousness which is an aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti ; and it cannot by itself make that revelation.[3] The Avidyā or Nescience has, again, two-fold function, namely, (*i*) it acts as a covering which causes the concealment of the true nature of the Jīva (*āvaraṇātmikā*), and (*ii*) it acts as a source of distraction (*vikṣepātmikā*), which overpowers the Jīva by causing a conflicting consciousness in the form of the empirical experience of the body and the senses.

1 *kadācit pṛthag-bhūtān sattvādi-guṇān nānākāratayā pariṇamati ca.*

2 The word is thus used in a sense somewhat different from what is understood in orthodox philosophy. The Vidyā may be two-fold being a function of both the Svarūpa- and Māyā-śaktis.

3 *atra vidyākhyā vṛttir iyaṃ svarūpaśakti-vṛtti-viśeṣa-vidyā-prakāśe dvāram eva, na tu svayam eva seti jñeyam.*

The Jīva-māyā or Nimitta-māyā, as the source of efficient causation, involves the four concepts of the Kāla, Daiva, Karman and Svabhāva, which terms are now briefly explained. The Kāla is described as the Kṣobhaka or source of provocation ; and a verse from the *Bhāgavata* (iii. 5. 26) is quoted to show that by this function the Paramātman, in erotically figurative imagery, places the seed of creation in the Guṇamayī Māyā.[1] It follows from this description that the Kāla is not a substance but only a function or mode (*vṛtti*) of the Paramātman as the dispenser of the Māyā-śakti, by which the equilibrium of the three Guṇas in Prakṛti is disturbed and effects are brought about. It thus regulates in a sense the process of creation but is in its turn regulated by the Paramātman ; it has therefore no effect on the Bhagavat, who is eternally beyond Kāla. The Karman is described as the Nimitta or efficient cause of this disturbance, and constitutes acts done not by the real ego but by the empirical ego in phenomenal existence, causing rebirth and bondage. Such acts, therefore, as devotional worship, which proceed from the real ego of the Jīva, are not to be included in this category. The express proneness of Karman for the production of consequences is called Daiva.[2] The Svabhāva consists of impressions left by Karman (*tat-saṃskāraḥ*). The Jīva, in its bondage to the Māyā-śakti, is possessed of all these (*tadvān*).

The Guṇa-māyā or Upādāna-māyā, as the source of material causation, consists of Dravya, Kṣetra, Prāṇa, Ātman and Vikāra, which terms also require explanation. The Dravya indicates the five elements in subtle states (*bhūta-sūkṣmāṇi*) ; the Kṣetra is Prakṛti ; the Prāṇa means the vital principle, which is also called Vāyu ; the Ātman is the gross consciousness or the Prākṛta Ahaṃkāra operated upon by the senses ; and the Vikāra consists of the five senses (*indriyāṇi*) and the five gross elements (*mahābhūtāni*), of

1 *kāla-vṛttyā tu māyāyāṃ guṇamayyām adhokṣajaḥ /*
puruṣeṇātmabhūtena vīryam ādhatta vīryavān //

2 *tad eva phalābhimukham abhivyaktaṃ daivam.*

which the Deha or material body is a collective effect (*saṃghāta*), continuing in an uninterrupted stream like the sprout of seeds (*bīja-rohavat pravāhaḥ*). All these constitute in their totality the ingredients of material creation, which is the Upādāna aspect of the Māyā, called Guṇa-māyā. The Jīva is related to it, as well as to the Jīva-māyā described above. The primal matter is called indiscrete (Avyakta or Avyākṛta), because it is the equipoised condition of these constituents and of the Guṇas. In itself it is unintelligent or unconscious, but creation proceeds only through the Īkṣaṇa or look of the Lord, by which is perhaps meant this exercise of the Māyā-śakti by the Paramātman. The state of equilibrium being thus disturbed, the three Guṇas intermingle with one another and give rise to the manifold evolutes and effects ultimately producing the concrete and real world as a feat of the Māyā-śakti. In spite of the professed adverse attitude of the school to the Sāṃkhya theory, the influence of Sāṃkhya ideas and the borrowing of its terminology are obvious. The school holds firmly to Sāṃkhya in regarding Matter as a reality, and there is nothing specifically Vedāntic in its conception in this respect. The Māyā is not Matter itself as the Vedāntist believes, but it is a particular mode in which Matter, which is a reality, is apprehended. But a theistic interpretation is given to this mode by regarding it as a cosmic effect of the Lord's energy or function which obscures the vision of the undevout to the ultimate reality. In relation to this ultimate reality, which is the Lord himself, Matter must, however, be regarded not as an absolute reality as Sāṃkhya maintains, but only as a relative reality.

According to the views of the Bengal school, therefore, the creation of the world is not an instance of Vivarta (illusory appearance) but an instance of Pariṇāma (transformation). The theory of Vivarta, which is a corollary from Śaṃkara's Māyā-vāda, speaks of the illusory production of an effect (namely, the unreal world) from a real cause (namely the Brahman), just as a serpent is a Vivarta or

illusory appearance of a rope. But the theistic Vaiṣṇava school believes in the reality and phenomenally separate existence of the world, relatively to the reality and absolute existence of the Bhagavat ; and, therefore, it regards its creation as the result of Pariṇāma or direct evolution, by which an effect of the same kind is produced as the material cause. There is a difference, no doubt, in the reality of the world and that of the Bhagavat, for the former is relative and non-eternal and the latter absolute and eternal. In a sense, however, the world may be regarded as eternal, because even after dissolution it continues to exist in a subtle form in the Bhagavat, but it must still be regarded as non-eternal so far as it exists phenomenally and presents itself to our gross senses. But its being non-eternal or perishable does not mean that it is false or unreal, as some Vedāntists hold. The world as an effect has the same character of reality as its material cause (namely, the Māyā-śakti of the Lord), although this reality may not be absolute reality. Since the deity, as the material and efficient cause of the world, evolves it out of himself by the Māyā-śakti, he does not suffer any change or loss of essence inasmuch as this Śakti cannot affect his true Svarūpa. The deity is immutable even if he is the cause of the mutable world, and creation in this sense is a mystery.[1] It is also further established that creation is spontaneous to the nature of the Lord. It does not proceed from any particular purpose or motive, in the sense in which the term is used with reference to human beings ; for, the divine being in his perfection cannot be endowed with a particular purpose or motive.

The concept of the Paramātman, as a partial manifestation of the Bhagavat, has relation mainly to these energies of the Lord, namely, the Jīva-śakti and the Māyā-śakti, and is, therefore, postulated for this special purpose. The Paramātman is accordingly endowed with the powers of creation, suste-

1 *Sarva-saṃvādinī* pp. 142-3.

nance and dissolution of the world, as well as of being the inward regulator of the individual self. The relation between the Bhagavat and the Paramātman is really one of gradation in the hierarchy of manifestations of one and the same reality. But since the two Energies (Śaktis) assigned to the Paramātman are regarded either as Taṭasthā or Bahiraṅgā (aloof or external) in relation to the intrinsic (Antaraṅgā) divine Energy, the function of the Paramātman operates only so long as the Jīva is still at a lower plane and is blind to the nature of true reality. Jīva Gosvāmin refers in this connexion to Gītā texts (xiii. 1 f) relating to the Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña, and explains that the Kṣetra ('field' or 'dwelling place') is matter or material body as the seat of the conditioned self, who as a conscious entity is technically styled Kṣetrajña. But he rejects the Sāṃkhya interpretation of Kṣetrajña, and maintains the theistic view that the Jīva is Kṣetrajña only relatively; for, the Paramātman, as the inward ruler of the world and the individual self, is the only and real Kṣetrajña. As the regulator of the individual self in its conditioned state, the Paramātman may again be the regulator either of the totality of individual Jīvas (*samaṣṭi-jīvāntaryāmin*) or of each individual Jīva (*vyaṣṭi-jīvāntaryāmin*). In theological language we are told further that since the Avatāras have relation to the phenomenal world, they all proceed from the Paramātman, and the Bhagavat is thus superior to all of them. One of the primal evolutes of the Paramātman in this respect is the Puruṣa, who is regarded as the first (*ādya*) of the Avatāras. This Puruṣa, in its twofold aspect as the Garbhodaka-śāyin and the Kṣīrodaka-śāyin, is the presiding deity of the Jīva in its singleness (*vyaṣṭi*) and totality (*samaṣṭi*) respectively. These two aspects of the Puruṣa, again, are regarded as two subtle emanations of the Saṃkarṣaṇa-Vyūha, who is Kāranārṇava-śāyin and who, according to the Vyūha-doctrine, is supposed to preside over the Jīva. Thus, as the immanent regulator of the individual Jīvas and the phenomenal world, the Saṃkarṣaṇa of the Vyūha-theory is absorbed as being identical with

the Paramātman, just as the much older conception of Puruṣa is assimilated within the theological scheme of the Paramātman in relation to the Avatāras.

From what has been said above it will not be difficult to understand the theory which Jīva Gosvāmin propounds on the relation of the Jīva to the Bhagavat. As the Jīva is an aspect of the Taṭasthā Jīva-śakti, the relation is the same as between a Śakti and the possessor of the Śakti. The Bhagavat as the Śaktimat is, no doubt, the ground or source of the Śakti which cannot exist without him, but the Śakti has also a capacity and existence of its own. The analogy of the sun and its scattered rays has already been cited above to illustrate the conception. The relation is thus one of non-difference as well as of difference (*bhedābheda*) in an inscrutable manner (*acintya*). The Jīva is non-different from the Bhagavat because it is a part or Aṃsa, even if an atomic part (*aṇu*), and possesses essentially the same characteristics of eternity, non-liability of change etc., as well as the same attributes, in an infinitesimal amount, of Cit and Ānanda. If the Bhagavat is Pūrṇā Cit and Purṇa Ānanda, the Jīva is Cit-kaṇā and Ānanda-kaṇā. But as the superlativeness of the attributes and characteristics belongs to the Bhagavat alone, and not to the Jīva, there is an inevitable difference ; and absolute identity can never be maintained. The Jīva is also eternally subordinate to the Lord, for the common attributes in the case of the Jīva is obscured and controlled by the Māyā-śakti, while the Lord is never affected by this Śakti, which indeed springs from him but which is yet external to him. The non-difference makes it possible for the Jīva to approach him and be a part of his intrinsic Svarūpa-śakti, but the difference keeps the Jīva eternally separate and subordinate. Jīva Gosvāmin maintains this position not only by the citation of Purāṇa and other texts, but also by a peculiarly dualistic interpretation of the *Vedānta-sūtra* i. 2. 12 ; ii. 1. 22 and ii. 3, 42-45. The Advaita texts, which speak of identity, should, in his opinion, be understood to affirm resemblance ;

for the Jīva, being an Aṃśa, naturally retains some of the divine character and becomes *like unto* the Bhagavat but it is never the same. It might be objected that if the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat, then all the imperfections of the Jīva must also attach to the Bhagavat; but the reply to this furnished by the authority of the *Vedānta-sūtra* ii. 3. 45, which is interpreted to mean that the imperfections of the Jīva, who is an expression of the Bhagavat's Taṭasthā Jīva-śakti and not of his essential Svarūpa-śakti, can never be ascribed to the highest being.

In his *Tattva-saṃdarbha* and elsewhere Jīva Gosvāmin takes some pains to refute the views of the Advaita-vādins that the difference between the Jīva and Brahman is not real but is due to Upādhi (condition or limitation), by means of which the really unconditioned Brahman appears to condition himself (Pariccheda-vāda) or limitedly reflects himself as Jīva (Pratibimba-vāda).[1] The arguments against these Advaita theories are well known and need not be repeated in detail. Jīva Gosvāmin employs the usual arguments against the validity of the assumption of Upādhi made by the Advaita-vādins. He argues that the Upādhi, which according to the Advaita-vādins, gives rise to a perception of difference which does not really exist, must be either real or unreal. If it is real (*vāstava*), that is, if it is not imagined through Avidyā, then how can the Brahman, who is always unconditioned, be conditioned? Being without any attribute (Dharma), he cannot have any limitation or Upādhi; and being all-pervasive (*vyāpaka*) and without a form (*niravayava*), like the Ākāśa, he cannot be visible and reflect himself as Jīva. The mere knowledge of the identity of the Jīva and Brahman, again, can never get rid of the Upādhi which, *ex hypothesi*, is real and therefore persists in spite of such knowledge. If, on the other hand, the Upādhi is presumed to be unreal (*avāstava*), that is, due to the Avidyā, then how can it touch the Brahman who

1 See above p. 267.

is eternally free from any touch of Avidyā? In such a case, the Brahman, who is the sole reality, becomes unreal. It must be assumed, therefore, that those scriptural texts which have been often cited in support of identity, only speak of resemblance due to analogy and are, therefore, instances merely of that form of expression which is known as 'secondary application of a word based on resemblance' (*sādṛśya-lakṣaṇā*). It is not denied that the Jīva resembles Brahman and is identical in some essential characteristics, but there is also a real distinction which cannot be transcended.

This relation of non-identity in identity is expressed by the supposition that the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat as the ground or substratum of the Taṭasthā Jīva-śakti, and not of the Bhagavat as the displayer of the Svarūpa-śakti[1]. But since the capacity for bliss is an inherent attribute of the Jīva it finds a point of contact with the intrinsic Hlādinī Śakti or blissful energy of the Bhagavat through the mode of Bhakti, which is nothing more than an aspect of this intrinsic divine energy. This natural capacity of the Jīva restores his affinity or contiguity to the Bhagavat and counteracts its averseness, which springs from the effect of the external Māyā-śakti. But the Jīva is never an equal but a servant or Sevaka to the Lord, who is the Sevya, and its function is to carry out the Lord's will ; even Bhakti, however inherent in the Jīva as an expression of the divine energy, can awaken only through divine grace (Prasāda or Anugraha). Even when freed from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva persists in its real and eternal character as an eternal spiritual atom worshipping the Lord. There are Śrutis which affirm the distinction in the Jīva's phenomenal existence and also in its state of release. The state of release, therefore, is only release from the earthly bondage of the Māyā-śakti, but not extinction on perception of identity, nor the merging of the Jīva in the Bhagavat

1 *jīva-śakti-viśiṣṭasyaiva tava jīvo'ṃśaḥ, na tu śuddhasya, jīvasya tacchakti-rūpatvenaivāṃśatvam ityetad vyañjayati.*

(*laya*). The emancipated self is in reality no longer the Jīva or a part of the Jīva-śakti, but becomes a part of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat as his Parikara or Attendant in his Paradise. But since the relation of the Śakti to the possessor of the Śakti is, as we have seen, one of non-identity in identity, the relation naturally continues in the state of emancipation.

d. THE ŚRĪKṚṢṆA-SAṂDARBHA

The interest of this Saṃdarbha is more theological than philosophical. Its chief object is to apply the principles established in the three Saṃdarbhas, described above, to the personality of Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and present him as the highest personal god of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Its theme is to maintain that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra or an incarnate being, but the deity himself manifested in his perfect form as the Bhagavat. In other words, having established the concept of Bhagavat, Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to show in a definite way that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat as the Advaya-jñāna-tattva of its theology. From the point of view of the cult and sect, therefore, this is the most important and central Saṃdarbha, the other three preceding Saṃdarbhas being preliminary to it.

At the outset Jīva Gosvāmin refers to the distinction established in the previous Saṃdarbhas between the concepts of the Paramātman and the Bhagavat, and deals again briefly with the distinctive character (Svarūpa), function (Karman), form (Ākāra) and place of habitation (Sthāna) of the Paramātman. It has already been demonstrated by him that the perfection or Pūrṇatva of the Paramātman is relative (*apekṣita*) to that of the Bhagavat, but this relative perfection is now explained by stating that it is the eternal source (*āśraya*) and the germinal ground (*udgama-sthāna*) of the various Avatāras, as well as of the whole phenomenal creation. From the Paramātman spring the two Puruṣas, the

Primal and the Secondary, who become the source of the series of incarnate divine forms, just in the same way as the sun is the source or ground of its own rays. In other words, the incarnations are related to the Paramātman-Puruṣa as parts to the whole ; and in their unmanifest state they lie in an indiscrete and germinal form in him. In this connexion, there is a discussion in detail of the twenty verses from the *Bhāgavata* (i. 3. 6-25), which give a general list of the authentic appearance, partial (Aṃśa) or complete (Aṃśin), of the supreme deity. These Avatāras have already been considered by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Saṃkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛta* and have been summarised by us above ; but there is some discrepancy in the order of enumeration, Jīva Gosvāmin following strictly the order of the *Bhāgavata.* They are:

1. Catuḥsana 2. The Varāha 3. Nārada, to whom is attributed the Sātvata Tantra 4. Nara and Nārāyaṇa 5. Kapila 6. Dattātreya 7. Yajña 8. Ṛṣabha 9. Pṛthu 10. The Matsya 11. The Kūrma 12. Dhanvantari 13. The Mohinī 14. The Narasiṃha 15. The Vāmana 16. Paraśurāma 17. Vyāsa 18. Rāma 19-20. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa 21. The Buddha 22. Kalki.

The verse i. 3. 26 adds that the Avatāras are numberless, like the ripples on an inexhaustible reservoir ; and this statement, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, is meant to include such Manvantara Avatāras, not included in the above list, as Hayagrīva, Hari, Haṃsa, Pṛśnigarbha, Vibhu, Satyasena, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita, Sārvabhauma, Viṣvaksena, Dharmasetu, Sudhāman, Yogeśvara and Bṛhadbhānu, as well as Yuga-Avatāras like Śukla, Rakta, etc.

All these appearances, with the exception of Nos. 19 and 20 (namely Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa) are Aṃśas or Kalās (partial manifestations) of the Puruṣa (*ete cāṃśa-kalāḥ puṃsaḥ*) ; but among the Aṃśa-Avatāras a further distinction is made of Āveśa-Avatāras. The Catuḥsanas etc. are instances of the Āveśa or 'possession' of the Jñāna-śakti, Nārada etc. of the Bhakti-śakti, and Pṛthu etc. of the Kriyā-śakti of the supreme

deity. In some cases there is a direct possession by the deity (Svayam-Āveśa), and these Avatāras have therefore often declared themselves as 'I am the Bhagavat' in the scriptures. In Avatāras like the Matsya, there is a direct partial manifestation (*sākṣād aṃśatvam*). By the term Aṃśatva is meant that though these appearances partake directly of the divine selfhood (*sākṣād bhagavattā*), the selfhood is said to be manifested partially, because of the invariably partial manifestation in them of the divine Śaktis, in accordance with the invariable divine will in the particular case.[1] But as the part (Aṃśa) can never be the whole (Aṃśin), the Avatāra can never be the deity himself in his perfection. The so-called Vibhūti-Avatāras who consist of the great Ṛṣis, the Manus, the Devas, the sons of the Manus and Prajāpati, are included in the term Kalā, which also means a part, but which indicates the manifestation of a small amount of divine energy (*alpa-śakti*), as distinguished from the great energy (*mahā-śakti*) displayed in the Āveśa-Avatāras. The difference between the Āveśa- and Kalā-Avatāras is thus one of degree only, illustrated by the analogy of the iron which receives different degrees of the quality of fire by contact, but which in its real nature remains as the iron. These are really cases of Jīvas who are inspired specifically in various degrees by divine energy, but the Aṃśa-Avatāras like the Matsya are direct, if incomplete, manifestations of the divine self.

Having thus enumerated the various limbs or constituent parts (Aṅga) of the Paramātman, the *Bhāgavata* verses cited above conclude by a half-verse which, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, distinctly lays down the general character of the Avatāras, and emphatically distinguishes and determines Kṛṣṇa as the supreme Bhagavat himself. As the rest of the topic is concerned with the establishment of this important theme, it is necessary to quote the half-verse here and

1 *avyabhicāri-tādṛśa-tadicchā-vaśāt sarvadaika-deśatayābhivyakta-śaktyādikatvam.*

summarise Jīva Gosvāmin's explanation of the same in the light of the theological views of his school. The verse (i. 3. 28) concludes the list of Avatāras with the statement[1]:

ete cāṃśa-kalāḥ puṃsaḥ kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam

"These are the Aṃśas and Kalās of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself."

As this assertion stands at the end of the list of Avatāras, it implies, according to Jīva Gosvāmin, that the appearances mentioned in the list are the various Aṃśa- or Kalā-Avatāras of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa (in company with Balarāma), who is enumerated as the twentieth in the list, is the Bhagavat himself, who is not an Avatāra, but the Avatārin or the very source of the Avatāras themselves as the substratum of the Paramātman-Puruṣa. This position is elaborately maintained, partly by an explication of this and other texts of the *Bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures, and partly by reconciling those texts from Vaiṣṇava and non-Vaiṣṇava sources which are inconsistent or contradictory.

In accordance with the rule of interpretation that the predicate must not be uttered without a mention of the subject,[2] Kṛṣṇa who is already known as the twentieth in the list (i. 3. 23) is the Anuvādya or the already known subject, and the Bhagavat is the Vidheya or the predicate, mentioned here (i. 3. 28) for the first time with reference to Kṛṣṇa. It is clear, therefore, that 'being the Bhagavat' (Bhagavattā) is predicated of Kṛṣṇa and not 'being Kṛṣṇa' (Kṛṣṇatva) of the

1 The second half of the verse, namely, *indrāri-vyākulaṃ lokaṃ mṛḍayanti yuge yuge* ("in different Yugas they gladden the world harrassed by the enemies of Indra") is, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, not relevant to the discussion, as it refers to the Avatāras of the Puruṣa, previously mentioned, and not to Kṛṣṇa, mentioned in the first half of the verse. It is taken as syntactically connected with the first Pāda of the verse, being separated from the second Pāda by the particle *tu* (*tu-śabdena vākyasya bhedanāt*).

2 *anuvādyam anuktvaiva na vidheyam udīrayet.*

Bhagavat.[1] In other words, the phrase means that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat, and not that the Bhagavat manifested himself as Kṛṣṇa.[2] If the meaning proposed were not meant, then the phrase would have been *bhagavāṃs tu kṛṣṇaḥ svayam*, instead of *kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*. The word *svayam* also indicates that Kṛṣṇa is not a mere manifestation of the Bhagavat, and excludes the possibility of the Bhagavattā being falsely imposed (*adhyāsa*) upon Kṛṣṇa.

A doubt may arise from the fact that the name of Kṛṣṇa is included in the list itself along with those of other genuine Avatāras, and that such a mention among the Avatāras in verse 23 is seemingly in conflict with the present concluding statement in verse 28 that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the supreme god himself. But this is not a real inconsistency and can be reconciled by the application of the well-known Mīmāṃsā rule of interpretation that, of two statements or injunctions, that which is made first is to be considered weaker and therefore annulled by that which is made afterwards.[3] Or, the two apparently conflicting statements may be reconciled by regarding the second statement (namely, that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself) as a piece of Śruti or testimony by direct authoritative statement. As such, it is of greater force than the first statement in the Avatāra-list in verse 23, which is a mere Samākhyā or laudatory enumeration ; for the Mīmāṃsā rule (iii. 3. 14) lays down that of the several means of determining the real sense, Śruti (testimony), Liṅga (power of words to express their sense), Vākya (syntactical connexion of words in a sentence), Prakaraṇa (context), Sthāna (sequence of place) and Samākhyā (enumeration or related sense), each succeeding one has a weaker force than the preceding owing to the remoteness of meaning.[4] Of these recognised means of

1 *kṛṣṇasyaiva bhagavattva-lakṣaṇo dharmaḥ sādhyate, na tu bhagavataḥ kṛṣṇatvam.*

2 *kṛṣṇasyaiva mūlāvatāratvaṃ sidhyati, na tu prādurbhūtatvam.*

3 *paurvāparye pūrva-daurbalyaṃ prakṛtivat*, vi. 5. 58.

4 *śruti-liṅga-vākya-prakaraṇa sthāna-samākhyānāṃ samavāye pāradaurbalyam, artha-viprakarṣāt.*

interpretation, Śruti is defined by Jīva Gosvāmin as direct instruction which is not dependent on anything else,[1] implying that Sūta here deliberately makes the concluding statement as a piece of direct instruction, which lays down, irrespectively of any other preceding statement, that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself. That this Śruti or direct instruction is emphatic and unambiguous (*sāvadhāraṇā*) is indicated by the employment of the particle *tu*, which, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, is to be taken here in the sense of the emphatic *eva*. This affirmative and determining Śruti, therefore, makes it imperative that such other Śrutis as speak of Mahānārāyaṇa and other deities as the supreme Bhagavat are to be understood as implying that their Bhagavattā, unlike that of Kṛṣṇa, is not absolute but relative (*guṇībhūta*). Even if the particle *tu* be taken as meaning 'but' in the sense of an alternative, it serves to differentiate Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat from the Paramātman-Puruṣa, as well as from the partial manifestations of Paramātman-Puruṣa already enumerated.[2]

It is also pointed out that the conflicting verse 23 included in the Avatāra-list

rāma-kṛṣṇāviti bhuvau bhagavān aharad bharam

which states that "the Bhagavat, namely, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, removed the burden (by appearing) on the earth," also specifically employs the term *bhagavat* with reference to Kṛṣṇa (in company with Balarāma, who is thus also not an Avatāra). As the term is not so employed with reference to any other Avatāra in the whole list, Kṛṣṇa is to be taken not as a partial manifestation or an incarnate being, but as the supreme deity himself in his own person. There may be an objection that the act of removing the burden of the world is proper only to the Avatāras of the Puruṣa and should not

1 *sākṣād upadeśas tu śrutir iti paribhāṣyate; sākṣāttvaṃ cātra nirapekṣatvam ucyate.*

2 *tu-śabdo'ṃśa-kalābhyaḥ puṃsaś ca sākṣād bhagavato vailakṣaṇyam.*

have been mentioned in connection with Kṛṣṇa as the supreme deity. This anomaly is reconciled by the theory that when the Bhagavat in his perfection manifests himself, the Aṃśa-Avatāras also enter into him[1] and make their simultaneous appearance, for the parts always remain in the whole. The acts which are performed, not by the Bhagavat himself, but by these Aṃśa-Avatāras who remain absorbed in him, are merely imposed upon (*āropa*) the Bhagavat. The reason why the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the Avatāra-list is to indicate that even in his own essential character[2] he sometimes becomes visible, like an Avatāra, to the whole world[3] in order to cause the wonder of peculiar bliss to his own exclusive servants[4] by fostering a certain sweetness by his Līlā of birth etc.[5] The mention, therefore, is meant only to show Kṛṣṇa's infinite grace to the world, and not indeed to show that Kṛṣṇa is an Aṃśa-Avatāra. The word Avatāra applied at all to Kṛṣṇa must mean generally a descent of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa in his own character (Svarūpa) into phenomenal glory.[6]

By this method of argument based on the interpretation of the sacred scripture of the school, Jīva Gosvāmin attempts to establish that the *Bhāgavata* statement about Kṛṣṇa's absoluteness as the Bhagavat is a positive, unambiguous and emphatic Śruti which must prevail over all other statements. It is therefore a definitive assertion of the Paribhāṣā kind, which lays down an authoritative rule or proposition determining the sense of the whole work.[7] A Paribhāṣā is further described as that which is meant to bring certainty in the midst of uncertainty.[8] As such, it occurs only once,

1 *śrīkṛṣṇe avatarati tat-tad-aṃśāvatārāṇām api praveśaḥ.*
2 *svarūpastha eva.*
3 *kadācit sakala-loka-dṛśyaḥ.*
4 *parijana-viśeṣāṇām ānanda-viśeṣa-camatkārāya.*
5 *kam api mādhuryaṃ nija-janmādi-līlayā puṣṇan.*
6 *prākṛta-vaibhave'vataraṇam.*
7 *pratijñākāreṇa granthārtha-nirṇāyakatvāt.*
8 *aniyame niyama-kāriṇī.*

and not repeatedly, as specifically defining a thing ; but its singularity has the force of controlling and determining the sense of a plurality of other texts.[1] It is thus a Mahāvākya or a great proposition, like the phrase *tat tvam asi* ; and the proper Śāstric method would be to explain every other proposition, which appears inconsistent or contradictory, in the light of the significance of such a Mahāvākya.[2] It is also maintained that this Paribhāṣā statement not only controls all other *Bhāgavata* texts but also conflicting texts in other Purāṇas, which must be interpreted in such a way as not to appear inconsistent with it. The reason for this is that the *Bhāgavata*, as already demonstrated in the previous Saṃdarbhas, is the most authentic and infallible scripture, superseding the authority of every other Śāstra (*sarva-śāstropamardaka*), and this particular Śruti or Mahāvākya occurs in that work purposely to determine the highest spiritual truth (*paramārtha-vastu-paratva*) in a definite and indisputable manner. It is like the emphatic and indisputable command of a king to his followers, and it has been repeatedly utilised as such, for reconciling conflicts, by authoritative commentators like Śrīdhara-svāmin.

Jīva Gosvāmin thus admits that, notwithstanding this single authoritative statement, there are many texts in the *Bhāgavata* and elsewhere, in which Kṛṣṇa appears to be spoken of as a partial aspect or Aṃśa-Avatāra of the Bhagavat. These texts fall into two groups, namely, those occurring respectively in the *Bhāgavata* itself and those in other Purāṇas and Itihāsas. Jīva Gosvāmin contends that with reference to both these classes of texts, the Mahāvākya considered above prevails, and they must, therefore, all be interpreted accordingly. Some of these texts are discussed in detail by him ; for instance, *Bhāgavata* iv. 1. 58 (*harer aṃśau ihāgatau*) ; x. 1. 1 (*aṃśenāvatīrṇasya viṣṇoḥ*) ; x. 2. 13 (*jagan-maṅgalam*

1 *vākyānāṃ koṭir apyekenaivāmunā śāsanīyā.*

2 *viruddhāyamānānām etad-anuguṇārthatayaiva vaiduṣī.*

acyutāṃśam); x. 2. 35 (*diṣṭyāmba te kukṣi-gataḥ paraḥ pumān aṃśena*) ; x. 8. 19 (*nārāyaṇa-samo guṇaiḥ*) ; x. 20. 40 (*babhau bhūḥ.....kalābhyāṃ nitarāṃ hareḥ* ; x. 43. 20 (*avatīrṇā-vihāṃśena*), etc. In all these and such other verses, the presence of words like *aṃśa* or *kalā* appears to indicate a contrary idea of Kṛṣṇa as a partial aspect of Hari, Nārāyaṇa, etc ; but the texts are reconciled by the ingenious explanation that the terms *aṃśa* or *kalā* do not refer to Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat himself directly but to those partial aspects or incarnations who remain absorbed in him and manifest themselves to the phenomenal world simultaneously with the Lord's appearance, in accordance with the well known fact that parts can never exist without the whole. Commentatorial ingenuity is also shown sometimes by adopting particular ways of grammatical or syntactical analysis of words or phrases—a device which is not unknown in Indian philosophical literature in general. The interpretation, for instance, of the phrase *nārāyaṇa-samo guṇaiḥ*, employed with reference to Kṛṣṇa in one of the above passages (x. 8. 19), is made favourable to Kṛṣṇa's case by rejecting the sense "equal to Nārāyaṇa in his attributes" (*nārāyaṇasya samo guṇaiḥ*) obtained by Tatpuruṣa Samāsa, and by accepting, by means of the Bahuvrīhi Samāsa, the sense "to whom Nārāyaṇa bears a resemblance by his attributes" (*nārāyaṇaḥ samo yasya guṇaiḥ*).

There are also some passages in which Mahākāla or some such deity is represented as the supreme being ; but such a view is inconsistent with the general purport of the *Bhāgavata*, which is represented by the Mahāvākya cited above. Such passages, therefore, are as a matter of course rejected. The Purāṇas which give expression to such views belong to the Tāmasika class of Purāṇas, which are inferior in authority to the *Bhāgavata*, the greatest Sāttvika Purāṇa, and which cannot therefore establish the superiority of such deities as Mahākāla to Kṛṣṇa. It is next shown that even in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, which are Sāttvika, there are

passages or legends which appear conflicting ; for instance, the legend narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma sprang respectively out of a piece of black and white hair of Nārāyaṇa. Such a legend is not entirely rejected, but it is suitably explained. It is shown that a literal interpretation cannot be given to the legend, for it is absurd to suppose that a god who is not subject to old age could possess white hair. A symbolical meaning, therefore, is found of the legend. The word *keśa* (hair) is interpreted to mean lustre (*aṃśu*), and the white (*sita*) and black (*kṛṣṇa*) lustres serve figuratively to indicate the prowess of Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa as emanations of the supreme deity, while Nārāyaṇa, as a partial aspect of Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, shows these lustres at Kṛṣṇa's will to the gods.

What is said above will give a rough idea of the method of interpretation and argument followed by this great apologist of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. Partly by the direct testimony, and partly by a reconciliation, of various texts culled from the *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, *Hari-vaṃśa*, *Padma-purāṇa*, and *Bhāgavata*, as well as by an unceremonious rejection of texts which celebrate other sectarian deities like Śiva, he gradually builds up a series of favourable texts round the central Mahāvākya, which is elaborately shown to declare emphatically the supreme godhead of Kṛṣṇa. We are told that we must not make light of such a method, for in the *Vedānta-sūtra* Vyāsa employs a similar method for reconciling conflicting texts with one particular Mahāvākya. In such cases what is to be considered is not the number, whether large or small, of texts on the subject, but their comparative strength or weakness ; for it is seen in the world that a thousand men can be vanquished by a single person.[1]

Jīva Gosvāmin next seeks, with a similar method, to establish the Bhagavattā of Kṛṣṇa by showing that Kṛṣṇa is

1 *vākyānāṃ durbala-balitvam eva vicāraṇīyam, na tu bahvalpata ; dṛśyate ca loke ekenāpi yuddhe sahasra-parājaya iti.*

to be regarded as the source not only of the Puruṣa-Avatāra and of the Līlā-Avatāras who proceed from the Puruṣa, but also of the Guṇa-Avatāras, namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. He is thus superior to the recognised Trinity of the Purāṇic mythology and religion. No doubt, these Avatāras, being aspects of Kṛṣṇa's manifestation, are each of them perfect (*pūrṇa*), but Kṛṣṇa is the most perfect (*pūrṇatama*). In Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat, there is the fullest display of all the divine Śaktis, but what is prominent is the highest expression of the Hlādinī Śakti or the energy of bliss, which absorbs and supersedes all other aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti. As such, therefore, Kṛṣṇa, as the highest embodiment of divine Ānanda or Mādhurya, is superior to such lower expressions of the deity as Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva in whom only the aspect of divine might (Aiśvarya) is displayed. Jīva Gosvāmin also discusses in detail the authoritative opinions on this subject of the great interlocutors of the *Bhāgavata*, namely, Vidura and Maitreya (iv. 17. 6-7), Parīkṣit and Śūka (i. 19 ; ii. 1, etc.), Vyāsa and Nārada (i. 5 ; i. 6. 2, etc.), Brahmā and Kṛṣṇa (ii. 7), Śaunaka and Sūta (i. 1f). These great teachers and their listeners in the *Bhāgavata* (Mahā-vaktṛ-śrotṛ) agree in regarding Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat. Kṛṣṇa is the theme generally of the entire *Bhāgavata*, consisting of eighteen thousand verses, but the subject is especially dealt with in Skandhas i, x and xi ; and in the dialogues of Brahmā and Nārada, of Vidura and Uddhava, and of Nārada and Yudhiṣṭhira in Skandhas ii, iii and vii respectively, as well as in isolated passages like iv. 1. 58 ; iv. 17. 6 ; v. 6. 18 ; vi. 8. 20 ; end of ix ; xii. 11. 26, and in the Anukramaṇikā section (xii. 12) of the work. In this way Jīva Gosvāmin takes upon himself the task of marshalling a formidable army of Bhāgavata passages in support of the Mahāvākya, which he designates as the king of all utterances,[1] and attempts to show that Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat is not only the principal theme

1 *vacana-rājasya senā-saṃgrahaḥ.*

of the work in more than half the number of verses comprised in it, but this theme being exclusive to it, it receives the name of the *Bhāgavata*. This claim is recognised also in the other Purāṇas ; for instance, the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* speaks of Kṛṣṇa's name figuratively as the moon churned from the nectar-sea of Śuka's speech (*śuka-vāg-amṛtābdhīndu*). Passages which, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, are typically representative of the view expressed in the Mahāvākya, are also discussed and explained in detail, e.g. ix. 24. 55 ; x. 14. 30 ; x. 3. 7 ; x. 20. 36 ; i.2. 79 ; etc. It is repeatedly laid down that the *Bhāgavata*, as already demonstrated in the first Saṃdarbha, is the paramount Śāstra of all Śāstras (*sarva-śāstra-cakravartitva*) ; and there are passages in the work itself (e.g. x. 57. 20) which indicate that it supersedes other Śāstras (*apara-śāstropamardaka*). In the work itself we have also the statement that it was composed by Vyāsa after obtaining the beatific vision. All these facts make the *Bhāgavata* the most trustworthy guide in matters of worship, so that if other gods are extolled in other scriptures, the ultimate supremacy of Kṛṣṇa, who is declared and praised in the *Bhāgavata*, is beyond doubt. Once this position is accepted, it is easy to explain that such deities as Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva, who are celebrated in the *Padma-purāṇa*, *Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad* and *Vāsudeva-Upaniṣad*, are merely henotheistically conceived as the supreme god, but they are really various aspects of Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat. Texts other than those from the *Bhāgavata* are also cited to prove the supreme godhead of Kṛṣṇa ; for instance from the *Mahābhārata*, including the *Gītā* (xv. 15 ; xiv. 27), *Gopāla-tāpanī*, *Padma-purāṇa*, *Brahma-saṃhitā* and from the list of one hundred and eight names of Kṛṣṇa given in the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, etc.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin discusses the main purport of the *Gītā* which, in his opinion, supports the inculcation of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, and not of Vāsudeva, as the highest god. From the evidence of this, as well as of other sacred texts, he proceeds to demonstrate that the

supreme god can have no other essential form than the form of man (*narākṛti*), which is exhibited by the two-handed Kṛṣṇa, and not by the four-handed Vāsudeva, who represents only an Aiśvarya form of Kṛṣṇa himself. Some are of opinion, however, that the theophanic omnipresent form (*viśvarūpa*), which is described in the eleventh chapter of the *Gītā*, is the real form of the supreme god, but our author considers this to be incorrect. The Viśvarūpa, he thinks, is subordinate to the Kṛṣṇa-rūpa, for it is Kṛṣṇa who at his will reveals the Viśvarūpa ; and we are told that after showing the terrible omnipresent form he shows again his own form to Arjuna.[1] This clearly indicates that his own real form (*svakaṃ rūpam*) is not the Viśvarūpa,[2] but the human form (Narākṛti, even with four hands) which is directly shown thereafter as his own[3]. It is childish babbling which contends that the glory of the Viśvarūpa is declared by the indication that to perceive it Arjuna was specially endowed with divine vision.[4] On the contrary, Jīva Gosvāmiṇ maintains that Arjuna perceived the manlike form (Narākṛti) of Kṛṣṇa that is not perceptible to mortal vision, but perceptible only to the particular vision which comes from the inherent Śakti of the Bhagavat.[5] This view is established by several texts cited from the *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma-purāṇa* ; and it is shown that it is difficult even for the so-called divine vision (*divya-dṛṣṭi*) to percieve the essential Kṛṣṇa form of the deity which is not easily visible even to the gods.[6] It was vouchsafed to Arjuna for daily sight because he had the Lord's special grace as his intimate Associate or Parikara ; but Arjuna had to be

1 *svakaṃ rūpaṃ darśayāmāsa bhūyaḥ.*

2 *viśvarūpaṃ na tasya sākṣāt svarūpaṃ iti spaṣṭam.*

3 *narākāra-caturbhujasyaiva svakatva-nirdeśat.*

4 *tad-darśanārtham arjunaṃ prati divya-dṛṣṭi-dāna-liṅgena tasyaiva māhātmyam iti tu bāla-kolāhalaḥ.*

5 *prākṛta-dṛṣṭer apyakaraṇatvād bhagavac-chakti-viśeṣa-saṃvalita-dṛṣṭer eva tatra karaṇatvāt.*

6 *tac ca narākṛti para-brahma divya-dṛṣṭibhir durdarśam.*

endowed with divine vision in order to see his other Viśvarūpa, which was assumed for the particular theophanic exhibition. That this human form is the intrinsic form of the deity is also proved by the description of Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of a Gopa (cowherd) in the *Gopāla-tāpanī* and other scriptures ; and the first great preliminary verse (mahopakrama ; i. 1. 1 *janmādyasya*) of the *Bhāgavata*, as well as its last all-concluding verse (sarvopasaṃhāra ; xii. 13. 14 *kasmai yena*), also bears out the position that Kṛṣṇa is the highest being, having a form similar to that of man.

In this connexion, Jīva Gosvāmin attempts to set at rest doubts arising from certain vaguely understood texts, with regard to the essential form of Kṛṣṇa, which in these texts is so diversely described as to raise the presumption of its being an impermanent phenomenal form. These texts, in his opinion should be interpreted in such a way (*anyathaiva dṛśyam*) as to rebut this unworthy presumption. In its essence the Vigraha of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa consists of the three attributes of Sat, Cit and Ānanda, but some of these texts describe the appearance of the Vigraha diversely as having two or four (sometimes even six or eight) hands. All these appearances, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, are real, but since the *Bhāgavata* and other scriptures describe the divine form as similar to that of man (*manuṣya-liṅga*), this similarity is best displayed in the two-handed form alone.[1] This is, of course, in reply to those who hold that the Absolute is unconditioned and therefore formless and attributeless, but that in its appearance to the seeker it sometimes conditions itself and assumes form, which is thus not real and eternal. The reality and eternity of the two-handed Kṛṣṇa-form, similar to that of man, is sought to be established by considering, in the first place, whether great and reliable worshippers have had actual visions of it as the essential divine form, and secondly, whether such a form is known to

1 *dvi-bhujatva eva śrī-kṛṣṇatvaṃ narākṛti-kaivalyān mukhyam.*

exist really and eternally in any of the divine Dhāmans or residences of the Lord. Jīva Gosvāmin contends that the sacred and revealed texts furnish enough testimony of great sages and devotees who had a direct beatific vision of the two-handed form as the only real form. It is on the basis of this recorded intuition of the sages (*vidvad-anubhava-śabda-siddha*) that this essential character of the Bhagavad-Vigraha has already been established and illustrated in the second Saṃdarbha. The scriptures also reveal that the Kṛṣṇa-Vigraha in the form and dress of a Gopa existed eternally, even before its manifestation to the phenomenal world in the Dvāpara Age, and sported in this form in Vṛndāvana. In the *Gopāla-tāpanī*, both the two-handed and the four-handed forms are mentioned as objects of devotional meditation, although in the Āgamas the two-handed form alone is spoken of; but everywhere the similarity to the human form is made clear. It is admitted that Kṛṣṇa in his finite power is known to have displayed other forms (for instance, the Viśvarūpa shown to Arjuna or to Yaśodā), which theophanic forms included the entire universe with its creatures, endless Nārāyaṇas, endless Vaikuṇṭhas, Dhāmans and Parikaras. But Kṛṣṇa is known to have resumed his essential form immediately after these theophanies; and it is noteworthy that even in the four-handed form seen by Arjuna the similarity to the human form (*manuṣya-rūpatva*) is emphasised in the *Gītā* verse *dṛṣṭvedaṃ mānuṣaṃ rūpam*. If the Śrutis sometimes describe the divine form as being without hand or feet (*apāṇi-pāda*), or as having a thousand hands and feet, they only mean, as Jīva Gosvāmin has already pointed out, to indicate that his form with its hands and feet is similar indeed to that of a human being, but that it is not the same, because it is non-phenomenal (*aprākṛta*). It is clear that all these elaborate arguments are meant to establish that the philosophical absolute, conceived as a religious concrete, is a personal god who has to be meditated upon and worshipped. For that reason and to that extent, a form must

be assigned to him ; he can indeed be worshipped in various forms, but the best form is that which bears similarity to that of man. But there was perhaps a much narrower sectarian reason for distinguishing and establishing the two-handed Kṛṣṇa-form as the most essential form of the divinity. The attempt was meant to show that although Kṛṣṇa as Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa, manifested in the four-handed form, is worshipped by some sects, Kṛṣṇa, as the two-handed son of Nanda, who is the object of meditation and worship of the Bengal sect, represents the deity in his real and eternal form.

On the colour of the deity there is some vagueness. The complexion is usually described as dark-blue like that of the rain-cloud ; but the word *śyāma* (dark) has not been interpreted uniformly. Some take it to mean dark-blue, but others, including our author, think it to be the colour of the Atasī flower (common flax), which is described as a mixture of white, yellow and green. Such uncertainty in the description of the divine complexion, in terms of the sensuous colours of the universe, is of course explained as inevitable, for in a matter like this exactitude is impossible. Other prominent characteristics of Kṛṣṇa, well known from Purāṇic description, are his eternal youth, of which the essential form is adolescence (Kaiśora), and the possession of a Veṇu, Vaṃśī or Muralī. Of this last characteristic various symbolical interpretations are given, such as the sweet and transcendental power of musical attraction of the Śaktis to the deity. This power of attraction is found by the *Gautamīya Tantra* in the derivative sense of the name of Kṛṣṇa itself, of which the etymology is given from the root *kṛṣ* 'to draw.' The Kṛṣṇa-form is said to possess infinite beauty and sweetness ; and the sacred texts delight to describe, in language bordering on sense-devotion and eroticism, the unspeakable loveliness of his personal appearance. The eyes of the god resemble the full-blown lotus-leaves, his cloth is yellow like lightning, garlands of flowers decorate his breast and various ornaments increase the natural beauty of his person. All these

details of his dress, decoration, ornament and appearance are to be gathered from the accounts given in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra ; but the real form and dress of the deity, as already noted, resemble that of a Gopa or cowherd, although of course the word Gopa receives at the same time the symbolical sense of a protector or sustainer.

From the establishment of the proposition that Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat is the Mahā-Vāsudeva, it follows that Balarāma is Mahā-Saṃkarṣaṇa, the second of the four Vyūha-emanations of the supreme deity. Hence, it is not correct to say that Balarāma is only an Āveśa-Avatāra, or, as some maintain, an Avatāra of Śeṣa. On the contrary, Śeṣa himself is an Avatāra or Aṃśa, being a Pārṣada (Associate) of Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa, who is thus different (*anyatva*) and far superior to Śeṣa in divine energy (*śaktyatiśayatva*). As Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are mentioned as dual deities (*yugalatayā*), their equality of appearance (*sama-prakāśatva*) is undoubted. Jīva Gosvāmin cites several texts to show that in Balarāma the divine characteristics of the Bhagavat are all to be found ;[1] but such is not the case with Āveśa-Avatāras like Pṛthu. This means that Balarāma is Saṃkarṣaṇa himself and not an Avatāra of Saṃkarṣaṇa, and is thus one of the direct primary forms or emanations of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa. It is for this reason that the sacred texts describe him as Svarāj, or existing independently by himself as a form of the supreme divinity.

In this way the other two older Vyūha-forms, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who are also mythologically Kṛṣṇa's son and grandson, are shown to be aspects or emanations of the supreme god Kṛṣṇa. It is not necessary to enter into the details of this dogma which has only a theological interest ; it would be enough to indicate that, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, the Purāṇic legend, which speaks of Pradyumna as an incarnation of Kāma slain by Śiva's wrath, represents a one-sided and therefore misleading view (*ekadeśa-prastāva-*

1 *bhagaval-lakṣaṇāni tatra śrūyate.*

mātra); for Śrutis like the *Gopāla-tāpanī* distinctly state that Pradyumna is included eternally in one of the four Vyūhas of Kṛṣṇa. As an ordinary Prākṛta deity Kāma cannot be so included. The real explanation is that Kāma, who was burnt to ashes by Śiva's wrath and became eternally bodiless thereby, had no capacity of regaining his own body ; it was then that Pradyumna as an Aṃśa of Vāsudeva, entered into Kāma and brought him back to life. Or, one may explain by saying that the real Kāma, as an Aṃśa of Vāsudeva, could not and was never burnt by Śiva's anger ; what was burnt was the Prākṛta Kāma. By a similar method of interpretation, Aniruddha is established as the direct fourth Vyūha of Kṛṣṇa. The explanations are indeed ingenious, but the very fact that Jīva Gosvāmin often supplies two or more alternative explanations or offers choice of meanings shows that his interpretations are mere conjectural efforts at reconciliation of conflicts ; they attempt exegetical ingenuities but entirely ignore the historical significance of most of these older theological conceptions.

Having established in his own way the direct divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the highest Bhagavat, it is indeed superfluous to show that all the attributes of reality and eternity (*nityatva*), power (*vibhūti*) etc., pertaining to the Bhagavat, become established in Kṛṣṇa as a matter of course. But for further strengthening his own position and for removing erroneous views of the ignorant, Jīva Gosvāmin briefly deals with this topic, and shows from the evidence of the sacred texts that all the highest divine attributes of the Bhagavat have been predicated of Kṛṣṇa.

If there were any doubt regarding Kṛṣṇa's reality and eternity (*nitya-sthiti*) as the highest god, then the Śāstras, which are worthy of the greatest confidence (*parāpta*), would not have given instructions regarding his worship[1] and deliberately displayed the intention of deceiving (*vipralipsā*). The

1 *tatra tāvad ārādhanā-vākyenaiva sā sidhyati.*

Advaita-vādins, however, deny that there is an absolute reality called Kṛṣṇa ; they say that this name and form have been imposed upon the unconditioned Brahman for the convenience of the dualistic ideas of worshippers. This, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, is not correct ; because imposition (*āropa*) can be imagined only on a thing which is conditioned in form and attribute, but not no a substance which is infinite in form and attribute.[1] Jīva Gosvāmin repeats that the Nityatva of Kṛṣṇa is established by Mahad-anubhava or intuition of great sages, who are known to have received the direct vision of the deity and its desired effects.[2] This is admitted even by Śrīdhara-svāmin ; for, otherwise, how could Kṛṣṇa be an auspicious and desirable object of meditation (Dhyāna) and thought (Dhāraṇā)? This Sākṣātkāra or beatific vision is not merely with references to the images or symbols of the deities ; for movements and appearances of the deity have been directly described in the sacred texts.[3] It is because of this reality of the deity himself that it is possible for devotees to have such a vision in symbols like the Śālagrāma stone. That devotees have realised Kṛṣṇa as such (*śuddha-nirdeśa*) is indicated by the well known Mantra of eighteen syllables (*aṣṭādaśākṣarī*) which prescribes Kṛṣṇa, along with his Parikaras, as the object of worship. Even the *Baudhāyana Dharma-śāstra* has a similar indication, and the *Gopāla-tāpanī* Śruti clearly declares the view. But enough of collecting a mass of evidence to prove what, in the opinion of our author and his school, admits of little doubt. Jīva Gosvāmin, therefore, concludes by stating pointedly that those who dare think otherwise of Kṛṣṇa, who is the Bhagavat himself, are people who are deluded by the effect of eternal sin (*anādi-pāpa-vikṣepa*), and such people are evil-minded and perverse (*durbuddhi*) !

1 *āropaś ca paricchinna-guṇa-rūpa eva vastuni kalpyate, nānanta-guṇa-rūpe.*

2 *dṛśyate ca upāsakānāṃ sākṣātkāras tat-phala-prāptiś ca.*

3 *gati-vilāsāder varṇitatvāt.*

For this reason Jīva Gosvāmin does not think it necessary to dilate upon the topic, but only briefly illustrates with reference to Kṛṣṇa such Bhagavat elements of Vibhutva or Lordship, as Prākṛta-vāstvātiriktatva (the state of surpassing phenomenal objects), Sva-prakāśatva (self-luminosity), Svayaṃ-rūpatva (identity of form and essence), etc. But the question of Kṛṣṇa's Dhāman (abode) and Parikara (retinue) engages greater attention and occupies him in the rest of the Saṃdarbha. The Dhāman of the Bhagavat as an expression of his divine selfhood or power (Svarūpa-prakāśa or Svarūpa-vibhūti) has already been explained in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* ; an attempt is now made to show that this is also the Dhāman of Kṛṣṇa. The details of the cosmography are somewhat fanciful and confusing, but they follow generally the Purāṇic account. It is not necessary to go into them, but it appears that the Dhāman of Kṛṣṇa, as that of the highest god, is located as the highest, existing independently (*svatantratayā*) above and beyond the Dhāmans of all other major or minor deities (*sarvopari sthāyitvam*). The universe (Brahmāṇḍa) is described as consisting of fourteen worlds (Bhuvanas), namely, seven Lokas (Pṛthivī, Antarikṣa, Svarga, Mahar, Jana, Tapas and Satya) and seven Pātālas (Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Talātala, Mahātala and Pātāla). Outside these there are eight sheaths or Āvaraṇas of Prakṛti, beyond which there is the enveloping ocean called Kāraṇa-samudra or Virajā. Above this is situated the Siddha-loka, which is the abode of the Nirviśeṣa Brahman. Above this Loka lies the Para-vyoman, of which the presiding deity is Nārāyaṇa, who is a sportive appearance (Vilāsa-mūrti) of Kṛṣṇa. In this Para-vyoman the infinite Avatāras of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa reside with their respective retinue, and each has a separate Vaikuṇṭha, so that the Para-vyoman is the aggregate of the infinite Dhāmans of the different partial manifestations of the Bhagavat. The three creative emanations or Vyūhas of the Paramātman-Puruṣa, namely, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, lie eternally on three oceans respectively, namely, Kāraṇodaka,

Guṇodaka and Kṣīrodaka. But set beyond all these inferior Dhāmans, lies the Goloka or Mahā-Vaikuṇṭha, which is the exclusive abode of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, as well as of his Parikaras, who are his own people (*sva-jana*) and possess intrinsic affinity with him (*sajātīya*). But like the deity himself, the Dhāman has also the power of pervading both the phenomenal and non-phenomenal objects,[1] and appearing in diverse forms. When the Bhagavat in his Svarūpa makes his appearance in the phenomenal world, his Dhāman, along with his Parikaras, makes its simultaneous appearance ; but like the Bhagavat, again, it never loses its non-phenomenal character ; his Dhāman and his Parikaras are, like himself, beyond Prakṛti and really constitute peculiar expressions of his own intrinsic energy (*bhagavat-prakāśa eva*). By the Bhagavat's inscrutable power (*acintya-prabhāva*), therefore, his highest Paradise, which is situated beyond all the Lokas, also exists on the phenomenal earth. The terrestrial Goloka or Vṛndāvana is thus not essentially different but really identical with the celestial Goloka or Vṛndāvana, and the Lord Kṛṣṇa exists eternally in both places with the same retinue. Just as the Vigraha of the Bhagavat is conceived after the image of man, so this school conceives the celestial residence of the deity on the model of the legendary terrestrial abode of Kṛṣṇa. Jīva Gosvāmin seeks to establish this dogma on the testimony of the Purāṇas, which give an account of the Dhāman of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa. In the descriptions given in the *Padma-purāṇa* or the *Brahma-saṃhitā*, for instance, we find that the unearthly Kṛṣṇa-loka is described as a sublimated replica of the earthly haunt of Kṛṣṇa, with its river Yamunā, its Gopa-Gopīs, its trees, plants and animals. But the term 'terrestrial' must not be taken to imply that the earthly residence is phenomenal ; it is as much non-phenomenal as the celestial abode, only it makes its appearance in the phenomenal world. It is maintained, therefore, that the Gokula or Vṛndāvana,

1 *sa golokaḥ sarva-gataḥ śrīkṛṣṇavat sarva-prāpañcikāprāpañcika-vastu-vyāpakaḥ.*

which exists on earth as the residence of Kṛṣṇa in a non-phenomenal form, also exists simultaneously as the Goloka above every other Loka ;[1] the only difference is that in the earthly Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇa stays both in his Manifest (Prakaṭa) and Non-manifest (Aprakaṭa) Līlās, but in the unearthly Goloka he stays in his Non-manifest Līlā. Even the word 'Goloka' is interpreted as equivalent to the word 'Gokula, as the abode of cows and cowherds (*go-gopa-vāsa-rūpam* or *gopānāṃ svaṃ lokam*) ; and as Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of a Gopa is the most essential form of the divinity, his Parikaras, as his Sajātīyas, are also Gopas in both the places. If one objects that there cannot be such simultaneous appearance of Dhāmans in two different places, it is replied that the two Dhāmans possess the character of the Vigraha of the Bhagavat which is capable of making such appearances.[2] This is confirmed by the fact that in the scriptures the two Dhāmans are described as possessing the same names, forms and attributes.[3] As his Dhāman is an expression of the deity's most intrinsic and highest attribute of bliss (Hlādinī Śakti), it is described as the place where there is only an excess of intrinsic divine bliss (*svarūpānanda-sukhotkarṣa*). It is also noted that just as in the Manifest (Prakaṭa) Līlā, the deity can at his will limit himself to the finite and the phenomenal, even though retaining his infinite and transcendental attributes, so his Loka simultaneously retains its earthly and divine character. If one objects to such a simultaneity, it is replied that the power of the Lord is beyond thought. In other words, there is a mystical interlapping of the infinite and the finite, of the phenomenal and the transcendental. This is said to be illustrated by the legend (*Bhāgavata* x. 13) of Brahmā's mistake in stealing the divine cows of Vṛndāvana from the charge of the divine cowherd.

1 *ata eva vṛndāvanaṃ gokulam eva sarvopari virājamānaṃ gokulatvena prasiddham.*

2 *śrī-vigrahavad ubhayoḥ prakāśāvirodhāt.*

3 *samāna-guṇa-nāma-rūpatvenāmnātatvāt.*

Having established the essential identity of Goloka and Gokula (=Vṛndāvana) and the excellence of Kṛṣṇa's Paradise as an expression of his highest divine Energy, Jīva Gosvāmin adduces scriptural evidence to show that the Kṛṣṇa-loka consists of three partial appearances in three places, called respectively Dvārakā, Mathurā and Gokula, according to the difference of his Līlā and his Parikaras.[1] In other words, the same Dhāman appears in three aspects, each of which has a speciality according to the difference in the manifestation of the deity (*prakāśa-bheda*) and his retinue (*parikara-bheda*); that is, according to the difference of the particular Līlā which takes place in each. On the earth also these Lokas are reputed to have their replicas which possess identical names and forms.[2] These earthly replicas are not mere geographical localities but, as already noted, they are non-phenomenal (*prapañcātīta*), eternal (*nitya*), supernatural (*alaukika*) and eternally occupied by the Bhagavat (*bhagavan-nityāspada*). These places are also not mere sacred places of worship or pilgrimage (*upāsanā-sthānāni*) where the deity remains in a subtle form (*sūkṣma-rūpatā*), or in the form of an image (*śrīmat-pratimā-rūpatā*), but they are expressly declared to be the actual (*sākṣāt*) places of personal residence of the deity (*tatra vāsasyaiva kaṇṭhoktiḥ*). It is already made clear that these two sets of Lokas are in their essence identical, but one set is said to be a replica (*prakāśa-viśeṣa*) of the other because of a certain difference in their respective manifestation.[3] That these Lokas, whether on earth or beyond the earth, possess the same characteristics is testified to by the fact that even today great devotees of the Bhagavat have actually seen the divine Kadamba, Aśoka and other trees and

1 *sa eva lokas tal-līlā-parikara-bhedenāṃśa-bhedād dvārakā-mathurā-gokulākhya-sthāna-trayatāmaka iti nirṇītam.*

2 *anyatra bhuvi prasiddhānyeva tat-tad-ākhyāni sthānāni tad-rūpatvena śrūyante.*

3 *prakāśa-bhedenaiva tūbhayavidhatvenāmnātāni.*

objects.[1] The proof here, as elsewhere, is the Vidvad-anubhava which is laid down as the best of all proofs.[2] As to the Prakāśas or appearances of the Lokas referred to above, three kinds of Prakāśas are distinguished, namely, (1) Aprakaṭa or Unmanifest in which by a peculiar power of remaining invisible (*antardhāna-śaktyā*) the particular Loka remains on the earth without actually touching it ;[3] that is, the earth, in this case, remains untouched by the Loka or the deity, even though they remain on it: (2) Prāpañcika or Phenomenal, in which the particular Loka becomes visible to phenomenal beings (*prāpañcika-loka-gocaraḥ*) and descends graciously to the earth by actually touching it (*kṛpayā pṛthivīṃ spṛśan evāvatīrṇaḥ*) ; and (3) Prakaṭa or Manifest, which occurs when in the Prāpañcika Prakāśa the Bhagavat himself descends along with his Parikaras. As he touches the particular Loka by his descent, he thereby touches the earth. It is only in the Prakaṭa Līlā, therefore, that can be a Prakaṭa Prakāśa of the Loka ; in this case alone the Bhagavat may be said to touch the earth actually and become an object of phenomenal appearance along with his Parikaras.

About the Parikaras or Retinue of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa in these eternal Dhāmans, it is laid down that in Dvārakā and Mathurā they consist of the Yādavas, and in Vṛndāvana or Gokula they consist of the Gopa-Gopīs. Like the Dhāmans and like the Bhagavat himself, they are also real and eternal (*nitya*) and possess a common or similar character (*sādhāraṇya* or *tat-sāmānya*). The resemblance to the deity consists not only in intrinsic divine qualities but also in temperament (Prakṛti), dress (Veśa) and diversion (Līlā). Since they grow out of the Bhagavat and form integral parts,

1 *viśeṣatas tādṛg-alaukika-rūpatva-bhagavan-nitya-dhāmatve tu divya - kadambāśoka - vṛksādayo'pyadyāpi mahā - bhāgavataiḥ-sākṣāt-kriyanta iti prasiddhāvagateḥ.*

2 *sarva - pramāṇa - cūḍāmaṇi'- bhūto vidvad - anubhava evātra pramāṇam.*

3 *pṛthivīsthe'pi tām aspṛśan eva virājate.*

their inherent as well as external character is not imposed upon them like the quality of greyness imposed upon the sky. It may be asked that if they are eternal and inseparable Attendants or Servants of the Bhagavat himself, how is it that we have descriptions of the Yādavas being wounded in the battle-field, or of the Gopas having lost consciousness from the effects of poison of the Kālīya lake? The reply is that these are instances of activities suitable to human appearance, displayed in the same way as are done by the Bhagavat himself.[1] Sometimes there is also an actual mixing up of the phenomenal world in the Prakaṭa Līlā,[2] and some of the occurrences described are therefore actual (for instance, the slaying of Śatadhanvan). The account of the destruction of the Yādavas up to the end of Arjuna's confusion and defeat in *Bhāgavata* xi must be taken as describing not real but illusory (*māyika*) occurrences ; the Yādavas were not actually destroyed, nor was Arjuna actually defeated, but the occurrences were arranged as an illusion by the Bhagavat, who is ever benevolent to Brāhmaṇ, to demonstrate that the curse of a Brāhmaṇ can never remain unfulfilled.[3] A similar instance is cited from the *Bṛhad-Agnipurāṇa* in which it is related that the Sītā who was stolen by Rāvaṇa was not the true Sītā, who was concealed by Agni in his own Dhāman, bnt only an illusory Sītā created by Agni whom Sītā worshipped. The destruction of a Parikara of the Bhagavat, like that of the Bhagavat himself, is absurd ; hence it is reasonable to hold that the Yādavas were never actually destroyed, but that they simply disappeared to their Loka.[4] The Parikaras of the Bhagavat are true Vaiṣṇavas ; and of true Vaiṣṇavas it is said that there is no fetter of Karman nor

1 *tad bhagavata iva nara-līlaupāyikatayā prapañcitam iti mantavyam.*

2 *kvacit prakaṭa-līlāyāḥ prāpañcika-miśratvād yathārtham eva tadādikam.*

3 *brahma-śāpānivartyākhyāpanāyaiva.*

4 *tasmāt teṣvanyathā-darśanaṃ na tāttvika-līlānugatam, sa-śarīraṃ tu teṣāṃ sva-loka-gamanam atīva yuktam.*

of birth ;[1] their action and birth, therefore, like those of the Bhagavat himself, are brought about entirely by the divine will.[2]

In the same way Jīva Gosvāmin seeks to establish that the Gopa-Gopīs are also eternal Parikaras of the Bhagavat and possess non-phenomenal form, dress and diversion. If the Gopīs are sometimes described as giving up their perishable body made up of the three Guṇas (*guṇamaya-deha*), or if the relation between them and Kṛṣṇa is depicted in terms of the relation between a lover and his mistresses (*jāra-buddhi*), such texts are to be interpreted otherwise. In this connexion, *Bhāgavata* xix. 29. 10 is discussed,[3] and an ingenious spiritual explanation is given of the verse. The phrase, *jāra-buddhi* is interpreted to imply that the Gopīs merely *thought* of Kṛṣṇa as a lover, but they never actually *attained* him as such, for such a relation did not exist.[4] The phrase is meant not for an actual fact, but only to suggest the nature of their intense feeling of worship,[5] which was like that of a mistress for her lover,[6] for such a feeling is unimpeded and completely free. Again, as the Gopīs thought of Kṛṣṇa as the beloved (*kāntatayā*), there can be no question of their giving up their phenomenal body (*guṇamaya deha*), which cessation happens only on the attainment of Brahman. The phrase *jahur guṇamayaṃ deham* must, therefore, be taken in a different sense. It refers to the night of the Rāsa when the Gopīs went to sport with Kṛṣṇa, although each Gopa thought, through the Lord's Māyā, that his wife was staying by his side. The

1 *na karma-bandhanaṃ janma vaiṣṇavānāṃ ca vidyate.*

2 *tādṛśānāṃ bhagavata iva bhagavad-icchayaiva janmādi-kāraṇam.*

3 *tam eva paramātmānaṃ jāra-buddhyāpi saṃgatāḥ/*
jahur guṇamayaṃ dehaṃ sadyaḥ prakṣīṇa-bandhanāḥ//

4 *jāra iti yā buddhis tayāpi tan-mātreṇāpi saṃgatāḥ, na tu sākṣād eva jāra-rūpeṇa prāptāḥ.*

5 *bhajanasya prābalayaṃ vyañjitam.*

6 *tad-bhāva-puraskāreṇa.*

7 *tathāvidha-bhāvasyāti-nirargalatvaṃ darśitam.*

phrase *guṇamaya deha* refers to this illusory form (*māyika deha*) which the Lord created and into which the Gopīs entered.[1] The phrase *sadyaḥ prakṣīṇa bandhanāḥ* refers only to the overcoming of such obstacles, as living with relatives, in the way of their union with Kṛṣṇa.[2] An alternative explanation is also given that the description applies to that class of Gopīs who are known as Sādhakacarī (that is, who became Gopīs beloved of the Lord through their force of worship or Sādhana),[3] and not to the Gopīs like Rādhā, who are Nitya-siddhā or eternally beloved of Kṛṣṇa. The forms of the former are not eternal (*asiddha dehāḥ*) ; they left their phenomenal body for the non-phenomenal, and passed from the Manifest (Prakaṭa) to the Unmanifest (Aprakaṭa) Līlā.

If Vṛndāvana is Kṛṣṇa's eternal residence and if the Gopa-Gopīs are his eternal Parikaras, then how is it that the phases of Kṛṣṇa's birth, childhood, adolescence etc. are described in the Līlā at Vṛndāvana, just like those of phenomenal beings? The reply to this has already been given in connexion with the question of the birth etc. of the Bhagavat; but the *raison d'être* of such a display of Līlā as has a mundane form is given here to be the fact that it causes great bliss to his devotees.[4] The acts like birth and childhood in the Līlā are said to be intrinsic to the divine self,[5] and are therefore non-phenomenal, even if they resemble phenomenal acts.[6] Hence, Kṛṣṇa appeared to be born like a phenomenal being but was not actually born in that manner ; for Kṛṣṇa

1 *tat-kālika-kalpito yo guṇamayo dehas tatra praveśaḥ.*

2 *kṛṣṇa-prāpti-virodhi-guru-jana-madhya-vāsādi-rūpam.*

3 This theory is based upon the description given in the *Padma-purāṇa* that certain Ṛṣis, as well as the Upaniṣads, became desirous of enjoying the wonderful sport of Kṛṣṇa, and by their merit became Gopīs of Vṛndāvana for that purpose!

4 *etādṛśa-laukika-līlayaiva hi prapanna-jana-vṛndasya paramānando bhavati.*

5 *bhagavad-vigrahe śiśutvādayo vicitrā eva dharmāḥ svābhāvikāḥ santi.*

6 *prapañcavad bhāti, na tu prapañca-rūpam.*

is reputed eternally to be the son of Nanda and Yaśodā without actually entering into the womb of Yaśodā, or even of Devakī.[1] The theory is thus not one of immaculate conception, but of immaculate birth, which is eternally incident to the divine self in his peculiar Līlā. Hence, it is explained that the Lord, having a Vigraha which consists entirely of Sat, Cit and Ānanda, made his appearance in the phenomenal world not through actual human birth as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī, but by entering into their minds.[2] It is made clear, however, that the form of Kṛṣṇa, as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī, is not identical with his form, as the son of Yaśodā and Nanda. Though Vasudeva and Devakī were Parikaras of Kṛṣṇa in his Aprakaṭa Līlā, their status was much lower, in respect of their stage of devotion to Kṛṣṇa than that of Nanda and Yaśodā. Hence Kṛṣṇa did not manifest himself to Vasudeva and Devakī in his sweet intrinsic form a Gopa with two hands, but in the lower awe-inspiring form of a Vāsudeva with four hands. Subsequently he allowed himself to be taken to the place of Nanda and Yaśodā at Vṛndāvana, where he assumed his real intrinsic form. This is supported by the *Gītā* text, in which Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being is supposed to refer to his partial or lower manifestation of Vāsudeva by saying that he is 'Vāsudeva among the Vṛṣṇis' (*vṛṣṇīnāṃ vāsudevo'smi*). We are told that Nanda and Yaśodā were not ordinary human beings but eternal Parikaras of the deity, who obtained this higher favour and bliss by that particular form of devotional love known as Vātsalya or parental feeling.[3] All this is in the Manifest (Prakaṭa) Līlā ; but in the Unmanifest (Aprakaṭa) Līlā, the relation of parent and son, established through the Vātsalya-rasa, exists eternally between Nanda-Yaśodā and Kṛṣṇa.[4] That such is the relation is testified to by the

1 *ata eva garbha-praveśādikaṃ vināpi tayoḥ putratayā prasiddhiḥ.*
2 *sac-cid-ānanda-vigrahasya tasya tan-manasyāveśa eva.*
3 *vātsalyābhidha-prema-viśeṣeṇaiva śrī-kṛṣṇaḥ putratayodeti.*
4 *anādito vātsalya-rasa-siddha-pitṛ-putra-bhāvo vidyate.*

realisation of sages. This good fortune Nanda and Yaśodā enjoyed even to the exclusion of Vasudeva and Devakī ; but there is no other particular reason for this good fortune but their devotion and the Lord's grace, and it came about, like the Lordship of the Lord itself, without any reason.[1] But the semblance of a reason (*kāraṇābhāsa*) is afforded for the understanding or ordinary human beings by the Purāṇic story that Nanda and Yaśodā were originally the Vasu Droṇa and his wife Dhārā, who obtained the boon of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti from Brahmā. It is, therefore, their attitude of Bhakti in the form of Vātsalya which alone must be considered as the reason for the relationship ; for the Lord delights to sport with his devotees in the form in which they desire him most. It is repeated in this connexion that the ways of Jñāna and Tapas are inferior to that of Bhakti and can attain Kṛṣṇa only in his partial aspect of Brahman ; but it is Bhakti to Kṛṣṇa in his eternal sport as a Gopa which is the highest good (*puruṣārtha*) ; it brings to the Bhakta the indescribable divine bliss which is denied to the Jñānin and the Yogin.

With regard to Kṛṣṇa's exploits of killing demons etc in hi sPrakaṭa Līlā it has already been explained that it is never the business of the Bhagavat himself to relieve the burden of the world ; the exploits were accomplished by the Avatāras who simultaneously entered into him at the time of his appearance. But the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa can at his will act like phenomenal beings in his Prakaṭa Līlā, which may admit a touch of phenomenal acts and occurrences.

It has been said that Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa eternally sports in his three Dhāmans, namely, Dvārakā, Mathurā and Vṛndāvana, which are represented as three aspects of one and the same reality. If this is so, how is it that in the sacred texts the progression from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā, then to Dvārakā, and finally to Gokula is described ? The answer to this puzzle is furnished by the supposition that all this is

1 *tayos tādṛśa-mahodaye kāraṇaṃ nāsti.*

described only with reference to Kṛṣṇa's appearance in his Prakaṭa-līlā in the phenomenal world ;[1] but the Aprakaṭa-līlā which is not revealed to the phenomenal world, eternally goes on these Dhāmans.[2] This explanation necessitates an exposition of this theory of phenomenal and non-phenomenal appearances of the deity, or his Prakaṭa and Aprakaṭa Līlā, to which Jīva Gosvāmin now turns his attention.

It is difficult to render the word Līlā into English ; but since the word connotes the idea of inherent bliss (Ānanda) and erotic sweetness (Mādhurya) in the Bhagavat's relation to his own Śaktis or Energies, and excludes all idea of conscious effort and ulterior motive in a mood of divine sportiveness, it may be provisionally, if inadequately, rendered by the word 'Sport.' We are told that the term *daivata* in relation to Kṛṣṇa is derived from the verbal root *div*, which means 'to shine', as well as 'to play'; and the verb *krīḍ* or *ram* is generally found associated with the deity in the sense of sport. The Līlā or beatific Sport may be Manifest or Prakaṭa and Unmanifest or Aprakaṭa according as it can or cannot be apprehended directly by phenomenal beings.[3] The testimony of the texts shows that both the Līlās are *nitya*, that is, real and eternal. As a matter of fact, one and the same eternal Līlā appears in twofold way on account of the limitations of the phenomenal Jīva. As the real nature of Jīva is suppressed by the Māyā-śakti and the Jīva is thereby debarred from witnessing it, the Līlā is unmanifest; but when the deity in his infinite grace and love to his devotees directly reveals himself in the phenomenal world, the self-same Līlā becomes manifest. The Aprakaṭa or Unmanifest aspect of the Līlā, therefore, is free from all contact of the phenomenal world and its objects, and the eternity of Līlā is explained to mean that its characteristic flow is unimpeded,

1 *mathurādi-parityāgādyuktir avatāre prāpañcika-jana-prakaṭa-līlā-pekṣayaiva.*

2 *aprakaṭā tu līlā nityam eva vidyaīa eva.*

3 *prāpañcika-lokāprakaṭatvāt tat-prakaṭatvāc ca.*

like time, and has no beginning, middle or end.[1] It is also marked by the same incidents and characteristics (as, for instance, continually holding royal court in lordship over the Yādavas and the Gopas, tending cows and other diversions) as also mark the Prakaṭa Līlā.[2] The Prakaṭa Līlā also, in the same way, like the Vigraha of the Bhagavat, is not subject to the limitations of time ; but in it there is, through the intrinsic will-power of the Svarūpa-śakti of the deity, a beginning and an end, as well as a mixture of phenomenal and non-phenomenal objects and an appearance of incidents like Kṛṣṇa's birth and death.[3] Jīva Gosvāmin informs us that Kṛṣṇa's Prakaṭa Līlā, which was once witnessed by some eminently fortunate phenomenal beings, is even today revealed partially to men like himself.[4]

The Aprakaṭa Līlā, again, is described as having two aspects. It may, in the first place, be what is realised in a limited way by the sacred Mantras and Upāsanā (*mantropāsanāmayī*), or, secondly, it may be what is fully revealed by the flow of natural and inherent Rasa or devotional sentiment (*svārasikī*). The former has a limit fixed by the particular time or place suitable to the particular Līlā which forms the object of the Mantra,[5] and its character is also determined by such Svarūpa, Dhāman and Parikara of the deity as are prescribed for meditation by the particular Mantra.[6] In this respect, the infinitely varied Līlā is restricted to a particular divine act or sport as

1 *kālavad ādi-madhyāvasāna-pariccheda-rahita-svaprabhāvaḥ.*

2 *yādavendratva-vrajayuvarājatvādyucitāhar ahar mahāsabhopaveśa-gocāraṇa-vinodādi-lakṣaṇā.*

3 *śrī-vigrahavat kālādibhir apariccheḍyaiva bhagavad-icchātmaka-svarūpa-śaktyaiva labdhārambha-samāpanā prāpañcikāprāpañcika-loka-vastu-saṃvalitā tadīya-janmādi-lakṣaṇā.*

4 *prakaṭa-līlānugataḥ prakāśaḥ prākṛtair api kaiścid bhāgya-viśeṣo-dayavadbhir dadṛśe, saṃpratyasmābhir api tad-aṃśo dṛśyate.*

5 *tad-ekatara-sthānādi-niyata-sthitikā.*

6 *tat-tan-mantra-dhyānamayī.*

given in a set formula or meditation-symbol ; but this is necessary to the devotee in a preliminary stage when he is not yet accustomed to meditate upon and realise the endless forms of the Līlā. The Svārasikī, on the other hand, is not merely something which is recorded in the Mantra or presented for meditation ; the deity sometimes in his grace to the devotee actually reveals the Līlā which is hidden from the vision of the ordinary mortal. In some cases, what is limited by the somewhat mechanical Mantra and Upāsanā becomes a living and natural realisation.[1] The Svārasikī aspect of the Aprakaṭa Līlā is not limited to particular divine acts or sport but it is varied at will according to the occasion.[2] In its continuity and expansiveness as a stream of Līlā, the Svārasikī has been compared to the Ganges, while the Mantropāsanāmayī, which is born out of it and is limited in its scope, has been compared to a lake or series of lakes circumscribed out of the stream.

Such simultaneous assumption of different divine forms at different places by the deity has already been explained in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* as a natural result of the inherent divine power ; but such manifestation or Prakāśa is not like the reflection in the mirror (*pratibimba*), but like a halo (*bimba*) issuing out of the ultimate substance. The existence of reflection in the mirror is conditioned by the existence of the mirror ; the reflection appears also in a reversed form and cannot be actually felt by such senses as touch ; but the halo issuing out of a substance appears at will,[3] by its inherent power,[4] can be directly felt by touch and other senses,[5] and does not differ in its essence from the substance. This analogy shows the reality of the different Prakāśas, each of which

1 *mantropāsanāmayītve'pi svārasikyām eva paryavasyati.*
2 *yathāvasaraṃ vividhecchāmayī.*
3 *yathecchaṃ udayeta.*
4 *svābhāvika-śakti-sphuritatvam.*
5 *sākṣāt sparśādi-bhāvena.*

partakes of the character of divine perfection.[1] It follows that these Prakāśas are not mere endless replicas of the same form, all having the self-same mode and sequence of acts; on the contrary, each has, by the unthinkable power of the deity, a separate reality and existence, as well the capacity for independent action. The proof of all this lies in the fact that varied Prakāśas of this character have been described in the *Bhāgavata*; and if they were not true, they could not have caused delight to learned people.

In different Prakāśas, therefore, there are varied acts; and the effect of this is to produce a variety in the nature of the bliss (Rasa) in each case. To support the peculiar Rasa in each Prakāśa, therefore, there are in each a difference of conceit (Abhimāna-bheda) and a mutually exclusive knowledge of each other (*parasparam ananusaṃdhānam*), along with a difference in the mode of action (Kriyā-bheda). In other words, the actors in one Prakāśa are unaware of what is happening in the other, even if they themselves appear in both; and in each Prakāśa they are possessed of the conceit that they are appearing only in that particular Prakāśa in the particular manner. This theory of the exclusive individuality of each Prakāśa makes it possible to understand that what appears as Kṛṣṇa's separation from his beloved in one Līlā may be union in another. Thus, in the Prakāśa at Vṛndāvana, at the termination of Kṛṣṇa's Prakaṭa Līlā at that place, it appears as if a separation occurs between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopa-Gopīs, but it is really not so; for even if Kṛṣṇa appears to be separated from his Parikaras in the Prakaṭa Līlā, he is ever united with them there in the Aprakaṭa Līlā into which he enters simultaneously. In other words, union is an eternal fact in Kṛṣṇa's eternal Aprakaṭa Līlā, which goes on in all the three Dhāmans; but since it is sometimes manifested and sometimes hidden from the view of phenomenal beings, there are appar-

1 *sarveṣāṃ prakāśānāṃ-pūrṇatvam.*

ent separations in the Prakaṭa Līlā. Thus, both the manifest and the unmanifest Līlās can go on in the same Dhāmans; and when the deity is not manifestly present in the Prakaṭa Līlā, he is to be regarded as present in unmanifest form in the Aprakaṭa Līlā. It can be shown from the sacred texts that, in the same place and at the same time, the Gopīs, in their double capacity in the Prakaṭa and the Aprakaṭa Līlās, have felt the bliss of union and sorrow of separation. All this may appear inconceivable to phenomenal beings, but all contradictions like union and separation have no essential validity in the Līlā of the inconceivably Perfect Being. This theory enables our author to reconcile and explain such contradictions in manifestation as are sometimes found recorded in the sacred texts; for instance, separation from the Gopīs at the end of the Prakaṭa Līlā at Vṛndāvana, as well as from the Yādavas at the end of the Prakaṭa Līlā at Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa's alleged return to Vṛndāvana from Mathurā, which is described in the *Padma-purāṇa* but which is obscure in the *Bhāgavata*, is also explained in the same way.

The different Prakāśas of Kṛṣṇa are each characterised by different aspects of his divine self. The aspects respectively of Aiśvarya (power), Kāruṇya (compassion) and Mādhurya (erotic sweetness and beauty) may be emphasised in the one or the other. In the manifestation at Vṛndāvana, however, all these aspects are displayed, but most of all the Mādhurya. It has already been shown in the second Saṃdarbha that Mādhurya, as an aspect of the divine Hlādinī Śakti, consists of the highest essence and differentia of the Bhagavat. This Mādhurya is prominent in a superlative degree in Kṛṣṇa's sports at Vṛndāvana, and we have here, therefore, the highest and best manifestation of the divine self. As an expression of Mādhurya, Kṛṣṇa always remains at Vṛndāvana in his beautiful adolescent form (*kiśora-mūrti*), whether in his Prakaṭa or in his Aprakaṭa Līlā; for, it is recorded in the *Bhāgavata* that throughout the whole period of adolescence in

his Prakaṭa Līlā he remained constantly at Vṛndāvana ;[1] and even after that he continued to remain in that adolescent form in his Aprakaṭa Līlā there. Hence, Kṛṣṇa's adolescent form must be regarded not only as the prominent form round which all his sports centre, but it must be accepted as the only real form both in his Prakaṭa and Aprakaṭa Līlā. This eternal youth and beauty he manifests only at Vṛndāvana throughout, in his Prakaṭa as well as in his Aprakaṭa Līlā ; and, as this is the supreme Prakāśa of Kṛṣṇa, Vṛndāvana is the best of all Dhāmans, the true Goloka.

Having explained the character and place of divine sport, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to consider the relation between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs as depicted in the *Bhāgavata*. He makes an elaborate attempt to interpret the doubtfully erotic texts as possessing a deeply spiritual meaning. His main thesis is that the Gopīs obtained the Lord as their Pati (husband), and not as a Jāra or Upapati (lover). He thereby subscribes to the Svakīyā-vāda of his master Rūpa Gosvāmin and discredits the Parakīyā-vāda advocated by later theorists. Even if the word *jāra* is used in some passages, the Jāra-buddhi of the Gopīs merely indicates a mental attitude of intense longing and not an actual fact. From the episode of the Kātyāyanī-vrata, it is clear that these maidens desired to obtain Kṛṣṇa as their husband (x 22. 2), and Kṛṣṇa must be taken to have fulfilled their wish, for they are distinctly called wives of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-vadhū*) in the *Bhāgavata* (x 33. 7). But apart from this usual method of verbal interpretation of texts, the general line of argument adopted by Jīva Gosvāmin is that it is conformable to the Rasa-śāstra, as well as logical,[2] to regard the Gopīs as the Svakīyā (and not Parakīyā) of Kṛṣṇa. It is reasonable to suppose that men wish for an object which does not bring calamity in its train, but union with a secret lover is always full of trouble and cannot very well be taken

1 *pūrṇa-kaiśora-vyāpinyeva vraje prakaṭa-līlā jñeyā.*
2 *siddhānta-rasaśāstrayoḥ saṃmatā.*

as a final end with the Gopīs.[1] The Rasa-śāstra does not approve of any union with the wife of another person. As such a union is unlawful and impious, its vulgarity obstructs the principal sentiment or Rasa ;[2] it is impossible to admit it in the Mādhurya Rasa of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs. Hence, Jīva Gosvāmin's own guru, Rūpa Gosvāmin, has boldly effected a regular marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa at the Nava Vṛndāvana in Dvārakā in the tenth Act of his *Lalita-mādhava*.[3] The impiety of union with a woman other than one's own arises under two circumstances, namely, when the woman is the married wife of another (*parakīyātva*), and when she has been enjoyed by another person (*para-sparśa*). Jīva Gosvāmin attempts to show from an explanation of *Bhāgavata* texts that both these faults do not at all attach to the Gopīs. They

1 *jāra-bhāvamayaḥ saṃgamaś ca sadaiva sopadravaḥ, tasmād asau paryavasāna-puruṣārthatve tat-tac-chāstra-saṃmato na syāt.*

2 *adharmamayatva-pratītau tvaślilatayā vyāhanyata eva rasaḥ.*

3 It has been often alleged that the Gosvāmins were upholders of the Parakīyā doctrine, but neither the works of Jīva nor those of Rūpa lend support to this doctrine. Sanātana's *Bhāgavatāmṛta*, as well as Raghunātha Dāsa's *Muktā-caritra*, is meant to show the deficiency of the Dvārakā-līlā and the superiority of the Vṛndavana-līlā, but this fact does not necessarily imply belief in Parakīyā doctrine ; for the views of the Gosvāmins appear to have been that, as Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat, the Gopīs, including Rādhā, were his own (Svakīyā), but the Gopas under an illusion, created by Yogamāyā, considered them to be their wives. It is idle to contend that the *Svayam-utprekṣita-līlā* and other such poems of Rūpa bear testimony to his belief in the Parakīyā doctrine, for this cannot be clearly made out from the trend of the poems. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, however, ascribed the Parakīyā belief to Caitanya himself, for in Kṛṣṇadāsa's own opinion, sentiment for another man's wife strengthens the feeling (পরকীয়ারসে অতি ভাবের উল্লাস). On listening to the verse *priyaḥ so'yaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ* and *yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ* (Padyāvalī nos. 382, 383) recited by Rūpa, Caitanya is reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa to have exclaimed : মোর মনের কথা তুহ জানিলি কেমনে ? It is possible to explain both these Sanskrit stanzas from the Parakīyā point of view, but the old stanza *yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ* of Śīlābhaṭṭārikā certainly, and the new stanza *priyaḥ so'yaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ* of Rūpa himself

were never actually married or even bodily touched by the Gopas ; for, on the occasion of their marriage or daily intercourse with the Gopas, they were in fact concealed by the Māyā-śakti of Kṛṣṇa and their illusory forms were substituted. If they are sometimes found giving the Gopas the name of husband, this is in accordance with the outward usage of the world, but not in accordance with their own inward vision.[1] They had, therefore, no husbands except Kṛṣṇa. Sometimes the texts (e. g. x. 31. 13) appear to say that the Gopīs had children, but the word children in such texts must not be understood to apply to their own children but to those of their relatives ; for, according to the Rasa-śāstra, their having children would not be a case of real Rasa but a case of mere semblance of Rasa (Rasābhāsa) on account of the violation of the rule of propriety (*anaucitya-pravṛtti*). The Gopīs, therefore, are Kṛṣṇa's real and eternal beloved (*nitya-preyasī*),

possibly, are capable of Svakīyā interpretation in the light of the views of Rūpa and Jīva given above. Jīva in his *Gopāla-campū* (Uttara, ch. 36, 165-66), again, describes Rādhā as Utkaṇṭhitā heroine and quotes *yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ* ; this passage is said to support the Parakīyā doctrine. This is the view, at least, of Yadunandana (*Karṇānanda*, p. 88) who says that Jīva's real opinion leaned towards the Parakīyā doctrine, although one is likely to take a contrary view of the passage in question (বাহ্যার্থ বুঝয়ে তাহা স্বকীয়া বলিয়া । ভিতরের অর্থমাত্র কেবল পরকীয়া ॥ শ্রীজীবের গভীর হৃদয় বুঝিয়া । বহির্লোক বার্তা লয়ে স্বকীয়া বলিয়া ॥). This view of Yadunandana is not unexpected, for in his time the efforts of Śyāmānanda and Śrīnivāsa (both disciples of Jiva !) had made the Parakīyā doctrine wide-spread. Śrīnivāsa's descendant, Rādhāmohana Ṭhākura, became a formidable champion of this doctrine; and it is said that he vanquished the Svakīyā-vādins at a disputation held before Nawab Jafar Ali of Murshidabad. It would be unhistorical to read a doctrine which developed and became established in later times into the works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, but the motive is obvious. For the exposition of the question in Jīva's *Gopāla-campū*, see below under ch. vii.

1 *kvacit tābhir eva tu yat pati-śabdaḥ prayuktas tad bahir loka-vyavahārata eva nāntar-dṛṣṭitaḥ.*

union with whom as their only husband does not constitute the fault of adultery ; in fact, they are aspects of his own Svarūpa-śakti with whom, as the Śaktimat, he is represented as sporting eternally.[1]

It has been shown in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* that the term Bhagavat is applied to the supreme deity as the possessor of the Svarūpa-śakti, and that the Svarūpa-śakti is known as his divine consort Lakṣmī. In the present Saṃdarbha it has been determined that Kṛṣṇa is this Bhagavat ; it now remains to determine the Svarūpa-śakti of Kṛṣṇa in his various Dhāmans and Līlās. In the two Dhāmans, Mathurā and Dvārakā, the general designation of the Svarūpa-śakti is Mahiṣī, given collectively to the sixteen thousand queenly wives of the royal Kṛṣṇa, They are, thus, collectively identical with Lakṣmī as aspects of his Svarūpa-śakti. Of these, eight are his Paṭṭa-mahiṣī or chief queens, and each of them represents symbolically one or other aspects of the Śakti, e.g. Satyabhāmā=Bhū-śakti, Yamunā=Kṛpā-śakti, etc. But in these two Dhāmans, as Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself, so Rukmiṇī as his most beloved is Lakṣmī herself (*svayaṃ lakṣmī*). In Dvārakā the Mahiṣīs were all present in the Prakaṭa Līlā ; but in Mathurā, even if they were not present in the Prakaṭa Līlā, the *Gopāla-tāpanī* Śruti tells us that Rukmiṇī, and by implication all the Mahiṣīs, were present in the Aprakaṭa Līlā. In Vṛndāvana, the appearances of Kṛṣṇa's Svarūpa-śakti are the Vraja-devīs or Gopīs. They are special expressions of Kṛṣṇa's highest Hlādinī Śakti, and are therefore generally superior to the Mahiṣīs at Dvārakā and Mathurā. There are gradations, however, among the Gopīs according to the various degrees of manifestation of the Śakti in them, and this is symbolised by the difference of their feelings for Kṛṣṇa, as well as by the difference of Kṛṣṇa's own manifestation to them. These gradations are

1 *anādita eva tābhiḥ krīḍāśālitvena svīkṛtatvāt tac-chakti-rūpāṇāṃ tāsāṃ saṃgame vastuta eva para-dāra-doṣo'pi nāsti.*

represented in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra as analogous to the various stages of human relationship conceived in the erotic-emotional aspect. Thus, Rādhā, as the greatest beloved, is said to have attained, to the exclusion of other Gopīs, the highest stage of Mahābhāva and obtained Kṛṣṇa in the fullest manner. If the *Padma-purāṇa* tells us that some of the Gopīs attained the rank by their being worshippers in their previous birth,[1] the description applies to that class of Gopīs who are known as Sādhakacarīs ; it does not apply to those who, like Rādhā, are Nitya-siddhā or eternally perfected. The superiority of the Gopīs to every other beloved of Kṛṣṇa consists in the fact that in them is prominently displayed a particular essence of the erotic sentiment (*prema-rasa-sāra-viśeṣa*), which in its turn is the essence of the supreme Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa (*hlādinīsāra-vṛtti-viśeṣa*). Owing to the plentiful display of this Śakti in them, there is the highest realisation of the Bhagavat's bliss in them,[2] by which there arises the divine desire to sport with them. The names of ten chief Gopīs are enumerated from the dialogue of Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira in the Malla-dvādaśī episode of the *Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa*, namely, Gopālī, Pālikā, Dhanyā, Viśākhā, Dhyānaniṣṭhikā, Rādhā, Anurādhā, Somābhā and two Tārakās ; but in the Prahlāda-saṃhitā, of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, eight names are given as Lalitā, Śyāmalā, Dhanyā, Viśākhā, Rādhā, Śaivyā, Padmā and Bhadrā. From the Āgamas, however, it is known that the number is one hundred crore !

In the *Prīti-saṃdarbha* it will be further shown that Rādhā represents among the Gopīs the highest degree of the supreme love (*premotkarṣa-parākāṣṭhā*). In Vṛndāvana, therefore, Rādhā is Lakṣmī. Just as in Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat there is the fullest display of the divine energy, so Rādhā represents

1 *pūrva-janmani sādhakatvam.*

2 *tat-prācurya-prakāśena śrī-bhagavato'pi tāsu paramollāsa-prakāśo bhavati, tena tābhī ramaṇecchā jāyate.*

this energy to the fullest degree. In other words, Rādhā as the Antaraṅgā Mahā-śakti of Kṛṣṇa symbolises his most intrinsic and highest selfhood. As such she is entirely identified with Kṛṣṇa's greatest attribute of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti ; and in this is to be found the symbolical interpretation of Kṛṣṇa's eternal erotic sports with Rādhā. The relation is, of course, not one of absolute identity but one of difference as well as non-difference, like the relation of the flame to the fire, or of the scent to the flower. It follows, therefore, that Rādhā may be taken as the highest type of the Bhakta, the highest Parikara or Servant, as well as his closest consort. The other Gopīs are in reality her various aspects or emanations ; for she is the Gopī *par excellence*, in whom there is the bliss of love (*premānanda*) in its highest stage of the ecstatic Mahābhāva, which is unattainable by other Gopīs. When the *Bhāgavata* says that Kṛṣṇa loves to sport with one Gopī even though there are other Gopīs, it implies the supremacy of Rādhā,[1] although Rādhā is not directly mentioned there by name. Jīva Gosvāmin now concludes the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* by ingeniously interpreting the first preliminary and pre-eminent verse (*mūrdhaṇya-śloka*) of the *Bhāgavata* as applying to Rādhā, in the same way as he has already interpreted and applied it to Kṛṣṇa alone. In the phrase *tad dhīmahi* (we adore that) of the verse, the neuter singular usage of the relative pronoun *tat* (that) is intended, in our author's opinion, to indicate generally, without any distinction of sex, the essential identity[2] of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the Śakti and the Śaktimat. Hence the appearance of Kṛṣṇa coupled with that of Rādhā (*rādhayā yugalitas tu kṛṣṇaḥ*) at Vṛndāvana is the most wonderful of all the blessed and wonderful manifestations of Kṛṣṇa (*paramādbhuta-prakāśaḥ*). The term *yugalita*, however, must not be

1 *satīṣvanyāsu ekayā ityanena tatrāpi parama-mukhyatvam.*

2 *aikyenaiva vivakṣitaṃ tad iti, ata eva sāmānyatayā parāmarśan napuṃsakatvaṃ.*

taken to imply absolute identity or merging but a relation of identity in non-identity.

Thus, in the first four Saṃdarbhas the Saṃbandha-tattva is explained ; and in this Tattva the appearance of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in pair is said to be the most perfected form of the deity who is the Saṃbandhin.[1]

e. THE BHAKTI-SAṂDARBHA

The object of this Saṃdarbha is to show that Bhakti to the Bhagavat is the only and chief import or subject-matter (*abhidheya*) of the *Bhāgavata*, as necessarily it is of the *Ṣaṭ-saṃdarbha* ; and the Saṃdarbha deals with the general characteristics of the devotional attitude of Bhakti and the modes and functions of this attitude.

It has already been said that the Jīvas can be broadly classified from the standpoint of their attitude towards the Bhagavat into two categories, namely, (*i*) those who through the grace of the deity possess, as an intrinsic attribute, an inevitable proneness (*saṃskāra*) towards the Bhagavat, and for whom there is no need for instruction ; such are, for instance, Bhaktas like Prahlāda, and (*ii*) those who under the influence of the Māyā-śakti have this proneness obstructed although it is liable to sprout in them, like a seed, on instruction.[2] The Abhidheya, therefore, is conversion towards the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-sāṃmukhya*) by counteracting the imposed aversion (*tad-vaimukhya*). This is Bhakti, of which the general characteristic is devotional worship of the Bhagavat (*tad-upāsanā-lakṣaṇa*), and from it proceeds the true knowledge of the Bhagavat.[3] It has already been shown[4] that this averseness towards the Bhagavat proceeds from the Māyā-śakti, by which the Jīva forgets its own selfhood and

1 *tasminn api saṃbandhe śrī-rādhā-mādhava-rūpeṇaiva prādurbhāvas tasya saṃbandhinaḥ paramaḥ prakarṣaḥ.*

2 *tac-chravaṇa-mātreṇa bījāyamānam.*

3 *yata eva taj-jñānam āvirbhavati.*

4 See above, pp. 305-6, 313.

identifies itself with the body.[1] This external Māyā-śakti of the Lord can be counteracted only by the special aspect of the Lord's Svarūpa-śakti, namely, his Hlādinī Śakti or energy of bliss. This bliss, of which an atom also exists in a potential state in the Jīva, can be released as Bhakti, which itself is thus a display of the divine Svarūpa-śakti.[2]

The necessity of devotional worship lies in the fact that it is a natural function (*sva-citte svata eva siddhaḥ*) of the Jīva considered as a potency of the Bhagavat ; for, the service of one who is dear brings happiness, and nothing is dearer than the Bhagavat. The Bhajana or worship is, therefore, necessary, because it brings the highest and permanent bliss which is inherent in the Jīva. It would, therefore, be insufficient to describe Bhakti as a means only ; for being the natural function of the Jīva (*jīvānāṃ svabhāvata ucitā*) it is its highest duty (*para dharma*). The consummation of this Dharma or duty consists in the supreme pleasure of the deity.[3] It is, thus, free from Pravṛtti or activity in worldly affairs, but it is also not mere Nivṛtti or abstention from phenomenal objects ; for Nivṛtti or Quietism can hardly be distinguished from Vaimukhya or averseness.[4] This is the *summum bonum* (*sa evaikāntikaṃ śreyaḥ*), and therefore

1 *īśa-vimukhasya tan-māyayāsmṛtiḥ, svarūpāsphūrtir bhavati, tato viparyayo deho'smīti.*

2 Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa discusses this question of the nature of Bhakti in his *Siddhānta-ratna* (p. 35) and arrives at the conclusion that it consists of the combined essence of the two Svarūpa-śaktis of the Bhagavat, viz. the Hlādinī and the Saṃvit Śakti : *atra punaś cintyate bhagavad-vaśīkāra-hetu-bhūtā śaktiḥ kiṃsvarūpā iti, kiṃ prākṛta-sattvamaya-jñānānanda-rūpā, kiṃ vā bhagavat-svarūpa-jñānānanda-rūpā, atha vā jaiva-jñānānanda-rūpā, uta hlādinī-sāra-samaveta-saṃvit-sāra-rūpā iti ; nādyaḥ, bhagavato māyā-vaśyatvāśravaṇāt svataḥ pūrṇatvāc ca: na dvitīyaḥ, atiśayāsiddheḥ: nāpi tṛtīyaḥ, jaivayos tayoḥ kṣodiṣṭatvāt : kiṃ tu caturtha evāsau bhavet.....tathā ca hlāda-saṃvidoḥ samvetayoḥ sāraḥ bhaktir iti sidhyati.*

3 *svanuṣṭhitasya dharmasya saṃsiddhir hari-toṣaṇam.*

4 *na nivṛtti-mātra-lakṣaṇo'pi, vaimukhyāviśeṣāt.*

surpasses other Dharmas, which are called *apara*, and not *para*. Its characteristics are that (*i*) it is Ahaitukī or Akiṃcanā, i.e. it is not prompted by the desire of any other effect,[1] either in this world or in the next, than the pleasure of the Lord, and (*ii*) Apratihatā, i.e. unimpeded, because it is beyond the sphere of other objects like pleasure or pain.[2]

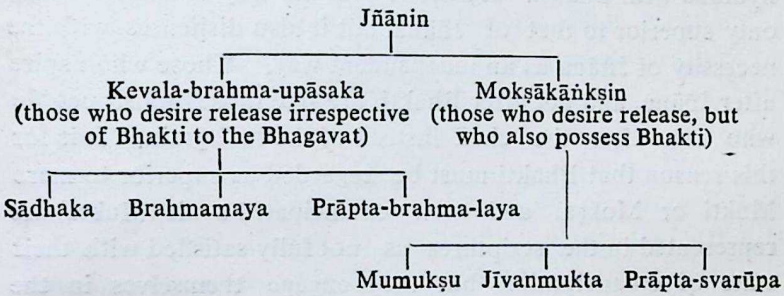
This thesis is further elaborated by showing the efficacy and superiority of Bhakti over every other mode of worship. The way of knowledge or Jñāna leads to a realisation of Brahman; the Yoga with its practices is also helpful for that purpose; the way of Works or Karman, consisting of obedience to scriptural directions and of dedication of all fruits to the Bhagavat, is also productive of a proneness towards the supreme deity. In all these modes there is an element of Bhakti in so far as they are free from any desire of worldly objects and lead to the Bhagavat by producing an inclination towards him; but none of them is entirely disinterested. They are, therefore, inferior to Kevalā or exclusive Bhakti, the one object of which is not to gain anything for oneself but to contribute to the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. True Mokṣa or Apavarga does not consist, as the Jñānin thinks, of the knowledge of Brahman, nor again in the conception of the Virāj or Viśvarūpa as realised by the Yogin; it consists in a direct vision (Sākṣātkāra) or attainment (Prāpti) of the deity in his highest appearance as the Bhagavat, which is realisable by Bhakti alone. The one highest Reality, which is the Bhagavat, appears, no doubt, in threefold way, but Jñāna and Yoga can have a glimpse of one or other of the partial aspects; to Bhakti alone is accessible the one highest Reality which appears in these various aspects.[3]

1 *phalāntarāṇām anusaṃdhāna-rahitā.*

2 *sukha-duḥkha-padārthāntarābhāvāt kenāpi vyavadhātum aśakyā.*

3 *tac ca tridhāvirbhāva-yuktaṃ tattvaṃ bhaktyaiva sākṣād api kriyate.*

This idea is further amplified by a consideration of the various classes of the Jñānin and Yogin. In this connexion it would be useful to refer here to the classification of the Jñānin given by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Madhya, xxiv), a classification which is implied by Jīva Gosvāmin also in his treatment:



The release or emancipation, which all these classes of seekers desire, is the realisation of the knowledge of self and its identity or merging in Brahman as the absolute self; and the classification only indicates the different aspects or stages of the release. The Kevala Upāsaka, who meditates upon Brahman, independently of Bhakti, realises Brahman in the Nirviśeṣa state by his meditative knowledge; and this consists of a state of absorption or merger of the Jīva in the impersonal and attributeless Brahman. But this state can be attained after a good deal of effort (*kṛcchra-sādhanatva*), and the attainment of Brahman, who represents only a lower manifestation of the most perfect Bhagavat, indicates only a lower stage of realisation, which consists of absorption or extinction. This stage, however, does not last permanently and leads to fresh trouble. The other class of the Jñānins, who desire release but also possess Bhakti, stands on a different footing. Their Bhakti ultimately leads them to the close proximity of the Bhagavat, so that it is their pure Bhakti which prevails in the end and brings to them the highest realisation. Thus, the Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti may lead to the Śuddhā Bhakti, but it is not necessary to resort to the former

when the latter alone is efficacious. If there is Bhakti, the Jñāna will come of itself ; for by realising the Bhagavat by Bhakti one necessarily realises along with him his partial aspect of Brahman, who is realisable by Jñāna. Hence Jñāna and Vairāgya are said to be the offspring or concomitant of Bhakti, for the true Jñāna is Bhagavad-jñāna which is synonymous with Bhakti. It follows that the way of Bhakti is not only superior to that of Jñāna, but it also dispenses with the necessity of Jñāna as an independent way. Those who aspire after Jñāna, and not after Bhakti, are like those foolish people who run after the chaff instead of the real grain. It is for this reason that Bhakti must be regarded as superior to mere Mukti or Mokṣa, and even emancipated souls (Mukta) are represented in the scriptures as not fully satisfied with their state of emancipation but they engage themselves in the worship of the Bhagavat.[1] Thus, the Vaiṣṇava theology of Bengal does not altogether reject the way of Jñāna, as it does not altogether reject Brahman, but regards it as an insufficient method, just in the same way as it accepts Brahman as an imperfect appearance (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*) of the Bhagavat. Even Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti is deprecated in favour of Śuddhā Bhakti. The true release, in the opinion of this school, is not the attainment of Brahman by Jñāna but the eternal contiguity and devotional service of the Bhagavat by Bhakti.

Similar arguments are employed to show the inferiority of Yoga as a method of realisation. The *citta-vṛtti-nirodha*, which Yoga teaches, is also the direct result of Bhakti ; so also is Vairāgya or non-attachment to worldly objects, which follows (*anugāmī*) Bhakti as a matter of course. Through the influence of the Māyā-śakti the individual self (Jīva) forgets its true nature and becomes distracted by the phenomenal

1 The etymology of the word Kaivalya is sometimes given, from this point of view, as *ka* (bliss)+√ *val* (to revel), so that the word is made to mean not the knowledge of oneness (*kevala*), but a state of bliss consequent upon the release of the Jīva from the Māyā-śakti and its contiguity to the Bhagavat.

world, with the result that it loses its tranquil state. The eight ancillaries (*aṣṭāṅga*) of Yoga teach the suppression of these distractions of the thinking principle and divert it from the phenomenal ego, leading it ultimately to the state of Asaṃprajñāta-Samādhi, in which the individual self in its purity and freedom from the Māyā-śakti realises, not its complete identity with Brahman, but its intrinsic nature as an atom of divine consciousness (*cit-kaṇā*). Thus, Yoga leads to a higher stage of realisation than that attainable by Jñāna, for it goes beyond the stage of attainment of the Nirviśeṣa Brahman to the realisation of the more Saviśeṣa Paramātman, and ultimately (if the Yogin possesses Bhakti) to the highest Bhagavat. Hence, Yoga is called Śānta-Bhakti by the Bengal school and is regarded as a variety, even if it is an inferior variety, of Bhakti. But Śuddhā Bhakti, which conceives of the supreme deity as the perfect person in terms of emotional personal relationship (such as Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya or Mādhurya), is regarded as more efficacious. Moreover, from what is said above it follows that all the good results of the Yoga-Mārga accrue as a concomitant consequence of Bhakti.

The reconciliation of Karman and Bhakti is effected after the manner of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but the ideas are further developed from the point of view of Bhakti. The ceremonial duties are not rejected, but a secondary importance is attached to them as a means to an end ; for on the attainment of Bhakti, the way of Karman is superfluous.[1] The Karma-Mārga lays down injunctions regarding the performance of ceremonial duties, but these appear to lead only to enjoyment in the world and attainment of the insignificant pleasures of Svarga. The observance of the Varṇāśrama-dharma, however, involves much effort and expenditure of money (*mahāvitta-mahāyāsa-sādhya*), and brings only fame or prosperity in this world or

1 *karmāpi bhakti-yoga-paryantam* ; also *bhaktyārambha eva tu svarūpata eva karma-tyāgaḥ kartavyaḥ.*

in Svarga ; it does not seem to lead one to final Puruṣārtha or *summum bonum*. But the real objective of these Vedic injunctions is not to produce an attachment to worldly objects but to enable the doer ultimately to forsake them.[1] Hence, these ceremonial rites are called *parokṣa-kriyā*, and the Karma-vāda is known as Parokṣa-vāda. The final object of Karman is to lead to Naiṣkarmya, and it occurs when the motive of performance is not the desire of worldly or other limited effects but consists of entire dedication of these acts to the pleasure of the Bhagavat. This can be done, as the *Gītā* teaches, by performing one's duties without attachment (*anāsakti*) and desire of fruits (*phala-tyāga*). But even such dedication is useless unless it is accompanied by Bhakti, which alone sanctifies all acts. The release in this mode, however, comes slowly after a great deal effort, and the state of Naiṣkarmya or Quietism which is accomplished is in reality another name for complete cessation of all acts. The mode of pure Bhakti, on the other hand, brings about the highest good much more quickly. Even if Bhakti effects a renunciation of ceremonial acts which become unnecessary on its attainment, it does not mean complete inactivity ; for the acts of devotion, which alone are the supreme kinds of acts, continue to exist, whereby the highest bliss is accomplished. The acts implied in Bhakti are other than those described in the Karma-kāṇḍa as Nitya (compulsory), Naimittika (occasional) and Kāmya (voluntary), which are meant for the securing of some definite object ; they consist of such acts as Śravaṇa (listening to the deity's praise), Kīrtana (uttering of the deity's name and praise) etc., by which the supreme deity is worshipped and which are meant only for the pleasure of the Bhagavat (Bhagavat-prīṇana) and are therefore entirely disinterested (Ahaitukī or Akiṃcanā). If Karman is not productive of Bhakti it is useless, just in the same way as Jñāna is useless

1 *vedo'pyavāntara-phalaiḥ pralobhayan mokṣāyaiva karmāṇi vidhatte.*

if it does not lead to the Bhagavat ; Karman is useful in so far as it is a step to the higher end of Bhagavad-bhakti. Such Vedic injunctions, therefore, as do not contain any reference to the Līlā of the Bhagavat are to be rejected.[1]

It follows from what is said that Bhakti may be either Sakāmā (accompanied by the desire for fruits) or Niṣkāma-karmasahitā (accompanied by acts free from such desire). The dedication of Karman (Karmārpaṇa) implied in the second case may again be of two kinds, namely, mere abandonment or renunciation of acts to the Bhagavat,[2] and contributing to the pleasure of the Bhagavat.[3] The Nimitta or occasion of the dedication of Karman may be the desire for fruits (Kāmanā), or the cessation from acts which amounts to desireless action (Naiṣkarmya), or pure Bhakti when such acts are meant solely for the pleasure of the deity. Niṣkāmatva or desirelessness by itself is not possible ;[4] hence, Bhakti which is mixed with mundane acts (Karma-miśrā Bhakti) may be either accompanied by some specific desire for mundane fruits of action (Sakāmā) or it may be accompanied by the desire for emancipation (Kaivalya-kāmā). Of these, however, the latter is sometimes mixed with Karman and Jñāna and sometimes with Jñāna alone, the term Jñāna in this case, of course, meaning perception of complete identity of the Jīva and Brahman (*ekātma-darśana*). The Sakāmā may be Rājasī or prompted by a desire for activity, but it may also be Tāmasī when it is actuated by such baser passions as envy, pride etc. All these differences of types of Bhakti depend upon the capacity or inclination of the worshipper. But Śuddhā or pure Bhakti, in which alone lies the divine pleasure (*bhaktau punaḥ prīṇanam eva*), is the best mode of attaining the highest good.

Thus, having spoken of Jñāna and Yoga as the means of

1 *madīya-līlā-śūnyāṃ vaidikīm api vācaṃ nābhyaset.*
2 *tasmin tat-parityāga-rūpam.*
3 *bhagavat-prīṇana-rūpam.*
4 *niṣkāmatvaṃ kevalaṃ na saṃbhavati.*

Sadyomukti and Krama-mukti respectively, and having shown that the way of Karman, which is dedicated to the Bhagavat, is even a greater means of Bhakti than these two which have a limited objective, Jīva Gosvāmin thinks that the supreme necessity of Bhakti follows as a corollary and does not require proof.[1] All these are means of avoiding Vaimukhya or averseness to the Bhagavat and producing Sāṃmukhya or proneness; but Jñāna and Yoga lead only to the Brahman and the Paramātman, who are but partial aspects of the Bhagavat. The Karman, directed to the Bhagavat, again, is only a door to all these. These different ways are prescribed to suit the capacity of different kinds of people (*puruṣa-yogyatā-bhedena*); and each has its use. But when Bhakti is attained, all these are redundant. The attitude of Bhakti is independent or *nirapekṣa*, and can arise spontaneously, but Jñāna, Yoga, Karman and Vairāgya depend for their efficacy upon Bhakti itself (*tat-sāpekṣa*); for none of them alone can lead to the final bliss (*Bhāgavata*, ix. 14. 20). Hence, Bhakti occupies the highest place in the order of realisation; as a means it supersedes and includes all the others; but it is not a means only, but an end in itself natural to the Jīva. It follows from all this that Jñāna-miśrā, Yoga-miśrā and Karma-miśrā Bhakti may exist or may be expedient at a lower stage of realisation, but pure or Śuddhā Bhakti is the best of all, because it purges the mind of all grossness, removes the fetters of the Māyā-śakti and makes it fit for the Sākṣātkāra or direct vision of the Bhagavat. People have spoken of the excellence of the ways of Jñāna, Yoga and Karman, but, according to the *Bhāgavata* (xi. 14. 9), they have done so because their intelligence was obscured by the influence of the Māyā-śakti.

As an aspect of Karman, the worship of deities other than

1 *sadyo-mukti-krama-muktyupāyena jñāna-yogāvuktvā, tato'pi śreṣṭhatvaṃ bhaktiyoga-hetu-bhagavadarpita-karmaṇa evoktvā sākṣād bhakti-yogasya kaimutyam evānītam.*

the Bhagavat is forbidden.[1] Even the Guṇāvatāras, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, are not worthy of the highest worship. The attitude of equal adoration to all deities (*abheda-dṛṣṭi*), spoken of in some scriptures, is for the Śama-bhakta (i.e. the Yogin) and the Jñānin, but it is not a help but a hindrance to the Bhakta Vaiṣṇava.[2] Although the attitude of contempt or indifference to other deities and supernatural beings is deprecated, it is maintained that deities like Śiva or Brahmā can be worshipped in so far as they are themselves Vaiṣṇavas or worshippers of the Bhagavat, or in so far as they are particular locations (Adhiṣṭhāna) of the Bhagavat himself. In the Āgamas, for instance, the worship of other gods is permitted as the Bahiraṅgāvaraṇa Sevakas of the Lord, and this is acknowledged in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* vii. 119-20. But for those who regard them as separate and independent objects of worship, there is the terrible curse of Bhṛgu Muni referred to in the *Bhāgavata* iv. 2. 27-28. All worship, however, is futile without kindness to all beings (Bhūta-dayā) and tolerance of other gods (Sama-dṛṣṭi) ; but this attitude, as well as Ahiṃsā, is natural (*svabhāva eva*) to one who has Bhakti. In some cases, however, Hiṃsā or injury is permissible, e.g. in plucking flowers and leaves for purposes of worship.

In order to establish further his position regarding Bhakti, Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to demonstrate that Bhakti is the central and only theme of the *Bhāgavata*, and that it is inculcated for all times, all places, all beings and all conditions. It is intended alike for those who are desirous of release and for those who have attained release. Even if some scriptures prescribe Jñāna-miśrā and Karma-miśrā Bhakti, it is not to emphasise the importance of Jñāna or Karman but to make those who follow the ways of Jñāna and Karman inclined towards pure Bhakti by having a fore-

1 *karma-viśeṣa-rūpaṃ devatāntara-bhajanam api na kartavyam.*
2 *vaiṣṇavasya.....na bhakti-lābhaḥ, pratyavāyaś ca.*

taste of its bliss.[1] The supreme efficacy of Bhakti is next shown by the illustration, drawn chiefly from the *Bhāgavata*, of its characteristics and the results that follow from it as a matter of course. These are: (*i*) power of counteracting sinful acts whether they have begun to produce effects or not (*aprārabdha-pāpa-hāritva* and *prārabdha-pāpa-ghnatva*), (*ii*) power of removing the desire for sinful acts (*tad-vāsanā-hāritva*), (*iii*) power of removal of Avidyā or Nescience (*avidyā-haratva*), (*iv*) causation of all merit like Jñāna and Vairāgya (*jñāna-vairāgyādi-sarva-hetutva*), (*v*) the state of being beyond the sphere of the three Guṇas, for Jñāna and Karman are Sa-guṇa and Bhakti alone is Nirguṇa (*nirguṇatva*), (*vi*) its identity with supreme bliss (*parama-sukha-rūpatva*), (*vii*) its self-manifestation, producing the consciousness of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-svarūpaśakti-bodhaka-svayaṃ-prakāśatva*), (*viii*) its bestowal of attachment towards the Bhagavat (*bhagavad-viṣaya-rati-pradatva*), and (*ix*) its power of producing the exclusive pleasure of the Bhagavat towards the Bhakta (*bhakta-viṣayaka-bhagavat-priyataika-hetutva*). In this connexion the significance of divine grace is discussed. The question is considered as to how it is possible that the Perfect Being, whose intrinsic attribute is self-sufficient bliss, who has no desire nor motive, and who is unaffected by Prakṛti, should feel kindness or grace towards phenomenal beings. In reply it is said that the intrinsic attribute of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat is such that it gladdens both himself and others (*sva-parānandinī*), like the function of the lamp which reveals itself as well as other objects. As such, the question of motive or desire does not arise. The Hlādinī Śakti, eternally placed in those who are his own (*sva-vṛnde nikṣiptam*), causes spontaneous bliss both to himself and his Bhakta. Thus the cause of grace or divine self-surrender is the goodness of the

1 *tat-tan-mārga-niṣṭhān bhakti-saṃbandhena kṛtārthayituṃ tān eva kāṃścid bhaktyāsvādena śuddhāyāṃ bhaktau pravartayituṃ ca.*

Bhakti of the devotee himself, as an aspect of the infinite Svarūpa-śakti of the Lord.

The grace cannot in all cases operate directly, for the Lord cannot, unlike the Jīva, feel the mutual disturbance of kindness and sorrow which is the result of the Tamo-guṇa ; it therefore operates through the medium of saintly persons who are free from the effects of Prakṛti and are therefore direct receptacles of divine grace.[1] It is true that the saints and sages are also not touched by the sorrows of the world, and kindness or pity is thus out of place in them ; but the memory of their previous sorrows, like those of a person awakened from dreams, makes them feel compassion for the miseries of other beings. The first cause of Bhakti, no doubt, is the grace of the Lord,[2] but the association with saints and devotees is the most important medium through which this divine grace is communicated.

The saints and devotees are classified into two types, namely, (*i*) those who follow the way of Jñāna and devote themselves to the Nirviśeṣa Brahman (*jñāna-mārge brahmānubhavinaḥ*), and (*ii*) those who follow the way of Bhakti and possess the love of the Bhagavat (*bhakti-mārge labdha-bhagavat-premāṇaḥ*). They are respectively called the Jñāni-siddha and the Bhakta-siddha ; but of these the latter are to be preferred. A realisation of the deity is indeed the highest goal, but there are degrees of realisation according to degrees of perception of divine love ; and the Bhagavat-preman is the chief criterion which differentiates the types of devotees.[3] Of the various kinds of Bhakta-siddhas, again, those who by means of their devotion have been included in the class of the

1 *yā kṛpā tasya satsu vartate sā sat-saṅgenaiva sat-kṛpā-vāhaṇenaiva vā jīvāntare saṃkramate, na svatantrā.*

2 *bhagavat-kṛpaiva tat-saṃmukhye prāthamikaṃ kāraṇam.*

3 *sākṣātkāra - mātrasyāpi yadyapi puruṣa - prayojanatvam, tathāpi tasminn api sākṣātkāre śrī-bhagavataḥ priyatva-dharmānubhavas tāvāṃstāvān utkarṣaḥ.....tataḥ prema-tāratamyenaiva bhakta-tāratamyaṃ mukhyam.*

eternal Attendants of the Bhagavat cannot be expected, like the deity himself, to be in direct touch with phenomenal beings in the matter of conveying divine grace. But there are other Bhakta-siddhas, who are Bhāgavata saints and sages and who can act as a medium of the grace and generate Bhakti in the individual. There are various kinds of such saints, but Bhakti is roused from their contact with such quickness and in such special form as is proportionate to the degree of the power and the feeling of compassion of the particular saint or sage from whom the inspiration is derived.[1] This leads us to the theory of the necessity of a spiritual guide or Guru, a theory which plays an important part in all types of Bhakti religion. The justification of this Guru-vāda lies in the fact that the spiritual guide is supposed to be one who has actually traversed the narrow and straight path and attained spiritual illumination, and that the contact and influence of such an experienced person should be of immense benefit to the beginner in the attainment of spiritual truth. From this association with saintly persons (Sādhu-saṅga) arises first of all Ruci or relish in the object of worship and in the ways of worship, and this produces Śraddhā or belief as a preliminary stage to Bhakti. It is, therefore, laid down that from such saintly people, either collectively or individually, one should listen to the exposition of spiritual truth by making one or all of them his Guru.[2] This is the Śravaṇa-guru who may also be the Śikṣā-guru when he undertakes to train the mind of his disciple. Such Gurus may be many, but the Mantra-guru who imparts to the disciple the esoteric sacred formula for meditation cannot be more than one.[3] The very high position which the spiritual guide occupies in the Vaiṣṇava scheme of devotion is indicated by the

1 *teṣāṃ bahu-bhedeṣu satsu, teṣām eva prabhāva-tāratamyena kṛpā-tāratamyena bhakti-vāsanā-bheda-tāratamyena sat-saṅgāt kāla śaighrya-svārūpavaiśiṣṭyābhyāṃ bhaktir udyate.*

2 *teṣvekato'nekato vā śrī-gurutvenāśritāc chravaṇaṃ kriyate.*

3 *śrī-mantra-gurus tveka eva.*

injunction that the Guru should be looked upon as the divinity himself.[1]

The stages, beginning from the awakening of the Ruci to the instruction of the spiritual guide, are the preliminaries of Upāsanā or worship, and are therefore called the Upāsanā-pūrvāṅga. This is followed by different types or stages of Upāsanā graded according to the capacity of the worshipper. If the Guru is a Jñānin, the Upāsanā will be Nirviśeṣamaya, or worship of the Nirviśeṣa Brahman ; for Jñāna follows from association with the Jñāni-siddha,[2] just in the same way as Bhakti follows from association with the Bhakta-siddha. But the Upāsanā may also be Saviśeṣamaya and consist of the worship of a personal god. This may again be either Ahaṃ-graha-Upāsanā or Bhakti-rūpa-Upāsanā. The Ahaṃ-graha-Upāsanā consists of the meditation of one's identity with a personal god conceived as being possessed of particular Śakti ;[3] and the result naturally is the appearance of the particular divine Śakti in one's self,[4] leading the devotee ultimately to the Svārūpya and Sārṣṭya forms of Mukti. As both the objective and the result are limited, this form of worship constitutes a lower stage of realisation than what follows from the Bhakti-rūpa-Upāsanā.

The word Bhakti is derived from the verbal root *bhaj*, which is said to signify complete servitude or Sevā. This state of servitude to the Lord, therefore, is taken as the essential characteristic (*svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*) of Bhakti, the other characteristics already mentioned being only concomitants. This servitude or Sevā consists of entire submission in body, mind and words.[5] The Bhakti, according to its character and origin, is classified into three aspects or rather stages, namely: (*i*) Āropa-siddhā or accomplished by outward imposition.

1 *sva-gurau bhagavad-dṛṣṭiḥ kartavyaḥ.*
2 *jñāni-saṅgāc ca jñānaṃ jñeyam.*
3 *ahaṃ-grahopāsanaṃ tac-chakti-viśiṣṭa īśvara evāham iti cintanam.*
4 *asya phalaṃ svasmiṃs tac-chaktyādyāvirbhāvaḥ.*
5 *sā ca kāyika-vācika-mānasikātmikā trividhevānugatir ucyate.*

It occurs when there is no spontaneous growth of Bhakti, but the feeling is raised to the state of Bhakti from the performance of acts dedicated to the Bhagavat.[1] (*ii*) Saṅga-siddhā, or accomplished by association with saintly persons. In this case also there is no spontaneous rise of Bhakti, but the feeling which grows from Jñāna, Karman and ancilliaries thereof (*jñāna-karma-tadaṅga-rūpā*) is regarded as included in the category, apparently because it is a stepping stone to pure Bhakti. (*iii*) Svarūpa-siddhā or accomplished by its own nature. It may arise even though the devotee is unaware of it,[2] but it is invariably favourable to the growth of Bhakti[3] and consists of a direct inclination towards it in the form of such devotional acts as listening to or taking of the divine name.[4] The illustration given of this attitude is the case of Prahlāda, who in his previous birth observed, without knowing, religious fasting on the Nṛsiṃha-caturdaśī day ; or a still better illustration is the legend of the hawk, who having been carried in the mouth of a dog, made a compulsory circumambulation of the temple of the Bhagavat ! Each of these types of devotional attitude may, again, be Sakaitavā or Akaitavā, with or without a contrivance. Of the two forms of Āropa-siddhā and Saṅga-siddhā, the feeling in each case is said to be Sakaitavā when it takes the attainment of the state of Bhakti only as a means. The Svarūpa-siddhā is Sakaitavā when, through some other motive, it becomes subsidiary to Karman and Jñāna. When there is no other motive but the pleasure of the Bhagavat, the feeling is Akaitavā, and this type of Bhakti has already been described above as Akiṃcanā.

This true type of the devotional feeling, known as the Akaitavā or Akiṃcanā, admits of two stages, which are

1 *svato bhaktitvābhāve'pi bhagavad-arpaṇādinā bhaktitvaṃ prāptā karmādi-rūpā.*

2 *ajñānādināpi tat-prādurbhāve.*

3 *bhaktitvāvyabhicāriṇī.*

4 *sākṣāt tad-anugatyātmā tadīya-śravaṇa-kīrtanādi-rūpā.*

respectively designated as Vaidhī and Rāgānugā. Of these, the Vaidhī Bhakti as the preliminary stage is taken up first for treatment, but as the subject has already been dealt with by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*,[1] we shall only refer to the peculiar features of Jīva Gosvāmin's exposition. The Vaidhī is so called because it arises from the injunction of the Śāstra (*śāstrokta-vidhinā-pravartitā vaidhī*), while the *Rāgānugā*, which follows the natural course of emotion, arises spontaneously and is independent of all such injunction. The injunction may be of two kinds, namely, that which is the cause of inclination towards Bhakti, and that which causes the knowledge of what to do and what not to do for the steadying of that inclination.[2]

The elements of the Vaidhī Bhakti are enumerated as eleven, thus : (*i*) Śaraṇāpattiḥ, or resorting to the Bhagavat as the only refuge (*ananya-gati*). It arises in two ways, namely, through the inborn conviction that there is nothing else which can afford permanent refuge,[3] or through forsaking other alternatives adopted unwisely.[4] This mental state is analysed, after the Vaiṣṇava Tantra, into fixing of the mind on things congenial to the idea (*anukūlasya saṃkalpaḥ*), forsaking of things uncongenial (*prātikūlya-vivarjanam*), the belief that the deity will protect him (*rakṣisyatīti viśvāsaḥ*), choosing him as the protector (*goptṛtve varaṇam*), resignation of self (*ātma-nikṣepaḥ*), and humility as an object of compassion (*kārpaṇyam*). The next stage is (*ii*) Guru-sevā, or devotion to the spiritual guide. The Guru is to be honoured above all beings and strictly obeyed, provided he satisfies all the scriptural requirements of a true guide. If the Guru is full of self-conceit (*avalipta*), has no real knowledge of duties (*kāryākāryam ajānan*), or himself deviates from the true

1 See above p. 173 f.

2 *sa ca vidhir dvividhaḥ, tatra prathamaḥ pravṛtti-hetuḥ, tad-anukrama-kartavyākartavyānāṃ jñāna-hetuś ca dvitīyaḥ.*

3 *āśrayāntarasyābhāva-kathanena.*

4 *nāti-prajñayā kathaṃcid-āśritasyānyasya tyajanena.*

Vaiṣṇava ways, he should be abandoned. This stage is followed by (*iii*) Śravaṇa, or the act of listening to the accounts of the form, sport and name of the Bhagavat,[1] and not to a mere repetition of set formulas and prayers. Of all kinds of Śravaṇa, the act of listening to the *Bhāgavata* is the best.[2] Closely allied to this is (*iv*) Kīrtana, or chanting aloud of the above things, especially of the blessed name. This is said to be the most powerful means of effecting a devotional attitude; and not being subject to the restrictions of time, place or person, it is the only efficacious method which should be universally adopted in the present decadent Kali Age.[3] The chanting of Stotras in praise of the deity, which gives expression to one's humility (*nija-dainya*) or one's wishes (*nijābhīṣṭa*), is included in the category of Kīrtana.

A still higher stage is reached in (*v*) Smaraṇa, or the act of remembering, which is described as mental concentration (*mānasānusaṃdhānam*) and which consists of fixing one's thought on the name, form or sport of the deity. Five kinds of Smaraṇa are differentiated, namely Smaraṇa-sāmānya or fixing one's mind on the deity, however slightly or indefinitely (*yat-kiṃcid-anusaṃdhānam*); Dhāraṇā, or withdrawing the mind from all sides and fixing it in a general way;[4] Dhyāna, or special concentration of the mind with reference to the name, form etc. of the deity;[5] Dhruvānusmṛti, which is the same as above but which is an uninterrupted flow like a stream of nectar (*amṛta-dhārāvad avicchinnaṃ tat*); and Samādhi, or the exclusive appearance of the object of thought in the mind (*dhyeyamātra-sphuraṇam*), which, however, is different from the Asaṃprajñāta Brahma-samādhi. This leads to various external acts of devotion collectively included under the designation : (*vi*) Padasevā, such as the act of

1 *nāma-rūpa-līlāmaya-śabdānāṃ śrotra-sparśaḥ.*
2 *tatrāpi śravaṇe śrī-bhāgavata-śravaṇaṃ tu parama-śreṣṭham.*
3 *kalau tu praśastaṃ tat.*
4 *sarvataś cittam ākṛṣya sāmānyākāreṇa mano-dhāraṇam.*
5 *viśeṣato rūpādi-cintanam.*

seeing, touching or going round (*parikrama*) the image of the deity, following the procession of the image (*anuvrajana*), residence in the temple or in some sacred place, pilgrimage, bathing in the holy waters of a Tīrtha, etc. Living in holy places and pilgrimage are extolled as affording an opportunity of meeting saints and sages in these places. Further overt acts of devotion constitute the next stage called (*vii*) Arcanā, which includes various rites of worship to be learnt from the instruction of the Mantra-Guru or from the Āgamas. It is true that the *Bhāgavata* does not, as the Pañcarātra scriptures do, insist upon the necessity of ceremonial worship,[1] for recourse to one or other of the modes like Śaraṇāpatti mentioned above is, in its opinion, enough for attaining the highest good ;[2] but those who desire to follow this way of the Pañcarātra can do so in accordance with the Dīkṣā received from their Gurus. This way of ceremonial worship is intended especially for those who are wealthy householders,[3] for this is how their wealth can be best utilised. In this connexion the worship of inferior deities is deprecated. The Arcanā also comprehends such pious acts as putting on the Vaiṣṇava signs on one's body (Vaiṣṇava-cihna-dhāraṇa), partaking of the remains of an offering to the deity (Nirmālya-dhāraṇa) or drinking of the holy water obtained after washing the feet of the image (Caraṇāmṛta-pāna) etc., which are regularly enjoined in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra. Closely connected with this is (*viii*) Vandana, or act of homage, which is indeed an Aṅga or auxiliary of Arcanā, but which is separately mentioned in order to indicate that it may be independently employed like Smaraṇa, Kīrtana etc.[4] It includes Namaskāra

1 *yadyapi śrī-bhāgavata-mate pañcarātravad arcanā-mārgasyāvaśyakatvaṃ nāsti.*

2 *tad vināpi śaraṇāpattyādīnām ekatareṇāpi puruṣārtha-siddher abhihitatvāt.*

3 *ye tu saṃpattimanto gṛhasthās teṣāṃ tvarcanā-mārga eva mukhyaḥ.*

4 *tac ca yadyapi arcanāṅgatvenāpi vartate, tathāpi kīrtana-smaraṇavat svātantryeṇāpītyabhipretya pṛthag vidhīyate.*

or salutation, which in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism consists of prostration at full length like a log of wood (*daṇḍavat praṇāmaḥ*). The acts and ceremonies mentioned above gradually produce feelings of humility, fellowship or entire self-surrender, which are now mentioned as Aṅgas of the Vaidhī Bhakti. The feeling of humility is indicated by (*ix*) Dāsya, which consists not only of actual service but also of the feeling that one is a servant of the Lord (*dāsyaṃmanyatvam*). Leaving alone the effort of worship, this very feeling of servitude, if fully realised, is enough for attaining the desired end ; hence Dāsya is separately mentioned as a way of Bhakti.[1] This feeling of servitude is said to underlie and uplift all devotional practices.[2] A somewhat higher feeling is (*x*) Sakhya, or the sense of friendship or relationship (*bandhu-bhāva*), which, like Dāsya, follows from the very nature of the relation of the Jīva and the Bhagavat. The last stage is reached in (*xi*) Ātmanivedana, or complete surrender of self which consists of the feeling that one's body, mind, the senses, and soul are all intended for the Bhagavat.[3] This feeling is marked also by the absence of all efforts for one's self (*ātmārtha-ceṣṭā-śūnyatva*) and by the presence alone of efforts directed towards the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*tad-arthaika-ceṣṭāmayatva*). It thus consists of the dedication of self, both as a means and as an end, to the Bhagavat (*tan-nyastātma-sādhana-sādhyatva*).

Sometimes one or other of these eleven elements, which are interrelated to one another, is extolled as exclusively excellent in the scriptures ; this is due not to any inherent mutual contradiction among these various ways, but to the fact that the one or the other is to be believed in or practised

1 *astu tāvad bhajana-prayāsaḥ, kevala-tādṛśatvābhimānenāpi siddhir bhavatīti abhipretyaivottarotara-nirdeśaś ca tasya.*

2 *etad-dāsya-saṃbandhenaiva sarvam api bhajanaṃ mahattaraṃ bhavati.*

3 *dehādi - śuddhātma - paryantasya sarvatobhāvena tasmin evārpaṇam.*

according to the capacity of the individual worshipper, just in the same way as medicine is to be administered according to the capacity of the patient.

As this aspect of Bhakti is guided by the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava scriptures, it is conditional. It is based upon the fear of transgression ; and as fear enters as an element in guiding devotional practices, this method must be regarded as somewhat formal and mechanical. As a preliminary stage, however, it is indispensable for some individuals before they can pass on to the higher and more spontaneous Rāgānugā Bhakti, to the treatment of which now Jīva Gosvāmin turns his attention.

By Rāgānugā Bhakti is meant the feeling of devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, eternally displayed by the Śaktis (in the form of divine Parikaras) towards the Śaktimat. The Rāgātmikā Bhakti, as its name implies, consists entirely of Rāga, which is defined as the natural excess of desire or attachment of a subject towards the object of desire or attachment.[1] For instance, whether the self wishes it or not, the five senses cannot but come into contact with the particular objects of inclination and be attracted by them. The sense of sight is naturally drawn towards beauty, that of smell towards fragrance, etc. In the same way the devotee cannot but be attracted towards the Bhagavat.[2] This spontaneous flow of devotion is called Rāgātmikā Bhakti. The Rāga may admit of various aspects according to the feeling and the relationship conceived between the subject and the object, for the Lord himself has said (*Bhāgavata*, iii. 25. 38): *yeṣām ahaṃ priya ātmā sutaś ca/sakhā guruḥ suhṛdo daivam iṣṭam* ("Of whom I am the Beloved, the Soul, the Son, the Friend, the Elderly Ancestor, the Relatives, and the Desirable Deity"). It is explained that the Lord appeared as the Priya to

1 *viṣayinaḥ svābhāviko viṣaya-saṃsargecchātiśayaḥ premā rāgaḥ.*

2 *yathā cakṣurādīnāṃ saundaryam, tādṛśa evātra bhaktasya śrī-bhagavatyapi rāga ityucyate.*

the Gopīs and his Mahiṣīs, as the Ātmā to ascetics like Sanaka, as the Suta to Nanda and Yaśodā, as the Sakhā to Gopas like Sudāman, as the Guru to Pradyumna and others, as the Suhṛt to Subhadrā, and as the Iṣṭa Deva to people like Dāruka. In his Līlā he manifests himself in these diverse ways to his Parikaras who are dear to him ; and the feeling of the Parikaras towards him takes the various forms of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti which thus expresses itself as a deep and natural feeling of attachment. The Vaidhī Bhakti depends upon the injunctions of the Śāstras, and hence it is comparatively weak, being mechanical ; but the Rāgānugā, which follows the natural emotional ways of the Parikaras of the Bhagavat is independent of all outward rule and is therefore spontaneous and strong.

It may be objected that if the Rāgānugā Bhakti is marked by freedom from scriptural injunctions, the statement about its merit as the highest Dharma is in conflict with the well-known dictum of Jaimini (1. 1. 2, *codanā-lakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ*) which lays down that the Dharma is that which is enjoined by scriptural injunction. It is also said in the *Bhāgavata* that the Śruti and Smṛti, consisting of injunctions and prohibitions, are the directions of the Bhagavat himself, so that one who disregards them is guilty of violating divine commandments and cannot be regarded as a true Vaiṣṇava or a Bhakta. How is it then that fulfilment is said to follow in a way of worship which is indifferent to the Śāstric rules of conduct ?[1] This apparent anomaly is reconciled by the statement that Bhakti must be distinguished from other kinds of Dharma, which depend upon outward Śāstric rules ; for the devotional attitude which springs spontaneously from the intrinsic potency of the divine names and attributes is independent of such injunctions.[2] It is known from experience that in many cases there has been attainment of such devotion

1 *katham tarhi vidhi-nirapekṣayā tayā siddhiḥ.*

2 *śrī-bhagavan-nāma-guṇādiṣu vastu-śakteḥ siddhatvān na dharmavad bhakteś codanā-sāpekṣatvam.*

even without any knowledge of scriptural rules.[1] It is true that scriptural directions should not be disregarded, but directions are for those who have no natural inclination towards religious devotion ;[2] it is for such people that grades of injunctions are prescribed.[3] They are not necessary for those who have a natural proneness ;[4] for such outward mechanical rules are obligatory only when the mind in the early stage of devotion is inwardly distracted and cannot attain the natural stage of composure, which is essential for the Rāgānugā Bhakti. Hence, the chief object of the injunctions is to bring about this gradual concentration of the mind,[5] and prepare it for the higher stage of the Rāgānugā Bhakti,[6] in which the devotional spirit has a spontaneous and uninterrupted flow. It follows, therefore, that the scriptural injunctions are not to be ignored or violated ; on the contrary, they are strictly binding on those are still far away from the state of the Rāgānugā Bhakti. But when that state of mind is once reached, either by the Vaidhī or by itself, that is, when the object of the injunctions is fulfilled, there is no further necessity for compliance with them. At this higher stage of the Rāgānugā Bhakti, if there is any violation of such injunctions, such violation does not constitute wilful transgression ; for it takes place spontaneously by the spirit of Bhakti and does not in any way affect the natural attitude of the devotee towards the Bhagavat.

That this mode of Rāgānugā Bhakti is most efficacious is illustrated by the Purāṇic examples of Pūtanā and Śiśupāla. In the first case, by pretending Vātsalya or parental effection for Kṛṣṇa, Pūtanā does not actually realise but merely imitates one of the modes of the Rāgānugā devotion ; but, in spite of

1 *ato jñānadikaṃ vināpi phala-lābho bahutra śruto'sti.*
2 *codanā tu yasya svataḥ pravṛttir nāsti tad-viṣayaiva.*
3 *tathā krama-vidhiś ca tad-viṣayaḥ.*
4 *na tu svayaṃ pravṛttimatyapi maryādā-nirmāṇam.*
5 *kramaśaś cittābhiniveśāya.*
6 *vartma-praveśāya.*

her insincerity and sinister motive, her mere imitativeness is said to have been amply rewarded by divine grace. In the second case, under the cover of a life-long and inveterate vindictiveness towards Kṛṣṇa. Śiśupāla's whole thought was indeed deeply concentrated on Kṛṣṇa, and this fervency of feeling, despite its ill-directed motive, could not but bring its own reward in the shape of Sāyujya Mukti for Śiśupāla. On account of this adverse attitude, Śiśupāla could not attain the highest good, namely, Preman or love for Kṛṣṇa, and he was given the lowest place in the hierarchy of emancipated beings ; but this and other examples show that the Rāgānugā Bhakti, even if it is imitative, adverse or apathetic, is superior to the Vaidhī, even when the latter is directed in a congenial and sympathetic way.

It has been already said above that the Rāgānugā Bhakti is that devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the constant Attendants or Parikaras of the Bhagavat, which is thus an aspect of the eternal divine sport displayed in the divine Dhāmans. These Parikaras represent the different aspects of the Lord's own energy of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti, which in its infinite potency reflects itself differently in them in the form of different personal relationships conceived in emotional terms. The one and the same infinite Rasa or divine sentiment of bliss is differently expressed, and results in different devotional relationships between the Śaktimat and the aspects of his Śakti. Viewed from the standpoint of emotional human relationship (Rāgātmikā), the varieties of Rasa thus reflected in the divine Parikaras become the different types or stages of Rāgātmikā Bhakti. On the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, the Rāgānugā Bhakti of ordinary devotees is modelled as types or stages of spontaneous devotional sentiment. The Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realisation of this character ; it is enough if the enjoined religious duties are performed in an attitude of devotion. The Rāgānugā Bhakti, on the other hand, consists of an emotional sublimation of intimate human sentiments

by directing them towards the Bhagavat. It is, no doubt, an inward and spontaneous realisation, but it is still an elaborate realisation or Sādhana ; like the Vaidhī, it is still Sādhana-bhakti, but the Sādhana is independent of mechanical Śāstric formulas and depends entirely on one's own emotional capacity of devotion. It is, however, vicarious in the sense that the devotee, according to his individual capacity, imitates and realises within himself the different aspects of the beatific sport of the deity with his Associates in terms of one or other of the varieties of the blissful sentiment. It does not consist of a direct establishment of personal relationship between the deity and the devotee, but the devotee prepares himself for such direct personal contact by this preliminary vicarious enjoyment of the devotional sentiments of the deity's own Parikaras, who typify the highest forms of devotional realisation. This Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the divine Parikaras cannot indeed be reached in its perfection by phenomenal beings, but years of constant practice can prepare them for ultimately attaining this state.[1]

These forms or gradations of emotional realisation are classified, in terms of human sentiments, into five broad categories of Rasas or devotional sentiments, namely, Śānta, Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya and Mādhurya, the characteristics of which have already been indicated above in connexion with Rūpa Gosvāmin's treatment of the Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra. The idea of the stages of distinct personal relationship of the deity and his Parikaras is a fundamental postulate with the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, because otherwise the relationship would be reduced to one of colourless identity, which cannot be posited in view of the theory of difference in non-difference accepted by the school. It is for this reason that the Śānta-Bhakti, which does not involve any such idea of personal emotional relationship, is distinguished as inferior to the other four. The Śānta-Bhakti consists of Śama or a state of mental

1 See above p. 178.

composure, in which the devotee, according to the description of the *Gītā*, becomes *brahmabhūta* and attains the consciousness of his complete identity with Brahman. This mode of realisation, therefore, is not based upon the idea of personal relationship with the Bhagavat conceived as the Perfect Person, and would reduce the devotional sentiment into a sentiment of self-worship. No doubt, it involves an amount of Bhakti, but both in its method and objective it is mixed with Jñāna ; and such Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti has already been spoken of above as an inferior type of Bhakti. It is not entirely rejected as a mode, but it is followed only by those who are desirous of Mukti or complete absorption in the impersonal Brahman. The pure Bhakti, on the other hand, is free from any such inferior objective, but it wants to continue its worship of the deity in some form of direct emotional relationship even in a state of emancipation from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti. The first stage of this unmixed Bhakti is Dāsya or the sentiment of servitude, which is higher than the somewhat colourless sentiment involved in Śānta-Bhakti, for it conceives the Bhagavat as the eternal master and the Parikara as his eternal servant. There are also two other stages of affectionate relation, namely, Sakhya or Friendship and Vātsalya or Parental Sentiment, until the climax is reached in the stage of Mādhurya or pure erotic Love, symbolised by the intense and exquisite feeling of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa. This sentiment can also be imitated and vicariously realised by the devotee irrespective of his sex. In this highest stage the Lordship of the deity is completely suppressed by a sweetly powerful and self-surrendering charm which produces a strong mutual attraction between the deity and his Parikara.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that the passion of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa must not be viewed as mere sensual passion (Prākṛta Kāma). No doubt, there are verses in the *Bhāgavata* in which the display of conjugal love is described with reference to Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs ; but even if it is desire or Kāma, in the Gopīs it becomes pure love or

Preman ;[1] for in all these ecstatic sports the Gopīs never had the slightest desire for their own pleasure, but all their efforts were directed towards effecting the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. In the case of the Sairaṃdhrī (the Kubjā), her desire for sporting with Kṛṣṇa is not deprecated in itself ; for whatever may have been the character of her desire, she did not long for an inferior worldly object,[2] but for the Bhagavat himself,[3] and there is no doubt from her words about the intensity of her feeling. It is deprecated only in comparison with the feeling of the Gopīs, for her desire for sport was entirely for her own sensual pleasure, while that of the Gopīs was exclusively intended for Kṛṣṇa,[4] In accordance with the *Vedānta-sūtra* ii. 1. 33 (*lokavat tu līlā-kaivalyam*), the Lord's intrinsic self consists of nothing but a spontaneous sport of his own infinite bliss.[5] This sport must be understood to be non-phenomenal (*aprākṛta*), but it is similar in form to that of phenomenal beings (*lokavat*). In the phenomenal world the pleasure derived from conjugal love is reckoned as the highest fruition of sensuous pleasure ; it is only natural that the Bhagavat should also display in his sport with his Śaktis supersensuous pleasure of a similar character. The sex-instinct is thus acknowledged in this theology as one of the highest human instincts which finds a transfigured counterpart or ideal in the highest sportive instinct of the divine being. The Gopīs, as already shown, are nothing but aspects of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa's highest energy of bliss (Hlādinī Śakti), and sport with them after the manner of phenomenal beings is only a natural expression of the divine self. Moreover, the sacred texts show that even ascetics and devotees like Uddhava, who were above

1 *tādṛśīṇāṃ kāmo hi premaika-rūpaḥ.*

2 *prākṛtam eva viṣayam.*

3 *sā tu bhagavantam eva kāmayate iti parama-sumanīṣiṇyeva.*

4 *sairaṃdhryās tu bhāvo riraṃsā-prāyatvena śrī-gopīnām iva kevala-tat-tātparyābhāvāt tad-apekṣayaiva nindyate, na tu svarūpataḥ.*

5 *līlā tvatra svabhāvata eva siddhā.*

worldly pleasure, praised and desired such pleasure of conjugal love as displayed by the Gopīs. The *Padma-purāṇa* records that even the Śrutis (the Vedas) also craved for it, and were incarnated as Gopīs. The fact that not only women but also men, and men of saintly character, desire it shows that the feeling is free from all touch of mere sensuality.[1]

In conclusion Jīva Gosvāmin states that other details about Bhakti-mārga are to be learnt from the Śāstras or from the examples of great devotees. But whatever devotional secret one obtains from the grace of the Bhagavat or from his Guru should be cherished as a precious possession and should not be divulged to any one.

f. THE PRĪTI-SAṂDARBHA

The object of this Saṃdarbha is to establish that Prīti or Prema-bhakti, which as devotional love for the Bhagavat is the highest type of Bhakti, is the *summum bonum* of human life. In the first four Saṃdarbhas, the ultimate reality or the Parama-tattva has been explained and identified with the Saṃbandha-tattva of the Śāstra, namely, the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa as the highest and most exclusive object of worship (Upāsya). In the fifth Saṃdarbha his worship (Upāsanā) has been declared as the Abhidheya or subject-matter of the Śāstra. In the present Saṃdarbha, the Prīti for the Bhagavat is considered as the highest end or Prayojana. It has been declared by philosophers that the highest Prayojana or the highest good of man is the discontinuance of the miseries of existence (*duḥkha-nivṛtti*) and the attainment of happiness (*sukha-prāpti*). An attempt is made now to demonstrate that the Bhagavat-prīti brings happiness which is unalloyed and imperishable, and consequently causes the absolute and permanent cessation of misery. It is shown that by this intense feeling of devotional love, which can be relished by the devotee as a blissful supersensuous sentiment (Rasa),

1 *na prākṛtaḥ kāmo'sau.*

the Bhagavat can be realised in his true character ; for the Bhagavat himself realises in it his own nature of perfect bliss and reveals himself in his self-surrendering grace.

In the scriptures the ultimate reality is established as the real (*sat*), eternal (*ananta*), absolute (*kevala*) and perfect (*parama*) bliss. This bliss is distinguished from every other kind of bliss, for it is pure and abundant, being placed beyond the sphere of the Māyā-śakti, and is, therefore, unlike phenomenal pleasure which is mixed with sorrow and therefore transient and insufficient. It has been already explained in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* that, although the Jīva belongs to the Bhagavat (*tadīyo'pi*), its knowledge of the Bhagavat is defeated by the external Māyā-śakti ; and as this results in a loss of self-knowledge and in an absorption in the phenomenal conditions (Upādhi) fashioned by the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva is tied to the misery of rebirth (Saṃsāra). The Jīva's want of knowledge of the Bhagavat is declared to be an instance of Prāgabhāva (non-existence previous to production) ; that is, it exists from the beginning but can be removed by divine grace ; it is not a case of Dhvaṃsābhāva (non-existence due to total destruction) or Atyantābhāva (absolute non-existence) ; for, in these cases the attainment of knowledge would have been entirely impossible. In other words, the Jīva's knowledge of the Bhagavat may be temporarily non-existent, but the Jīva possesses, through divine grace, the inherent capacity of attaining it. This knowledge of the Bhagavat, which is equivalent to beatitude or direct realisation of the ultimate reality, consists of the attainment of the highest bliss ; and this is declared to be the highest human good or the Parama-puruṣārtha. As soon as the radical cause, namely, want of knowledge, is removed, the Jīva's loss of self-knowledge automatically disappears ; for the knowledge of self consists entirely of the knowledge of the self-manifesting divine self, of which the individual self is only a part. The cessation of misery follows as a natural result from this blissful realisation ; and, being destroyed eternally,

the cessation becomes absolute and perpetual (*dhvaṃsābhava*). As it is preceded by the removal of the fetters of the Māyā-śakti or the bondage of Saṃsāra by an appearance of the Svarūpa-śakti in the shape of Prema-bhakti, it is called Mukti or emancipation. The Mukti has, therefore, been described in the *Bhāgavata* (ii. 10. 6) as the attainment of the Jīva's natural state and function by relinquishing its otherwise imposed state and function.[1] It has been already shown that the view that the Jīva and the Bhagavat are identical is wrong ; the Jīva, as a part (Aṃśa) attains the whole (Aṃśin), which, according to the capacity and mode of worship, may be either the Brahman or the Bhagavat. Of these two modes of attainment, the first consists merely of the appearance of the knowledge of the impersonal Brahman on the destruction of that function of the Māyā-śakti which is known as the Avidyā and of the absorption of the Jīva in Brahman ; but the second, which is higher, consists of the attainment of the Bhagavat in his fullest and truest self in his own paradise, where the Jīva in its essential character is brought in direct contact with the personal god. The attainment of the Brahman, much less of the Bhagavat, must not be understood to imply that the individual attains sameness or identity, but it means that the individual merely posits its own intrinsic similarity to the divine reality, the similarity consisting in the inherent possession, even in infinitesimal proportion, of the divine Svarūpa-śakti of bliss, which for the time being was suppressed by the Māyā-śakti. This Mukti can be attained during life-time (Jīvad-daśā) as well as after leaving the gross and the subtle bodies after death (Utkrānta-daśā). In the latter state, both kinds of body (gross and subtle) being destroyed, the Jīva is no longer subject to the bondage of Karman and consequently to phenomenal pleasure and pain ; it thus becomes fit to receive the highest bliss which reveals

1 *muktir hitvānyathā-rūpaṃ svarūpeṇa vyavasthitiḥ.*

itself and destroys misery for ever. The Śāstra speaks of this type of Mukti as the highest Prayojana or Puruṣārtha.

It has been already made clear that the divine reality can be attained either in the indistinct and indiscrete form (*aspaṣṭa-viśeṣa-rūpa*) of Brahman or in the distinct and proper form of the Bhagavat ; and that of these, the direct beatitude or Sākṣātkāra of the Bhagavat is much superior to the mere consciousness or Jñāna of Brahman. This theme is further elucidated here from a different point of view. Of all the attributes or energies of the divine self, the highest is its special attribute of belovedness (*priyatva-lakṣaṇa-dharma-viśeṣa*), which implies the state both of loving and being loved and which is one of the highest functions of its energy of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti. One may possess a series of good qualities, but without Prīti or love such qualities have hardly any significance ; on the other hand, the value of the qualities can be properly realised only when such a person is regarded with Prīti or love. It follows, therefore, that the divine attributes are fully realised only when the attribute of Prīti is realised, that is, only when the divine person is realised not only as an object of love but also as capable of love himself. In all divine revelation or Sākṣātkāra, therefore, the element of Prīti must predominate ; and the degree of the revelation depends upon the degree of the Prīti involved in it. It follows from what has been said above that (*i*) the attainment of the highest happiness and the consequent cessation of misery, which constitute Mukti, are attainable by divine Sākṣātkāra alone, (*ii*) without Prīti there can be no Sākṣātkāra or revelation of the divine self or of his intrinsic attributes, (*iii*) this Sākṣātkāra consists of the apprehension of the ultimate divine reality in its truest and fullest character of the Bhagavat as a personal god in his own paradise, (*iv*) by Prīti or intense devotional love alone for the deity, there is certainty of such apprehension, (*v*) upon the quality and extent of the Prīti depend the character and degree of the apprehension, and (*vi*) the Bhagavat-Prīti alone is thus the only *summum bonum* of man.

That the Prīti is the highest good can also be established by the ways of the world (*loka-vyavahāra*). All beings are naturally inclined towards Prīti or love, for it is seen that life itself is sacrificed for the beloved object. A man seeks different objects of love in his childhood, youth and old age, but his search is never fully satisfied ; for everyone desires to love that object which brings the highest and most enduring bliss, and such an object is unavailable in the phenomenal world. The Bhagavat alone as the source of such bliss is the highest object of love. Thus, through cycles of birth, the Jīva never realises the proper and fully sufficient object of love until it reaches the Bhagavat in whom all his Prīti finally rests. One who is full of Prīti towards the Bhagavat can have no love for any other object ; even emancipation as such is insignificant to him. In saying, therefore, that Prīti is the highest good, one can only mean Prīti towards the Bhagavat.

Those who maintain that there is no feeling of bliss in Mukti fail to demonstrate that it is the highest good. The existence of bliss is useless unless it can be felt ; for no one desires that he will become bliss itself, but he desires to feel the bliss. Hence, if there is no feeling of bliss in the state of release, then it would be a futile objective for which no effort would be undertaken and no desire entertained. Those who maintain, therefore, that in Mukti there is no consciousness of feeling and consequently no experience of bliss, prescribe a *summum bonum* which can hardly stimulate any desire or effort for attainment. That there is such an experience (*anubhava*) of bliss even in emancipation is established in the Śruti. Even when the Jīva attains the state of identity with Brahman, it can never, as we have seen, become the Brahman itself because of the relation of difference in non-difference, and there is some bliss even in the realisation of Brahman ; but since in the higher manifestation of the Bhagavat there is a full display of the intrinsic divine energies, the bliss in this case springs from the perfect divine self and is of a varied and wonderful character (*ānanda-vaicitrya*). This

Bhagavat-sākṣātkāra alone, in which there is an experience of infinite bliss, is entitled to the designation of Mukti.

The Sākṣātkāra or revelation of the Bhagavat may occur either by the inward (*antar*) or the outward (*bahis*) appearance of the deity to the devotee; in other words, the Bhagavat may either reveal himself inwardly to the contemplative mind, or he may do so outwardly to the mind and the different organs of senses. The outward vision, however, is regarded as superior to the inward, for the actual sight of the deity as a person is a higher realisation than the mere comprehension through mental meditation. Purity of mind and body is a necessary qualification, but such purity itself is the result of the self-manifesting energy of the divine will discovered by the particular mode of Bhakti. The Bhakti, being a special function of the divine Svarūpa-śakti, can never be produced but appears of itself through divine grace; and the human mind and senses, being affected by this self-manifested energy of the divine self, become possessed of the conceit that they are themselves the means of divine manifestation. If it is objected that this conclusion would dispense with the very necessity of mental and bodily purity, it is replied that such purity is nevertheless necessary for reflecting, as in a mirror, the divine energy. The removal of the gross consciousness induced by the Māyā-śakti abolishes the phenomenal self; and the true self, standing out in its essential purity and tranquillity, becomes a sort of supersensuous medium for the appearance of the divine being.

It must not be supposed that during divine descent as Avatāras, even impure minds obtained a direct vision. What they obtained was merely a semblance (Ābhāsa) of the vision, which does not deserve the designation of Mukti.[1] A reference to the *Bhāgavata* shows that during the Prakaṭa Līlā, beings like Indra and Śiśupāla could not have obtained the same vision as the Gopa-Gopīs, although Kṛṣṇa appeared before

1 *tasya sākṣātkārābhāsasya na mukti-saṃjñātvam.*

them all. It is because of the defective mentality of these beings that their vision was defective by taking in an Ābhāsa only, Kṛṣṇa having never revealed himself in his true character before them ; for the Lord has declared in the *Gītā* (vii. 25) that he is not manifest to all, being hidden by his own Yoga-māyā.[1] Such impure minds devoid of Prīti are of two kinds, namely, those which are indifferent or averse to the Bhagavat (Vahirmukha), and those which are hostile (Vidveṣin). The former, again, fall into two classes, namely, (*i*) those who having obtained a sight of the deity are still absorbed in phenomenal objects ;[2] e. g. the ordinary men and gods at the time of Kṛṣṇa's appearance, and (*ii*) those who having obtained a sight of the deity directly disregard him ;[3] e. g. Indra who spoke of Kṛṣṇa with disrespect. In this connexion it must not be supposed that the Gopa-Gopīs, who are the favoured Parikaras of Kṛṣṇa, were still absorbed in the objects of senses, for their absorption was not for their own sake but for the sake of accomplishing the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. In other words, their absorption was not real but apparent ; it was only a semblance (Ābhāsa) of absorption, imposed for the purpose of fostering the particular Līlā. The Parikaras of the Bhagavat are all non-phenomenal beings, and can therefore be never affected by such expressions of phenomenal attributes as jealousy, anger etc.; where incidents, involving such passions or attributes, are described in the *Bhāgavata* (e.g. in the cases of Balarāma, Arjuna and Nārada in the Syamantaka-upākhyāna, x. 57; Mahākālapura-upākhyāna, x. 89; and the Mauṣala-upākhyāna xi. 1), they must be taken as instances of the Ābhāsa or semblance, and not reality, of such passions or attributes. Those who are hostile to the Bhagavat also fall into classes, namely, (*i*) those who are receptive of the graceful charm of the Bhagavat but are incapable of appreciating

1 *nāhaṃ prakāśaḥ sarvasya yogamāyā-samāvṛtaḥ.*
2 *labdhe tad-darśane'pi viṣayādyabhiniveśavantaḥ.*
3 *avajñātāraḥ.*

its sweetness through disrelish (Aruci) and are, therefore, positively ill disposed, e. g. Kālayavana, and (*ii*) those who have an unnatural and contrary perception (Vaikṛtya) which regards the sweetness as bitterness, and are, therefore, vindictive, e. g. the Mallas of Kaṃsa. All these four kinds of impurity in their fine distinctions are likened to the different degrees of sensibility of a person, possessing a bilious and defective tongue, with regard to the taste of a lump of sugar. In the first place, he is incapable, through the radical defect, of realising the true taste of sugar, but seeing others like it, he may not despise it; secondly, he may despise it through self-conceit; thirdly, being fond of things possessing sour or bitter taste, he may be hostile to the sweet taste; or lastly, through his depraved and contrary sense, its sweetness may taste as bitterness. Just as a person possessing one or other of this fourfold defect of taste can never have the true taste of sugar but only the semblance of a taste, the mind possessing one or other of the four kinds of impurity mentioned above can never have a direct realisation of the true divine self, but only the semblance of such realisation. But the true realisation may ultimately come through divine grace, just in the same way as the true relish of sugar may appear through constant practice and habit. The averseness of the impure, who seeing the deity see him not, can be removed by the manifestation of Prema-Bhakti, which results in the real Sākṣātkāra and not in its semblance only.

The Muki or divine revelation occurring after death may be of five kinds, and they are (*i*) Sālokya, attainment of the same Loka or place of divine habitation with the deity (*ii*) Sārṣṭya, attainment of similar divine condition or power, (*iii*) Sārūpya, attainment of similar divine form, (*iv*) Sāmīpya, attainment of proximity or nearness to the divine being, and (*v*) Sāyujya, entrance into or absorption in the divine self. Of these the Sāmīpya alone partakes of the character of what is called Bahiḥ-sākṣātkāra or outward vision above, the other four being inferior to it as Antaḥ-sākṣātkāra. All the five

kinds of Mukti, however, are beyond the sphere of phenomenal Guṇas, and there is no return from them into rebirth (*anāvṛtti-rāhitya*). In the case of Sārṣṭya and Sārūpya, it must not be understood that the emancipated being attains all the divine powers in their perfection or the same perfect divine form ; they attain not the same but similar powers and form only in a partial proportion ;[1] for the Jīva, however perfected or emancipated, is still inferior to the Bhagavat. The Sāyujya Mukti usually occurs in the attainment of the Brahman (Brahma-kaivalya), but Sāyujya with the Bhagavat is sometimes spoken of. Although the Jīva never becomes perfectly identical with the Bhagavat, the chief characteristic of the Sāyujya Mukti is complete immersion in the divine bliss (*bhagavat-lakṣaṇānanda-nimagnatā*), and consequently the capacity of experiencing the Bhagavat in all his intrinsic energies and supersensuous sports becomes lost in the state of immersion. In this respect, the Sāyujya Mukti differs from the other four forms of emancipation, in which the separate existence and the consequent opportunity for worship and service of the emancipated being still continue. For this reason the Sāyujya Mukti is regarded as inferior and is never desired by the real Bhakta ; and in the *Bhāgavata*, the purport of which is to inculcate the continuous service and adoration of the Bhagavat, there is no explicit example given of the Sāyujya Mukti, which is thus not directly approved of in the highest scripture of Vaiṣṇavism. It is clear that since in the Sāyujya Mukti the individual personality and capacity for service of the emancipated being vanish, it is inconsistent with the fundamental devotional principles of dualistic Vaiṣṇavism, and is, therefore, denied a place of importance in its devotional scheme. Its lesser importance is illustrated by the fact that in some cases (as in the example of Śiśupāla, who is said to have obtained the Sāyujya Mukti), the Bhagavat in his Līlā takes the individual bodily out of his

1 *prāptir aṃśenaiva jñeyā.*

own divine self and sets him up as a Pārṣada, thus relieving him of the powerless state of merger and making him capable of enjoying the divine Līlā as an Associate or Attendant.

From what has been said above it is clear that the characteristics of Mukti, as properly understood from the Vaiṣṇava point of view, are: (*i*) removal of the bondage of the Māyā-śakti and realisation of the Jīva's true self through that function of the Svarūpa-śakti which is called Bhakti and of which the highest blissful expression is Prīti, (*ii*) the consequent attainment of a state which is beyond the sphere of the phenomenal Guṇas induced by the Māya-śakti, and the relinquishment, after death, of the subtle as well as the gross body, (*iii*) cessation of all absorption in phenomenal acts (Karman) but not of devotional acts, and the consequent abolition of all doubt and pain, (*iv*) abolition of Saṃsāra or rebirth, (*v*) a direct intuition or sight of the deity (Sāksātkāra), resulting in the regaining of the Jīva's proper state of bliss or beatitude, and (*vi*) persistence of the separate existence and personality of the emancipated being in perpetual worship and service of the deity, which consist chiefly of the different sentiments (Rasas), involved, as aspects of Prīti, in the beatific sports displayed in the divine place of habitation. The most essential of these characteristics is the Sākṣātkāra or direct revelation of the deity, the others following it as a matter of course.

The five kinds of Mukti described by the current schools of thought are thus accepted and interpreted in its own light by the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, but in the interpretation prominence is given to the service and love of the Bhagavat, which alone in its view is important as the highest of all human ends. The Mukti which gives no such scope to Prīti or devotional love is rejected ; for it is laid down that the Prīti, which alone results in the clearest revelation, is much higher than even the five kinds of Mukti, which follow as an inevitable concomitant of the attainment of Prīti. There cannot indeed be any true Mukti without Prīti towards the

Bhagavat, but the individuals desirous of Mukti have often other objectives than the Bhagavat himself and do not desire him exclusively. The word Kaivalya, however, implies pure Bhakti, consisting of unalloyed Prīti ; and even the desire for Mukti, if it is not synonymous with Bhagavat-Prīti, must be regarded as deceit (Kaitava) in the religion of the Bhāgavatas.[1] Even those who have attained Mukti are known to have desired Prīti thereafter ; for rightly understood, Prīti is the only highest form of Mukti. This is the whole purport of the *Bhāgavata*, which directly disapproves of Mukti in many a passage. Except in so far as the powers and privileges conferred by the five forms of Mukti become useful as a means for serving the deity, the true Bhakta, who is Prītimat, never desires Mukti even if it is granted freely to him, but only seeks to realise his devotional love by contributing exclusively to the pleasure of the Bhagavat.

If the Bhakta is sometimes seen to pray for other boons, this must be understood to be an aspect of his Prīti, for such prayer is never meant for selfish ends but for serving the deity. The Ekāntin or exclusively devoted Bhakta may be either Jāta-prīti or Ajāta-prīti, according as his love for the deity is fully developed or not. For the latter, the only desirable good is the growth of devotional love. But the former may be (*i*) the Śānta-bhakta whose only desire is an experience of the deity,[2] (*ii*) the divine Parikara of the Lord who possesses the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, and (*iii*) the Bhakta who possesses the Rāgānugā Bhakti and, with the conceit of a particular Parikara,[3] desires to experience the different sentiments (Rasas) of Dāsya, Sakhya etc. by means of service and worship. Each of these seeks such favour as suits his capacity and inclination. The Śānta Bhakta, for instance, does not seek to serve but desires merely to obtain

1 *bhagavad-dharme mokṣābhisaṃdhir api kaitavam.*
2 *tadīyānubhava-mātra-niṣṭhaḥ.*
3 *parikara-viśeṣābhimāninaḥ.*

a consciousness of the deity ; but the third type of devotee mentioned above may desire the favour of proximity etc., in order that he may better serve his deity. If they are sometimes seen to desire Sārṣṭya, Sāmīpya etc., the object is not to obtain any benefit for personal enjoyment but to attain the privileges and powers of these forms of Mukti for the purpose of serving the deity with greater magnificence. But Bhagavat-prīti alone is the boon which the true Bhakta really seeks.

The concept Prīti involves the elements of Sukha (pleasure) and Priyatā (attribute of fondness). By Sukha is meant such degrees of pleasure or happiness as are indicated by the words Mud, Pramoda, Harṣa and Ānanda ; by Priyatā is understood the feeling of attachment indicated by words like Bhāva (affection), Hārda (cordiality) and Sauhṛda (friendliness). Both the words Sukha and Priyatā imply emotion but there is a difference. The Sukha is a particular consciousness which consists of delight consequent upon some kind of personal satisfaction ; but the Priyatā, also a consciousness consisting entirely of delight, involves (*i*) an agreeableness (*ānukūlya*) towards the object of love, which seeks the welfare of the beloved, irrespective of any consideration of personal satisfaction, (*ii*) a longing (*spṛhā*) for the beloved object which is based upon this agreeable disposition (*tad-ānukūlyānugatā*), and (*iii*) a consciousness of delight resulting from these two factors. It is true that whatever causes the pleasure of the beloved also causes the pleasure of the person loving him, but the latter pleasure is not the conscious object of desire but follows as an inevitable concomitant. Thus, the Priyatā, even if it has a significance for self, is not self-centred like Sukha, which results from the realisation of some kind of personal interest. The Priyatā involves indeed an element of Sukha but it is not synonymous with Sukha ; for the impersonal delight in Priyatā is different from the mere consciousness of personal pleasure which is the essence of Sukha, and consists entirely in contributing to the pleasure of the

beloved object. Thus, Sukha inheres in self as the ground (Āśraya) of the emotion, but since it does not involve the desire of causing the pleasure of anyone else, it has no object (Viṣaya) to which it may be directed ; but Priyatā, or Love as a sentiment, has both a ground and an object in the self and in the not-self respectively.

Since the chief characteristic of Priyatā, involved in Prīti, is the selfless disposition to seek the happiness of the beloved, it transcends the element of Sukha and ignores, even if it necessarily involves, all considerations of one's own happiness. The fact that the beloved is being made happy may cause, as a matter of course, one's own happiness ; but even such happiness of one's self may sometimes be an obstacle if it impedes the act of contributing to the happiness of the beloved object. It is for this reason that Prīti or Love does not even desire to obtain the beloved object for itself, if such a desire hinders in any way the happiness of the beloved object. But even in such a case, the deprivation does not cause pain, for the thought that the beloved is happy causes a peculiar happiness in one's self. When, on the other hand, there is attainment consistent with the happiness of the beloved object, the happiness in one's self is still not personal but consists of the thought that it is bringing happiness to the beloved object. Thus, love may not always mean happiness in the narrow sense but happiness in the higher sense is always present in it. Both in separation and union, there is happiness in Prīti caused by the happiness of the beloved, even though it is devoid of all conscious desire for one's personal happiness. The Prīti or Love in this sense consists simply of selfless service to the beloved and is known as Sevā.

In the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra, this Prīti or Love directed towards the Bhagavat is designated by the term Prema-bhakti, and as such it is regarded as an expression of the intrinsic divine energy. This is the essential characteristic (*svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*) of Prīti. In theological language, the Sukha is a function of the attribute of goodness of the Māyā-śakti, while

the Priyatā is an aspect of the highest Hlādinī or blissful Svarūpa-śakti of the divine being. As it springs from the inherent quality of the object of desire, the Prīti is described as natural or Svābhāvikī ; and as it has no other motive but agreeableness to the pleasure of the beloved object, it is called Animittā or Akiṃcanā. Even Sādhana-bhakti and Bhāva-bhakti possess these characteristics because of their direct relation to Prema-bhakti ; and though both these appear as means of accomplishment (Sādhana), they should not be regarded as impermanent (*vinaśvara*) or worldly (*aparamārtha*) expedients, because Bhakti, in whatever form it appears, can never be properly taken as a means but should be considered as an end in itself, being an expression of the divine attribute of blissful love. Viewed from this standpoint, it follows that in the blissful love of the devotee the divine being eternally realises his own intrinsic potency of blissful love, which forms the essence of his divine self. It is thus a form of self-realisation not only of the devotee, who regains his natural blissful state, but also of the divine person whose very self consists primarily of blissful love. It is, therefore, declared in the Śruti that the Prīti of his Bhakta causes a wonderful delight to the Bhagavat himself,[1] by which the divine being becomes, according to the *Bhāgavata* (ix. 4. 63), full of infinite Prīti and entirely subservient to the Bhakta. The bliss of the Bhagavat is of two kinds, springing respectively from his Svarūpa or intrinsic self, and from his Svarūpa-śakti or intrinsic energy. The latter kind of bliss may, again, be (*i*) Mānasānanda or mental bliss, arising from the display of such attributes as compassion, friendliness, etc., and (*ii*) Aiśvaryānanda, or bliss arising from the display of such power and magnificence as his Dhāman, Parikara, Līlā, etc. The bliss caused by the Prema-bhakti or Prīti of the devotee, which entirely subjugates (*paravaśīkaroti*) and intoxicates (*mādayati*) the deity, is to be comprehended as a special

1 *bhagavato'pyānanda-camatkāritā tasyā bhakteḥ śrūyate.*

expression of the divine Mānasānanda. This divine bliss cannot be likened to the bliss of the Sāṃkhya, arising from the Sattva-guṇa, for the Bhagavat is eternally untouched by the Guṇas brought into existence by the Māyā-śakti ; nor is it like the Brahmānanda of the Nirviśeṣa-vādins, for it would then be nothing more than Svarūpānanda ; nor is it like the Ānanda of the Jīva which is only atomic ; but it is the peculiar bliss of the highest Hlādinī Svarūpa-śakti by which the Bhagavat himself enjoys and makes the other enjoy. This divine bliss, which surpasses every other kind of bliss, being placed in the Bhakta, becomes Bhagavat-prīti,[1] the experience of which makes both the deity and the devotee completely engrossed in each other (*parasparāveśatva*). Thus a direct channel of mystic contact is established between them, but there is never complete identity and relationship continues for ever. The process is illustrated by the analogy of the heating of iron by the fire, in which the iron is possessed by the attributes of the fire and becomes fiery, but its character as iron remains unchanged.

The incidental characteristic (*taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*) of Bhagavat-prīti consists of such outward expressions of the sentiment as melting of the mind (Dravatā), thrill of pleasure (Roma-harṣa) and shedding of tears (Aśru-pāta), etc ; and they singify that the relish of the sentiment is one of sweetness (Mādhurya). As the Viṣaya or Ālambana of the Prīti is the Bhagavat, it is, like the Bhagavat himself, one and indivisible ; but, like the Bhagavat again, it is capable of making its appearance in various degrees or stages (Krama), in accordance with the various degrees of the capacity of particular devotees. In relation to the particular Svarūpa in which the deity manifests himself, either perfectly or imperfectly, the Prīti also makes its perfect or imperfect appearance. In the *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* it has been demonstrated that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself in the most perfect manifestation of

[1] *bhakta-vṛndeṣveva nikṣipyamāṇā bhagavat-prītyākhyayā vartate.*

the divine principle. It would follow from this that it is only in relation to Kṛṣṇa, and to no other deity, that there is the most perfect display of Prīti ; and that in the devotees of Kṛṣṇa alone there is the perfection of the devotional sentiment of love. In the Parikaras of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, who are the best types of devotee, the Prīti is eternally self-established, but in other devotees it is awakened and gradually becomes fully developed. In the first stage, there appears a feeling of non-attachment to the gross body and objects of senses, as well as a feeling of attachment to everything relating to the Bhagavat; but when the Prīti makes its full appearance, there is a complete attachment to the Bhagavat, which is unchangeable in all conditions and situations, and which consists of the perfection of bliss and the power of bringing bliss to others by contact or association.

The appearance of Prīti operates in two different ways on the devotee : (*i*) it cultivates and prepares the mind (*bhakta-citta saṃskriyā-viśeṣa*) by giving rise to succeedingly higher grades of the devotional feeling, and (*ii*) it produces various kinds of conceit or distinctive consciousness(*abhimāna-viśeṣa*), such as the conceit of being a servant, a friend or a beloved of the deity. From the first of these points of view, the successive stages in the growth of the devotional feeling are : (1) Rati, producing delight in the mind (*ullāsayati*), (2) Preman, causing a sense of attachment which regards the deity as one's own (*mamatayā yojayati*), (3) Praṇaya, generating confidence (*viśrambhayati*), (4) Māna, producing, through excess of affection, a sensitiveness which gives rise to a diversity of feelings (*priyatvātiśayenābhimānayati*), (5) Sneha, causing a softening and melting of the heart (*dravayati*), (6) Rāga, exciting an excess of eager longing for its object of desire (*svaviṣayaṃ pratyabhilāṣātiśayena yojayati*) ; (7) Anurāga, making the beloved appear ever and ever new (*pratikṣaṇam eva svaviṣayaṃ nava-navatvenānubhāvayati*), and (8) Mahābhāva, maddening by the wonder of unsurpassed ecstasy (*asamordhva-camatkāreṇonmādayati*). The characteristics of these stages of Prīti

have already been described by Rūpa Gosvāmin, and summarised by us in our chapter on the Rasa-śāstra.[1] As Jīva Gosvāmin follows this treatment without going into detailed analysis, it is not necessary for our purpose to dilate further on the subject. The Prīti also produces different kinds of conceit in the devotee, and the cause of this is the manifestation of a particular character or Svabhāva of the deity (e.g. as a Friend, Son, Master or Beloved), inspiring a corresponding sentiment in the devotee (e.g. Friendship, Parent Sentiment, Servitude or Love). The conceit may thus take various forms but it has been classified broadly into four forms: (*i*) the conceit that one is being favoured by the deity (Anugrāyābhimāna), (*ii*) the conceit that one is favouring the deity (Anugrāhakābhimāna), (*iii*) the conceit that one is a friend of the deity (Mitrābhimāna), and (*iv*) the conceit that one is a beloved of the deity (Priyābhimāna). As already explained more than once above, this theory implies that the practice of Prīti in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is based upon the distinctive consciousness of one or other of such personal relationship of an emotional character with the deity. This relationship is supersensuous in essence, but it bears similarly to those actually obtaining among men in the sensuous world. In its impersonal and transcendental character, the Prīti towards Kṛṣṇa may take the form of the feeling between the father or mother and the child, between the master and the servant, between two friends, or between the husband and the wife.

Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to describe the characteristics of these forms of the devotional consciousness. As the favour of the deity may appear in the form of compassion (Anukampā) or furtherance (Poṣaṇa), the devotee who possesses the conceit of being favoured (Anugrāhyābhimānin) may be of two kinds, but each of these may also be with or without an intimate feeling of affectionate regard (Mamatā) to the divine being. Those who are without such feeling of

1 See above pp. 214 f.

Mamatā conceive the deity from a distance as the Brahman or the Paramātman, and they are the Jñānin-bhaktas like Sanaka and others. Since the moon has the attribute of gladdening, one can feel pleasure by merely looking at it without feeling any sense of attachment ; the devotee of this type feels a similar pleasure at the vision of his object of devotion. This attitude of Bhakti mixed with Jñāna can proceed no further than the state of Rati described above. and such a devotee is known in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra as the Śānta Bhakta. The Śānta-rati, which they feel, is typified by the sentiment expressed in the well-known verse, often attributed to Śaṃkarācārya:

satyapi bhedāpagame nātha tavāhaṃ na māmakīnas tvam|,
sāmudro hi taraṅgaḥ kvacana samudro na tāraṅgaḥ||

Even when the difference disappears, O Lord, I am thine, but you are not mine ; the wave belongs to the sea, but the sea does not belong to the wave.

On the other hand, those devotees who possess the feeling of attachment (Mamatā) conceive the deity as the Protector (Pālaka), Master (Prabhu), or Superior (Lālaka), and themselves as his Subject (Pālya), Servant (Dāsa) or as standing in inferior relationship (Lālya) to him. This feeling may go up to the state of Rāga described above.

In the name way, Parental Affection may be conceived towards the deity, apprehended as the son, by the devotee who possesses the conceit of favouring the deity (Anugrāhakābhimānin). This feeling is called Vātsalya, and the characteristics of Rāga are abundant in it. Those who have the attitude of friendliness (Mitrābhimānin) conceive the deity as a friend, and the feeling is called Maitrya, in which also there is an abundance of Rāga. The climax is reached in those devotees who apprehend the deity as the lover, and their feeling is called Kānta-bhāva[1] or Madhurā

1 *kānto'yam iti prītiḥ kānta-bhavaḥ ; eṣa eva priyatā-śabdena śrī-rasāmṛta-sindhau paribhāṣitaḥ.*

Rati, to which Rūpa Gosvāmin gives also the name of Priyatā. This feeling can reach to the highest state of Mahābhāva described above, which is always attained by Rādhā. In this connexion, it is stated that the love of Kṛṣṇa's Paṭṭa-Mahiṣīs go up to the Anurāga stage, but that of the Gopīs can reach much higher to the stage of Mahābhāva. No doubt, the excellence of the feeling is due to Kṛṣṇa's attitude towards the Gopīs ; but it also depends upon the quality of the recipient, on the analogy of the water of the Svātī Nakṣatra falling into the pearl-shell and producing the pearl. Jīva Gosvāmin points out that in the secular (Laukika) Rasa-śāstra the Madhurā alone is regarded as Rati, its corresponding Rasa being Śṛṅgāra ; while through its resemblance to the sexual passion, it is often designated Kāma or sensual enjoyment. But Jīva Gosvāmin never misses an opportunity of emphasising that the ordinary sexual desire is different from this feeling of devotional love, which the Gopīs entertained towards Kṛṣṇa. Although in both there is an element of desire and the outward movements (Ceṣṭā) are similar, yet the supersensuous Madhura-bhāva of the Gopīs is different from sensuous Kāma in the fact that the significance of the former consists entirely in contributing to the pleasure of its divine object, while the latter, as a mundane feeling, aims primarily at one's own pleasure. Hence the word Prīti should be applied primarily to the transcendental Kānta-bhāva of the Gopīs, and only secondarily to the ordinary sexual desire (Prākṛta Kāma) of human heroes and heroines. Since the desire of the Kubjā had the divine Kṛṣṇa as its object, it has been praised as Aprākṛta Kāma, but since it was meant solely for self-satisfaction, it has been deprecated still as Kāma in comparison with the selfless and self-surrendering desire of the Gopīs, which consisted of supersensuous love.

The feelings of Śānta, Dāsya, Maitrya, Vātsalya and Mādhurya described above form five basic aspects of Bhagavat-prīti, and each succeeding one of these indicates a higher stage of realisation than the preceding. Sometimes they appear

mixed up with one another; as, for instance, in Yudhiṣṭhira there is a mixture of Sauhṛda-Maitrya and Dāsya, in Baladeva a mixture of Vātsalya and Sakhya-Maitrya, and in the Paṭṭa-mahiṣīs a mixture of Dāsya and Madhura-bhāva. The Prīti, in which these distinctive feelings are absent, is known as general or Sāmānya Prīti, which is of a still inferior kind. Of these different types of devotee, however, the Śānta and the Sāmānya are called Taṭastha Bhakta, because they are devoid of Mamatā or sense of intimate personal attachment to the deity, and their feeling never progresses beyond the preliminary stage of Rati. But the remaining kinds of devotee, namely, Dāsa, Mitra, Vatsala and Kāntā, who are the Parikaras of the Bhagavat, possess that Prīti which is called Mamatā-bhakti on account of the abundance of the feeling of attachment. As the two types of the Taṭastha and the Parikara devotee have for their objective the Brahman and the Bhagavat appearance of the deity respectively, the former is inferior to the latter. Generally speaking, the excellence of the deity may appear, as already indicated above, either in the form of unsurpassed Aiśvarya or in the form of unsurpassed Mādhurya. The Aiśvarya indicates power or mastery (Prabhutā), but Mādhurya means loveliness of conduct, quality, beauty, youth, sport and emotional intimacy of relationship. Ordinary experience tells us that the Aiśvarya of a person produces fear, confusion and respect, but Mādhurya is the source of love in its sweet and melting quality. The devotees naturally fall into two classes, according as they prefer to experience the divine Aisvarya or Mādhurya. It has been already stated that everyone cannot experience all the infinite aspects of the divine principle, but that each resorts only to that aspect which suits his capacity and inclination ; this is what is called Guṇopāsanā implied in the *Vedānta-sūtra* (iii. 3). Those who realise the excellent Mādhurya aspect of Kṛṣṇa, which is principally displayed in the Vṛndāvana-līlā, are superior to those who, like the Śānta and Sāmānya devotees, experience only the Aiśvarya aspect. Those who desire and

cultivate this sweetness of personal emotional relationship with the divine being are the best types of his Parikara. In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to exemplify elaborately the excellence of the emotional attitude of the Gopa-Gopīs at Vṛndāvana, and attempts to show that all the stages of Dāsya, Maitrya, Vātsalya and Kāntatva are realised by the different sets of Kṛṣṇa's Parikaras, of whom the Gopīs experience the highest stage of Prīti by their Kānta-bhāva. This stage, going up to the most intoxicating Mahābhāva, is desired even by the emancipated sages, by all the gods and even by Lakṣmī.

The five kinds of devotional feeling mentioned above, namely, Śānta, Dāsya, Maitrya, Vātsalya and Mādhurya, are called Sthāyi-bhāvas in the Rasa-śastra ; and, as such, each of them is known as a Rati in relation to Kṛṣṇa. Through such objects and circumstances as appear as cause (Vibhāva) and effect (Anubhāva), as well as through auxiliary feelings (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas) which have the power of strengthening them, these five Sthāyi-bhāvas are raised, like the secular (Laukika) Rati in a Kāvya, to the corresponding states of relish, called Rasas, of the same designation ; and these are similar to the states of impersonal aesthetic relish in the secular Kāvya. These are the five primary Bhakti-Rasas or devotional sentiments in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra, sublimated from the five basic feelings, and in their totality they are called Prema-bhakti or Prīti. There are also seven other Rasas, namely, Hāsya, Karuṇa, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Raudra, Vīra and Adbhuta, recognised also by the secular rhetoricians, but they are regarded as secondary in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra in relation to the five primary Rasas mentioned above. They are called secondary because they become devotional Rasas only when they involve Kṛṣṇa-rati ; that is, only when they have Kṛṣṇa or his Bhakta as the substantial excitant (Ālambana Vibhāva), as the object and the ground of the basic feeling respectively. The rest of the present Saṃdarbha proceeds to a detailed analysis and

exposition of these various stages or types of the devotional sentiment in relation to their respective causes, effects and auxiliaries, and they are profusely illustrated by examples drawn from the *Bhāgavata*. As Jīva Gosvāmin departs very little in his general treatment of the theme from Rūpa Gosvāmin's authoritative exposition, it is not necessary for us to repeat what has been already dealt with in our chapter on the Rasa-śāstra ;[1] but we shall refer here to a few interesting items in which Jīva Gosvāmin appears to refine further upon the treatment of his predecessor, to whose works, however, he makes full acknowledgment of his indebtedness.

At the outset Jīva Gosvāmin raises a fundamental question which has been overlooked by Rūpa Gosvāmin, namely, whether Bhakti can at any stage be regarded as a Rasa. He repudiates vigorously the view of orthodox Poetics that Bhakti, being devotion to a deity (*devādi-viṣayā*), is merely a Bhāva or devotional emotion which cannot be raised to the state of impersonalised relish of a devotional sentiment, corresponding to the aesthetic sentiment of Rasa in a Kāvya. The discussion is more or less academic, but since Bhakti is erected into a Rasa of the rhetorical type, it is an important fundamental proposition in the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstra Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that the Bhagavat-prīti can be rightly regarded as a Sthāyi-bhāva because as Prīti, it has Bhāvatva, and it has also all the characteristics of a Sthāyi-bhāva mentioned by secular Poetics. The secular theorists on Rasa, dealing with the ordinary Kāvya, allege that on account of the lack of the necessary ingredients, Bhakti cannot become a Rasa inasmuch as devotion to a deity cannot become the basis of a relishable sentiment in the same way as the affectionate relationship of human beings standing on a level of equality. But this objection, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, applies to the case of ordinary deities (*prākṛta-devādi-viṣayā*)[2] and not to the

1 See above p. 194 f.
2 See above p. 167, footnote 1.

case of the supreme deity Kṛṣṇa. The ingredients spoken of above refer to the intrinsic propriety of the feeling itself (svarūpa-yogyatā), as well as the propriety of the causes and effects (parikara-yogyatā) and of the subject of the feeling (puruṣa-yogyatā). It can be easily shown that in Kṛṣṇa-rati these ingredients are present to the fullest extent. As to the intrinsic propriety of the feeling, it has been already said above that all the characteristics of the Sthāyi-bhāva can be found in Kṛṣṇa-rati ; for it is the dominant feeling which cannot be set aside by other contradictory or consistent feelings, and like the salty ocean, it reduces everything which comes into it to its own state.[1] The relish caused by the *alaukika* Kṛṣṇa-rati is higher than the relish of Brahman, the likeness to which is emphasised by rhetoricians in the ordinary *laukika* Rati. As to the propriety of the causes and effects of Kṛṣṇa-rati, the Vibhāvas etc., which raise it to the state of relish, they can alone, by their very relation to the divine object, be called *alaukika*. The *laukika* Vibhāvas etc., on the other hand, which the secular rhetoricians deal with, being confined to the ordinary *laukika* Rati and to the ordinary hero and heroine, are defective and cannot be properly termed *alaukika* ; they only appear as such through the extraordinary skill of poetic presentation. The *laukika* Prīti is a modification of the Prākṛta Sattva-guṇa created by the Māyā-śakti, and can, therefore, never consist of the highest bliss of the Svarūpa-śakti, which the devotee realises in Bhagavat-prīti, and which is made up, not of Prākṛta but of Aprākṛta Sattva. Hence the pleasure involved in the *laukika* Rati is slight and transient and, rightly understood, resolves into pain ; but the *alaukika* Kṛṣṇa-rati always brings pure and permanent pleasure. It is unbelievable, therefore, that the *laukika* Vibhāvas etc. can really awaken Rasa ; if they do so, then the only Rasa they are capable of awakening is the Bībhatsa or the Disgust-

1 *viruddhair aviruddhair vā bhāvair vicchidyate na yaḥ/ ātma-bhāvaṃ nayatyanyān sa sthāyī lavaṇākaraḥ// iti rasa-śāstrīya-lakṣaṇa-vyāpteḥ.*

ful Sentiment, inasmuch as the phenomenal objects properly apprehended, can only produce an attitude of disgust or non-attachment. As to the propriety of the subject of the feeling mentioned above, there can hardly be any doubt about the fitness of such devotees as Prahlāda, who are the subjects of Kṛṣṇa-rati. It would follow, therefore, that all the requirements regarding the Sthāyi-bhāva, Vibhāva etc., laid down by the orthodox rhetoricians, are fulfilled in the highest degree by Kṛṣṇa-rati, which alone can bring about the highest Rasa. It is also pointed out that some orthodox rhetoricians, like Bhoja, admit Preyas and Vātsalya as Rasas, while others, like Sudeva, expressly include Bhakti also as a Rasa. We have also the testimony of the *Bhāgavata* itself (i. 1. 3), which at the very outset speaks of Bhakti as the Bhagavad-rasa and the Bhakta as the Rasika ; and the Śruti has already established that the Bhagavat himself is Rasa.

Regarding the question of the locus of Rasa in a literary composition, Jīva Gosvāmin refers to four different views[1] that Rasa exists (*i*) in the original hero and heroine (Anukārya) who are imitated by the actor, (*ii*) in the actor who imitates (Anukartṛ), (*iii*) in the audience (Sāmājika) who is a man of taste (Sahṛdaya), or (*iv*) if the actor also is a man of taste himself, in the actor and the audience. In the opinion of the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra, however, the Bhagavat-prīti as a Rasa exists in all the three, viz., the Anukārya, the Anukartṛ and the Sāmājika, because by virtue of the *alaukika* nature of the Rasa itself, they are all divested of *laukika* characteristics. But the awakening of the Rasa in the Anukārya, who is here the Parikara of Bhagavat, is primary because the sentiment which arises from direct perception is superior. The Anukartṛ, as well as the Sāmājika, in this case is the Bhakta, inasmuch as no one else has the capacity of realising the Rasa properly.

With regard to the Ālambana Vibhāva or substantial

1 See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd Ed. ii, p. 117 f.

excitant of the Kṛṣṇa-rati, it is pointed out that the real Ālambana is Kṛṣṇa himself as the object of the feeling, but the beloved ones of Kṛṣṇa are counted also as Ālambana, not directly in themselves, but indirectly as the location or ground of the feeling.[1]

The Uddīpana Vibhāvas of Kṛṣṇa-rati are classified elaborately as referring respectively to the Guṇa (quality), Jāti (class as opposed to individual), Kriyā (action), Dravya (individual substance) and Kāla (time), in relation to Kṛṣṇa. An enumeration is made, after the *Bhāgavata* (i. 16. 27) of a total of 85 (68+17) divine qualities of Kṛṣṇa, which are really further refinements on the 64 qualities mentioned by Rūpa Gosvāmin.[2] The Guṇas may be physical (Kāyika), mental (Mānasika) and verbal (Vācika), but they are also classified into three groups, according as they belong exclusively to the Bhagavat, or exist in both the Bhagavat and the Bhakta, or are shared also by the Avatāras and special manifestations like Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa.

The Guṇas enumerated are: Satya (truth); Śauca (purity); Dayā (compassion); Śaraṇāgata-pālakatva (protection of people seeking refuge); Bhakta-suhṛttva (friendliness to the devotee); Kṣānti (forbearance); Tyāga (liberality); Saṃtoṣa (contentedness); Ārjava (straightforwardness); Sarva-śubhaṃkaratva (beneficence to all); Śama (control of the mind); Sudṛḍha-vratatva (resoluteness); Dama (control of the senses); Tapas (devotion to various duties at the time of Avatāra); Sāmya (impartiality); Titikṣā (tendency to endure offence done to self); Uparati (indifference to gain or success); Śruta (proficiency in the Śāstras); fivefold Jñāna (knowledge), viz. Buddhimattva (intelligence), Kṛtajñatā (gratefulness), Deśa-kāla-pātrajñatva (discrimination of fit time, place and object), Sarvajñatva (omniscience), and Ātmajñatva (possession of self-knowledge); Virakti (repugnance to evil things); Aiśvarya (capacity for control); Śaurya (enthusiasm for fighting); Tejas (power); Pratāpa (reputation for power); Bala (dexterity for accomplishing difficult deeds); Dhṛti (placidity, but, if the reading of the text is Smṛti, deliberation regarding duties); Svātantrya (indepen-

1 *na tu sva-saṃbandhena; tat-prītyādhāratvena.*

2 See above p. 184 f.

dence) ; threefold Kauśala (skill), viz. Kriyā-nipuṇatā (skill in acts), Cāturī (cleverness in accomplishing several things simultaneously) and Vaidagdhī (proficiency in the arts and sports) ; fourfold Kānti (charm), viz. of the body (avayavasya), of touch, taste, colour, fragrance and sound (Varṇa-rasa-gandha-sparśa-śabdānām), of youth (Vayas), resulting in Nārī-gaṇa-manohāritva (capacity to charm women) ; Dhairya (steadiness) ; Mārdava (the quality of softness or melting with love) ; Premavaśyatva (submissiveness to love) ; Prāgalbhya (abundance of audacity) ; Vāvadūkatva (skill in words) ; Praśraya (humility) ; Hrīmattva (modesty) ; Māna-dātṛtva (capacity to do honour to all) ; Priyaṃvadatva (capacity for pleasant speech) ; Śīla (good conduct) ; Sādhu-samāśrayatva (partiality to the good) ; Sahas (dexterity of the mind) ; Ojas (dexterity of the intellect) ; Bala (dexterity of the sense-organs) ; threefold Bhaga, viz. Bhogāspadatva (capacity for enjoyment), Sukhitva (capacity for happiness) and Sarva-samṛddhimattva (possession of all prosperity) ; Gāmbhīrya (profundity of intention or motive) ; Sthairya (steadfastness) ; Āstikya (=Śāstra-cakṣustva, conformity to the dictates of the Śāstra) ; Kīrti (fame for good qualities) ; Rakta-lokatva (popularity) ; Māna (worthiness for honour) ; Anahaṃkṛti (want of pride), Brahmaṇyatva (holiness or piety) ; Sarva-siddhi-niṣevitatva (possession of all the supernatural powers) ; Saccidānanda-ghana-vigrahatva (possession of a form consisting of Sat, Cit and Ānanda) ; Varīyastva (preeminence) ; and Sadā Svarūpa-saṃprāptatva (the attribute of being always unconditioned). These 68 Guṇas are present in the fullest degree in the Bhagavat, but with the exception of the last, they may also exist in some degree in the Bhakta. There are also two Guṇas which exist in the all Āvirbhāvas or Avatāras, viz. Satya-saṃkalpatva (fixity of true resolve) and Vaśīkṛtācintya-māyātva (capacity for subjugating the incomprenensible Māyā-śakti) ; but in special Avatāras there are in addition : Akhaṇḍa-sattva-guṇasya Kevala-svayam-avalambanatva (the exclusive self-support of the indivisible Sattva-guṇa), Jagatpālakatva (protection of the world), Hatāri-svarga-dātṛtva (power to grant Svarga to enemies killed), Brahma-rudrādi-sevitatva (the attribute of being worshipped by gods like Brahmā and Rudra), Paramācintya-śaktitva (possession of the highest and most incomprehensible energy), and Nityanūtanatva (capacity for appearing ever new). In the Puruṣa-Avatāra we have also Māyā-niyantṛtva (subjugation and regulation of the Māyāśakti), Jagat-sṛṣṭyādi-kartṛtva (agency regarding the creation etc. of the world), Guṇāvatārādi-bījatva (the attribute of being the germ of the Guṇāvatāras etc.), and Ananta-brahmāṇḍāśraya-roma-vivaratva (capacity for retaining infinite worlds in the pore of the skin). In the manifestations Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa, we have also Svarūpabhūta-paramā-

cintyākhila-mahā-śaktimattva (possession of the infinite, pre-eminent, incomprehensibly great energy which consists of his own divine self). In Kṛṣṇa, who is the Bhagavat himself, there are also: Hatāri-mukti-bhakti-dāyakatva (power to grant both Mukti and Bhakti to enemies killed), Svasyāpi vismāpaka-rūpādi-mādhuryādivattā (sweetness consisting of beauty etc. which causes wonder even of himself), Anindriya-cetana-paryantāśeṣa-sukhadātṛ-svasāṃnidhyatva (the attribute of carrying infinitely pleasurable presence to all creatures even including the inanimate beings, who are devoid of sense-organs), etc. This enumeration, however, does not exhaust all the divine qualities which are indeed infinite.

If some traits opposed to some of the above Guṇas are displayed in the Bhagavat, these must not be taken as faults, for the supreme being has been declared faultless in the scripture. The reverse of compassion for those who are not his Bhaktas, for instance, has already been explained in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* as the result of the fact that the Bhagavat is untouched by phenomenal sorrow. The reverse of friendliness, again, which the Bhagavat sometimes shows to his Bhakta by sending him sorrow and separation, is due to the object of fostering the Bhakti of the particular devotee or the particular sentiment of the Līlā concerned. The Kāma displayed in the case of Gopīs, as already explained more than once, is in reality blissful Preman, which is similar to but not the same as the erotic feeling of human beings. The childish pranks of Kṛṣṇa, though opposed to the quality of Sthairya (steadiness), should not be taken as a fault, but they become a Guṇa in the child Kṛṣṇa. These and similar contradictory qualities must be interpreted not as constituting a real fault but as the semblance of a fault assumed for a particular divine purpose.

The Jāti, which comprehends properties peculiar to a species or class, as the Uddīpana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, is of two kinds, namely, attributes relating to Kṛṣṇa (e.g. characteristics of a Gopa or a Kṣatriya, as well as adolescence, dark colour etc.) and those connected with his favourites (e.g. the characteristics of Go, Gopa etc.). The Kriyā or action

consists of his Līlā, which is again of two kinds, namely, sport of his intrinsic energy (Svarūpa-śakti) or of his extrinsic energy (Māyā-śakti), each of which has already been described. But the former of these, again, may be such as displays his Aiśvarya or manifests his Mādhurya ; and of these the Mādhuryamayī Līlā is the best. This is also called the Līlā-śakti of the divine being, which can bring about what is impossible (*durghaṭa*) as well as what is possible (*sughaṭa*). The Dravya or substance, as the Uddīpana Vibhāva, refers to Kṛṣṇa's adornments (Parikara, ornaments, flowers, etc.), his musical instruments (Vāditra), his weapons (Astra), his abodes (Sthāna), his retinue (Parivāra), his devotee (Bhakta), etc. The Kāla or time implies the auspicious days or festivals sacred to Kṛṣṇa (e.g. the Janmāṣṭamī or Birth-festival). Jīva Gosvāmin adds that those of the Uddīpana Vibhāvas which are concerned with the Vṛndāvana-līlā are the best in relation to Kṛṣṇa-rati.

The Anubhāvas of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which, as consequential circumstances, consist of outward expressions of the inward feeling, are classified into Udbhāsvaras and Sāttvikas. The distinction, however, is not very clearly made out. The Udbhāsvaras are defined as those which originate, no doubt, from internal feeling (*bhāvajā api*) but which express themselves chiefly in external acts (*bahiśceṣṭā-prāya-sādhyāḥ*), e.g. dancing, singing, rolling on the ground, crying etc. The Sāttvikas spring from Sattva, which in this case implies the mind entirely seized by feeling towards Kṛṣṇa, and are direct involuntary expressions of that internal virtue, e.g. trembling, tears, fainting etc.

The thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicārins or auxiliary feelings are accepted and exemplified in relation to Kṛṣṇa-rati.

The conception of Rasābhāsa (semblance of a Rasa) is peculiar, and is comprehensive enough to include what would be strictly called Rasa-virodha (opposition of incongruous Rasas) in orthodox Poetics. Between the five primary and the seven secondary Rasas there is the relation of antag onism,

indifference or congruity, according as the character of the particular Rasa is inherently hostile to, unaffected or supported by the character of the other Rasa or Rasas involved. In a literary composition concerned with Kṛṣṇa, there is Rasābhāsa when the relish of the dominant sentiment, which may be either primary or secondary, is obstructed by the association of an incongruous sentiment, which may also be either primary or secondary.[1] The Rasābhāsa may also occur when there is a conflict or incongruity by the association of the dominant Rasa with an improper Bhāva or with an improper Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicārin. In including Rasa-virodha in Rasābhāsa proper, Jīva Gosvāmin's treatment differs from that of Rūpa Gosvāmin, whose view appears to be more in consonance with that of orthodox Poetics. Jīva Gosvāmin also shows elaborately that there can never occur any real instance of Rasābhāsa in the *Bhāgavata*, implying thereby that the Rasābhāsa is a defect, which cannot find place in the great scripture where there is Rasollāsa only.

In the classification of the five primary Rasas, the devotional sentiment of Faithfulness, which is termed Prīta and classified into Saṃbhrama-Prīta (=Dāsya) and Gaurava-Prīta by Rūpa Gosvāmin,[2] is, however, further refined by Jīva Gosvāmin into three aspects or shades of the sentiment, respectively called Āśraya-bhakti, Dāsya-bhakti, and Praśraya-bhakti, in which Kṛṣṇa appears respectively as the Pālaka (Protector), Prabhu (Master) and Lālaka (Superior Relative), and his devotee respectively as Pālya (Subject), Dāsa (Servant) and Lālya (Inferior Relative). The Sthāyi-bhāva of Śānta Rasa is given as Jñāna-bhakti, and it is regarded as the lowest in the scale of primary Rasas. The Preyas of Rūpa Gosvāmin is called Maitrīmaya Rasa, and the Mitra or friend who is the Ālambana Vibhāva of this Rasa, may be either

1 *kṛṣṇa-saṃbandhiṣu kāvyeṣu ca rasasyāyogya-rasāntarādi-saṃgatyā bādhyamānāsvādyatvam ābhāsatvam.*

2 See above pp. 194-95.

Suhṛt (well-wisher) or Sakhi (companion), the Sakhi again being finely distinguished as Sakhi, Priya-sakhi (dear companion), and Priya-narma-sakhi (dear companion and confidant), according to the degree of intimacy of the friendly feeling involved.

With regard to the relation of Kṛṣṇa to the Gopīs in the highest Ujjvala (=Madhura) Rasa or sentiment of love, Jīva Gosvāmin repeats what he has said more than once on the subject of the purity and transcendental character of the amorous relationship. He maintains that although the Gopīs are in the highest degree Kṛṣṇa's own (*parama-svīyā api*), they yet appear as belonging to others (*parakīyamānāḥ*) in the Prakaṭa Līlā. This is meant to foster the intensity of the sentiment by placing an apparent or imaginary obstacle in the way of their perfect realisation of love. Amour with a woman other than one's own is forbidden, but this applies to the ordinary hero, and not to Kṛṣṇa, who was in fact the husband of the Gopīs, as he is of all women. The relation of the Gopas to them was really one of Patyābhāsa; in other words, the Gopas were never their real husbands but only appeared as such. They were thus the immaculate wives of Kṛṣṇa, and their apparent relationship with the Gopas was an illusion created by the divine Yogamāyā. But even in the case of the legitimate love of a Svīyā heroine, impediments and inaccessibility are supposed to heighten the erotic sensibility to the highest degree; and this is said to be the view of such authorities on the secular (*laukika*) Rasa-śāstra as Bharata, Rudra and Viṣṇugupta. But Jīva Gosvāmin holds that this view may be true with regard to the nature of the manifestation of the feeling but not with regard to the origin, growth or character of the feeling itself; for the sentiment of the Gopīs being self-established (*svata eva siddhatayā*), is in itself of the highest class (*jātito'pyādhikyāt*) and does not require adventitious support or strengthening (*āhāryatā*) of any kind. By overcoming the apparent obstacle, the strength of the sentiment, like that of a mad elephant, is only displayed or mani-

fested, but the strength of the sentiment itself is not engendered by such obstacles. It follows, therefore, that the Parakīya-bhāva alone is not the source of excellence of the sentiment of the Gopīs, because in itself this attitude towards an Upapati is to be deprecated. If this attitude were commendable, then the feeling of the Kubjā would have deserved the highest praise.[1] It is the very nature of the unique sentiment itself of the Gopīs as the Svīyā of Kṛṣṇa which is the source of its supreme excellence. Of all the Gopīs, Rādhā, who is singled out in the *Gopāla-tāpanī* as the Gāndharvikā, is the greatest beloved of Kṛṣṇa, because the *Bhāgavata* also singles her out as the only Gopī with whom Kṛṣṇa disappeared during the Rāsa-līlā and sported alone. A rival heroine or Pratipakṣa-Nāyikā to Rādhā is Candrāvalī, of whom Bilvamaṅgala[2] has spoken in his devotional lyric. The Gopīs were the real and only favourites of Kṛṣṇa, but the reason why he married the princesses at Dvārakā is to be found in the view propounded in the *Padma-purāṇa*, that the princesses and the Gopīs were in essence identical,[3] apparently as different manifestations of the divine Svarūpa-śakti. A justification of Kṛṣṇa's exploit of stealing the garments of the Gopīs (Vastra-haraṇa-līlā) is found in the view that in the Pūrva-rāga stage of love, one of the characteristic desire is not the desire of actual touch or taste, but the desire for removing bashfulness (*lajjā-ccheda*), as this forms the highest indication of the intense love of noble maidens (none of the Gopīs being, according to Gautamīya Tantra, more than sixteen years old), who would rather die than forsake their sense of modesty.[4]

1 Rūpa Gosvāmin, we have seen above (p. 206, footnote 3), would consider the Kubjā as Parakīyā, but in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion she is the best of the Sāmānyā heroine (*sāmānyāsu sairaṃdrī mukhyā*).

2 In the apocryphal stanza *rādhā-mohana-mandirāt* cited by Jīva Gosvāmin (quoted also by Rūpa in his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*) ; see S. K. De, ed. of *Kṛṣṇa-kārṇāmṛta* (Dacca 1938), p. 343.

3 *tābhir gopa-kumārībir ekātmatvāt.*

4 *kula-kumārīnāṃ lajjā-ccheda eva parākāṣṭhā, tā hi daśamīpyaṅgī-kurvanti, na tu vaijātyam.*

During the Prakaṭa Līlā at Vṛndāvana there was thus the semblance, and not the reality, of the Parakīya-bhāva of the Gopīs but, as explained in the *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, even this attitude was short-lived ; for at the termination of the Prakaṭa Līlā, they entered into eternal union with Kṛṣṇa as his Svīyās in the Aprakaṭa Līlā occurring simultaneously. Jīva Gosvāmin holds that this is the view of his own authority, Rūpa Gosvāmin, expounded in the latter's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* and *Lalita-mādhava*, where it is clearly indicated that Kṛṣṇa was really the husband (Pati), but only appeared for a short time as the paramour (Upapati) of the Gopīs during the Prakaṭa Līlā. It appears, therefore, that the opinion of the two authoritative Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism was never in favour of the Parakīya-vāda, which assumed importance in the later history of the cult.

At the end of the Saṃdarbha, the reader is referred for the elucidation of those points, which may not have been dealt with in detail for fear of prolixity, to the brief commentary (Ṭippaṇī) on the Tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata*, which work is presumably the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary of Sanātana, which selects only the Tenth Book for brief comments ; or the reference may more probably be to the *Krama-saṃdarbha* on the *Bhāgavata* composed by Jīva Gosvāmin himself.

The work concludes with a final homage to Kṛṣṇa, appearing in the form of Caitanya (*caitanya-vigrahaḥ*), who became an Avatāra (*avatāram āyātaḥ*) for propagating Bhakti, which consists of such sentiments as have been described above.

The short classified index, given below, of important quotations, occurring in the six saṃdarbhas, will give a rough idea of the use Jīva Gosvāmin makes of previous philosophical and religious literature. The largest number of quotations is, of course, supplied by the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, on the explication of which text Jīva Gosvāmin professes to base his entire exposition. As these references to the *Bhāgavata*,

occurring almost on every page throughout the six Saṃdarbhas, are innumerable, we have not indexed them. Next come the Purāṇas and the Upa-purāṇas, of which the *Viṣṇu*, the *Padma* (Uttara-khaṇḍa) and parts of the *Skanda*, considered canonical by the Bengal school, supply a fairly large number of references, but the quotations from the Āgama, Tantra and other religious texts and commentaries are much varied, even if not equally extensive. The Vedic texts, cited mostly anonymously as Śruti, are generally taken from the Upaniṣads, the citations from the Vedic Saṃhitās being much fewer. It would seem that the Śruti quotations are not always derived from the original sources, but are such well-known ones as are usually employed in religious and philosophical texts and commentaries ; and Jīva Gosvāmin himself acknowledges that he has taken some of the cited passages from Madhva, Vyāsatīrtha and Vijayadhvaja, and in several cases quotes them expressly as *madhva-bhāṣya-pramāṇitā śruti*. The *Caturveda-śikhā*, for instance, quoted as Śruti, is otherwise unknown, but is taken from Madhva's Bhāṣya on the *Vedānta-sūtra*. Other such curious works are the *Brahma-tarka*, *Nārāyaṇādhyātma* and *Vāsudevādhyātma*. It is well known that Madhva, in his voluminous writings, quotes many Śruti and Purāṇa passages which are unknown and have remained untraced ; and it is often suggested that the passages are fabricated. But Jīva Gosvāmin accepts and utilises them whenever they are convenient ; and a large number of them will be found in his *Sarva-saṃvādinī*. Jīva's quotations from literary and rhetorical works are almost negligible.

[Our references are to pages, by Arabic numerals, of the printed editions mentioned above, p. 138, footnote. The Roman numerals refer to the Saṃdarbhas in their order, thus: I Tattva, II Bhagavat, III Paramātma, IV Śrīkṛṣṇa, V Bhakti and VI Prīti. The index does not pretend to be meticulously exhaustive, but it is hoped that no important work or author is overlooked. The abbreviated references sometimes present difficulty by their being indefinite, but where they could not be identified they are here given as found].

1. Vedic Literature:

Ṛgveda I 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22 ; II 152 (anonymously), 373, 383, 400 (Śruti), 655 (Śruti) ; IV 345 [only three well-known passages quoted from the Hymn of Creation x. 129. 6, the Puruṣa Hymn x. 90. 2 and the Viṣṇu Hymn i. 22. 20].

Yajurveda I 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 35 (Sārasvata-kalpa) ; [no passages quoted].

Sāmaveda I 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 39 ; [no passages quoted].

Atharvan or Atharvāṅgirasa I 14, 15, 17, 18, 22 ; [no passages quoted].

Atharvāhnika III 160.

Kāṭhaka (śākhā) I 21 ; III 41.

Pippalāda-śākhā II 372.

Śatapatha-Śruti V 592.

Tāṇḍināṃ Śrutiḥ VI 184.

Māṭhara-Śruti VI 38 (anon. 350).

Mādhyaṃdināyana-Śruti VI 195 ; Mādhyaṃdinīya Yajus IV 346.

Chāndogya-up. (Sāma-kauthumīya-śākhā) I 16 ; IV 113 (Sāmopaniṣad).

Kena-up. I 94 ; IV 319.

Aitareyaka-Śruti II 330 (also 538 anon.).

Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad II 257.

Muṇḍaka-up. III 201.

Śvetāśvatara-up. III 179, 186.

Upaniṣad I 28 ; IV 345.

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Bhāllaveya-Śruti III 417.

Paiṅga-Śruti II 485.

Sauparṇa-Śruti II 619 ; V 641 ; VI 239.

Bṛhacchruti VI 195.

Madhva-bhāṣya-pramāṇitā Śruti II 154, 454, 455, 598 ; III 251 ; IV 225.
Bhārata-tātparya-pramāṇitā Śruti II 454 ; VI 239.
Rāmānujodāhṛtā Śruti II 514.
Śārīraka-bhāṣya-dhṛtā Śruti IV 438.
Sectarian Upaniṣads, often cited as Śruti:
Gopāla-tāpanī II 62, 67, 68, 252, 555, 559 ; IV 171, 183, 184, 196, 200, 204, 221, 223, 253, 254, 268, 302, 308 (anonymously as Śruti only), 309, 343, 346, 422, 425, 428, 470 (anon.), 498, 561, 562 (as Śruti), 567 ; V 542, 592, 633, 667 ; VI 357, 958.
Nṛsiṃha-tāpanī II 154, 373, 558 ; IV 226 (and its Bhāṣya-kṛt) ; V 496 ; VI 244 (Advaita-gurubhiḥ saṃmatā).
Kṛṣṇa-tāpanī IV 309, 567.
Rāma-tāpanī IV 567.
Mahopaniṣad II 141 ; III 65, 385.
Nārāyaṇopaniṣad IV 154.
Vāsudevopaniṣad IV 154 ; VI 38.
Caturvedākhyā Śruti or Caturveda-śikhā I 71 ; II 119, 558 ; III 120 ; IV 225 (Madhva-bhāṣya-pramāṇitā).
Gobhila-saṃdhyopāsanā II 270.
Ṛk-pariśiṣṭa IV 568 (called Śruti) ; VI 564.
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2. *The Epics etc*:

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Rāmāyaṇa I 51 ; V 529.
Hari-vaṃśa II 504 ; IV 21, 57, 59, 63, 64, 77, 113, 187, 215, 285, 298, 313, 314, 330, 343, 346, 467, 552 ; V 497 ; VI 957, 963, 1052, 1085.
Gītā, Gītopaniṣad or Bhagavad-Upaniṣad (also anonymously as *uktam bhagavatā*) I 38, 89, 92 (anon.) ; II 47, 85, 155, 245, 350, 354, 357, 467, 473, 479, 490, 491, 518 (anon.), 519, 548, 551, 611 (anon.), 629 (anon.) ; III 8, 10, 12, 13, 14-21, 24, 78, 95, 111, 117 (anon.), 126, 130, 131, 133, 155, 160 (anon.), 245, 246 (anon.), 249, 250, 347, 363, 367 (anon.), 418 ; IV 47, 78, 148, 155, 157-171, 184, 248, 258, 561 ; V 451, 487, 488, 491, 492,

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3. *The Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas*:

Śrīmad-bhāgavata ; the references and quotations are too numerous to be indexed here. Referred to as Mahāpurāṇa V 452, 485 ; as Sātvata-saṃhitā I 111 or Saṃhitā I 116 ; III 377.

Padma [with references to its khaṇḍas (generally Uttara-khaṇḍa) or episodes] I 24, 38 ; II 37, 57, 64, 65, 98, (Kārttika-māhātmya), 99, 118 (Kārttika°), 124, 143, 144, 145 (Pātāla-khaṇḍa), 228, 255, 259, 358, 380, 390, 397, 398, 506, 509, 510, 512, 559 ; III 22 (anon.), 72, 88, 151, 245, 247, 248, 295 ; IV 68, 77, 150, 156 (Pātāla°), 172, 202 (Bṛhat-sahasra-nāma), 220 (Nirmāṇa-khaṇḍa), 222 (Kārttikā°), 226, 249 (Nirmāṇa°), 257 (Nirmāṇa°), 270, 272, 289, 300 (Pātāla°), 302 (do.), 305 (do.), 308 (do.), 343 (Kārttika°), 344 (Pātāla°), 345 (Nirmāṇa°), 346, 349 (Nirmāṇa°), 372, 397, 481, 488, 527, 534, 552, 566 (Kārttika°) ; V 486 (Bṛhat-sahasra-nāma), 498, 508, 515 (Pātāla°, Vaiśākha-māhātmya), 517, 526 (Māgha-māhātmya), 527, 528, 532, 533, 547, 552, 567, 572 (Pātāla°), 582, 585, 594, 595, 602, 603 (Māgha°), 611, 616, 618 (Kārttika°), 620 (Pātāla°, Vaiśākha°), 624 (do.), 625, 628, 630, 636 (Pātāla°, Vaiśākha°), 640, 641, 651, 658, 661 ; VI 130, 174, 210, 294 (anon.), 426, 557, 567, 903, 1051, 1052, 1136.

Skanda I 14 (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa), 21, 22 (Prabhāsa°), 24, 25, 27 (Prabhāsa°), 35 (do.), 39 (Dvārakā-māhātmya) ; II 65, 256 (both Prabhāsa°), 143, 144, 329, 335, 388, 536 (Kāśī-khaṇḍa Dhruva-caritra), 559, 648 ; III 54, 70, 74, 149 (Prabhāsa°), 268, 385 ; IV 23 (Rāma-gītā) 66 (Prabhāsa°), 68, 71 (Prabhāsa°), 192 (Ayodhyā-mahātmya), 221 (Dvārakā°), 269, 299 (Prahlāda-saṃhitā), 305 (Ayodhyā°), 308, 344, 364, 467, 548 (Prabhāsa°), 565 (Prahlāda-saṃhitāyāṃ Dvārakā-m°), 566 ; V 453 (Revā-khaṇḍa), 486 (Prabhāsa°), 487, 490 (Kāśī-khaṇḍa), 494 (Brahma-Nārada-saṃvāda), 497 (do.), 502, 506 (Revā°), 508 (Brahma-Nārada°), 510 (do.), 513 (do.), 513 (Sanatkumāra-Mārkaṇḍeya-saṃvāda), 513 (Dvārakā°), 516, 527 (Revā°), 528 (Umā-Maheśvara-saṃvāda), 532 (Prahlāda, Dvārakā°), 572 (Mārkaṇḍeya-Bhagīratha-saṃvāda), 534, 575, 613 (Mārkaṇḍeya-Bhagīratha°), 614, 616, 617, 620, 621, 624,

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Brahmāṇḍa II 386 ; IV 18, 155 (Kṛṣṇottara-śata-nāma), 184 (do.), 268 (do.) ; V 531, 614, 640.

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Ādi IV 577 ; VI 567.

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Varāha II 293 ; III 73 ; IV 37, 300, 306, 307, 421 ; V 642.

Mahāvarāha II 322 ; Ādi-Varāha IV 300, 308, 468 ; V 496, 599, 625, 643.

Vāmana III 57 ; V 614 ; Bṛhad-Vāmana V 659.

Garuḍa I 39, 71 ; II 525, 616 ; IV 66, 441 ; V 489, 505, 508, 514, 529, 538, 541, 546, 552, 580, 603, 604, 622, 637, 661 ; VI 731.

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Kālikā II 132 (Devī-kṛta Viṣṇu-stava).
Bhaviṣya I 16; IV 564 (Malla-dvādaśī-prasaṅge Kṛṣṇa-Yudhiṣṭhira-saṃvāda); V 640, 641; VI 1063. Bhaviṣyottara V 641; VI 175, 957, 1141, 1051 (Vrata-ratnākara-dṛta), 1054.
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4. Philosophical Texts and Commentaries:

Vedānta-sūtra or Brahma-sūtra I 10-11 (anon.), 32, 33, 39, 40, 71, 106-7 (anon.); II 181, 192-93 (anon.), 203, 227 (anon.), 237 (anon.), 251-52 (anon.), 287 (anon.); III 21, 22, 132 (anon.), 178 (anon.), 377, 380, 387-89, 391 f (anon.), 395 (anon.), 398-99 (anon.), 400, 401, 408; IV 81, 313 (anon.), 430 (anon.), 496 (anon.); V 657 (anon.); VI 77 (anon.), 96 (anon.), 171 (anon.), 187 (anon.), 500, 703 (anon.).
Śaṃkara-bhāṣya, Śārīraka, Śaṃkara-śārīraka, Advaita-śārīraka or Śārīraka-bhāṣya II 102, 140, 227, 234; III 408; IV 33, 383 (Śrī-Śaṃkarācārya), 438; VI 245; general reference as Śaṃkara I 56, 70.
Śrī-bhāṣya I 79; II 426 (Rāmānuja-śārīraka), 514 (Rāmānuja); III 90, 368; general reference as Rāmānuja or °caraṇa or °bhagavat-pāda I 79; II 511; III 360; IV 258; V 623; Rāmānuja-mata III 88, 362.
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Bhāṣyakāra (on Chandogya) VI 289.
Madhva-bhāṣya (on Vedānta-sūtra) II 154, 181, 235, 454, 455, 598; III 251; IV 225, 239, 438; Madhvācārya by name I 56, 57.
Vijayadvaja, Brahmatīrtha and Vyāsatīrtha, Commentaries respectively on the Bhāgavata, Mahābhārata and Brahma-sūtra I 72 (the second work cited actually).
Tattva-vāda-guravaḥ IV 37, 38, 224.
Śrīdhara's commentary (Bhāvārtha-dīpikā) on the Śrīmad-bhāgavata, referred to generally as Ṭīkā—references are too numerous throughout to be indexed here. Śrīdhara's Commentary on the Viṣṇu-purāṇa referred to in III 165, 229.

The author is cited as Śrīdhara-Svāmin, Svāmin, Svāmi-pāda or °caraṇa, or simply as Ṭīkākṛt I 44, 68, 73, 152 ; II 77, 131, 197, 201, 208, 231, 318, 320, 450, 552, 630, 647 ; III 31, 156, 229, 346 ; IV 43, 61, 89, 121, 217, 224, 262, 364, 365, 433, 438, 451, 561 ; V 468 ; VI 576, 579, etc.

Daśama-ṭippaṇī (on Bhāgavata x) VI 1120, 1146.

Bhārata-tātparya (of Madhva) II 454 ; IV 329 ; VI 239.

Brahma-tarka I 72 ; II 132, 560.

5. *Religious Texts and Commentaries, including Āgama, Tantra etc.*:

Pañcarātra III 75, 80 ; V 472, 625 ; VI 417, 426.

Nārada-pañcarātra II 182, 257, 386 ; III 25, 127 ; IV 299 (Vijayākhyāna), 466 (Śruti-Vidyā-saṃvāda) ; V 576, 595, 596, 628, 629, 630, 633, 640, 650 ; VI 225, 246, 247.

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Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra I 53 ; II 645 ; V 567, 633, 569 (Nārāyaṇa-vyūha-stava) ; VI 246 (same stava). The Stava mentioned is cited independently, V 650.

Viṣṇudharma I 22 ; II 155, 342, 488, 489 ; III 78 ; IV 47 ; V 498, 530, 531, 533, 534, 545, 612, 616-18, 620, 626, 634, 639, 640, 644 ; VI 87. There is a reference to Āgneya Viṣṇudharma in V 505.

Viṣṇudharmottara II 275 ; IV 20, 156, 219, 220 ; V 495, 529 ; VI 200, 201, 704.

Mahāsaṃhitā I 72 ; II 117, 229.

Agastya-saṃhitā V 487, 625, 628.

Jābāli-saṃhitā V 622.

Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā V 627.

Nārāyaṇa-saṃhitā II 238.

Kātyāyana-saṃhitā V 532.

Garuḍa-saṃhitā V 625.

Brahma-saṃhitā II 68, 153, 486, 547 ; III 34, 58, 84 ; IV 35, 150, 277, 279, 298, 313, 314, 346, 424, 426, 428, 559, 563 (anon.) ; V 532, 631 ; VI 607.

Gautamīya Tantra IV 220, 423 ; V 547, 640, 651 ; VI 959, 1074.

Bṛhad-Gautamīya Tantra IV 305 (Govinda-vṛndāvanākhya), 309, 567, 568 ; VI 239, 564.

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Trailokya-saṃmohana Tantra IV 220 ; V 533, 630 ; VI 725.

Tantra-Bhāgavata or Bhagavat-tantra I 53, 72 ; IV 224, 421.

Mṛtyuñjaya Tantra IV 296.

Vaiṣṇava Tantra III 71 ; V 494, 572, 627.
Bṛhat-Tantra VI 239 (Madhvabhāṣya-dhṛta).
Tantrāntara V 627.
Āgama IV 76, 255, 271, 335, 565 ; V 626, 634 ; VI 477, 958.
Svayaṃbhuvāgama IV 272 (Īśvara-Devī-saṃvāda), 560.
Nārāyaṇādhyātma II 220 ; VI 127.
Vāsudevādhyātma II 246.
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Bhagavan-nāma-kaumudī and its author I 116 (Kaumudīkāra) ; II 477 ; IV 113 ; V 531, 611, 616 ; VI 576.
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Vrata-khaṇḍa (of Hemādri) I 43, 63 (Hemādrikāra!).
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Itihāsa-samuccaya II 387 (Mudgalopākhyāna) ; V 528 (Nārada-Puṇḍarīka-saṃvāda), 554, 602, 603.
Yāmala IV 463 (Rudra-Gaurī-saṃvāda), 567 ; V 650.
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Hari-bhakti-vilāsa V 594.
Līlāśuka and Karṇāmṛta V 609 ; Bilvamaṅgala VI 509.
Śrīmad-āloka-mandāra-stotra V 646.
Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta II 198 (anon.).
Laghu-Bhāgavata V 528.
Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu VI 701, 729, 732, 735 (all anon.), 430, 722.
Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi VI 952, 989, 1060, 1062, 1087-88, 1095, 1100 (all anon.), 409, 1139.
Lalita-mādhava (of Rūpa) IV 506 ; VI 1140.

6. *Miscellaneous Citations*:

Baudhāyana II 391 ; IV 222, 424 (Karma-vipāka-prāyaścitta-smṛti —in both cases) ; III 368 (cited as Vṛttikāra on Uttara-mīmāṃsā).

Manu I 12 (Mānavīya).
Yājñavalkya II 462.
Āyurvedavid II 95.
Pāṇini (Sūtras cited) I 48 (Chandaḥ-prakriyā) ; VI 322.
Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana IV 549.
Nirghaṇṭa or Nirghaṇṭuka II 119, 230 ; IV 259.
Śabda-mahodadhi II 119, 229.
Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa II 120, 165, 230.
Viśva-prakāśa II 120.

Alaṃkāra-works and Authors:
Bharata, Viṣṇugupta and Rudra VI 944.
Bhojarāja VI 579.
Sudeva VI 580.
Dharmadatta VI 577 (quotation derived from the Sāhitya-darpaṇa).
Nārāyaṇa VI 579 (from the same source).
Sāhitya-darpaṇa IV 575. 576, 577 ; VI 575, 620 (all quotations anonymous).

7. *Authors etc. cited by name only (other than those mentioned above)*:

Kṛṣṇa-caitanya I 3 ; V 477, 618 (Kali-yuga-pāvanāvatāra-śrī-bhagavat) ; VI 1146.
Rūpa I 3 ; IV 506, 577 (Śrīmad-upajīvya-caraṇa or Asmad-upajīvya-caraṇāmbuja) ; V 449 ; VI 1139.
Sanātana I 3 ; V 449.
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Bhaṭṭa III 234.
Bhagavad Upavarṣa II 251.
Puṇyāraṇya I 57 (Śaṃkara-śiṣya).
Śrīvaiṣṇava-sāṃpradāyika Bālamandarācārya II 484.
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Vṛddha-vaiṣṇava I 4 (explained in *Sarva-saṃvādinī* as referring to Rāmānuja, Madhvācārya, Śrīdhara-svāmin and others).

Apart from the works and authors cited above, the following addi-

tional citations are found in Jīva Gosvāmin's *Sarva-saṃvādinī* (reference by pages ; ed. as mentioned above, p. 159 footnote):

Reference to Caitanya and discussion of his Avatāratva pp. 1-4.
Reference to Śrīmad-Advaita-mahānubhāva-caraṇa 4.
Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya 4.
The three Bhaṣyas of Śaṃkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva profusely quoted and utilised.
Vācaspati [Miśra] 9 (Bhāmatī quoted anonymously).
Tantra-vārttika 10, 19 (both anon).
Puruṣottama Tantra 13.
Vākyapadīya 15 (anon.).
Śrīvaiṣṇavāḥ 11, 29.
Śrīdhara's commentary on the Viṣṇupurāṇa 36.
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Śrīviṣṇu-sūkta 95.
Koṭaravya-Śruti 73.
Māṇḍavya-Śruti 81.
Gopavana-Śruti 110, 112 (Madhvabhāṣya-dṛṣṭā).
Śāṇḍilya-Śruti 108 (Madhvabhāṣya-pramāṇitā).
Bhallaveya-Śruti 152.
Paiṅgī Śruti 57, 143 (udahṛtā).
Paiṅgī-rahasya-Brāhmaṇa 124.
Śaṃkara-śārīraka-bhāṣya-pramāṇitā Śruti 11 (=ṚgV x. 71. 3, anon.).
Tattvavāda-bhāṣyakṛn-Madhvācāryodāhṛtā Śruti 12 (=ṚgV x. 190. 3, anon.) ; other Śrutis from Madhva-bhāṣya 73, 86, etc.
Caturveda-śikhā Śruti 44, 64 (Madhvabhāṣya-pramāṇitā), 74, 85.
Bhāratatātparya-pramāṇitā Śruti 74.
The Upaniṣads mentioned above are extensively quoted, as also the following: Aitareya 78 (anon.) ; Kauṣītaki 106 (anon.), 114 (Madhvabhāṣyodāhṛtā) ; Maitrī 78 (anon.), 127 (anon.) ; Praśna 92, 109, 115, 117 (all anon.) ; Īśa 127 (anon.) ; Ātma 86 (anon.) ; Atharva-śiras 97, 103 (both anon.), etc.
Maitreya Brāhmaṇa 126 (but the quotation is from Bṛ.-Ā Up!).
Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 46, 47, 50, 103 (all anon.).

5. CAITANYA-WORSHIP AS A CULT

It is indeed a remarkable fact that although direct worship of Caitanya as a deity prevailed, according to the testimony of his Bengali biographical works, even during his life-time, the Sanskrit sources of Caitanyaism (with the exception of the

Sanskrit biographical works of Murāri and Kavikarṇapūra) are entirely wanting in all reference to a distinct cult of Caitanya, and they nowhere inculcate directly such a worship. The whole object of the learned Sanskrit works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, we have seen, is to establish that Kṛṣṇa is the exclusive object of worship, not as an Avatāra but as the supreme deity of the faith ; and they attempt to demonstrate this proposition by an elaborate system of interpretation of those older Purāṇic and sectarian texts which the Bengal school would accept as authoritative. But they make no similar attempt anywhere to establish the supreme godhead or incarnated divinity of Caitanya, probably because such an attempt would have hardly been consistent with their central position that Kṛṣṇa alone is the supreme god. They acknowledge Caitanya as an Avatāra or even as Kṛṣṇa himself, but they never try to reconcile this practical faith in Caitanya with their theoretical creed regarding Kṛṣṇa. The whole theology or emotionalism of the religious system is deduced, more or less, from older devotional texts, chiefly from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and we have no direct presentation of the gospel or personal teachings of its founder, nor any express theological claim regarding his supreme and exclusive divinity. The recognized theologians of the sect, the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, are concerned principally with Kṛṣṇa-līlā in their serious works on theology or Rasa-śāstra, and do not speak in the same way at all about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme.[1]

It must not, however, be supposed that there is no reference at all to the divine personality of Caitanya or homage paid to it, but these passages, occurring mostly in the poetical works or in the Namaskriyās only of the more learned treatises of the Gosvāmins, do not make the position clear. Nor do they inculcate any such worship of Caitanya as obtained at Navadvīpa or Puri in his life-time or in the

1 See above pp. 227-28.

later history of the sect. Caitanya himself probably deprecated the natural tendency of his followers to deify him ; and even his most orthodox biography records in one place[1] (but explains it away) that Caitanya on one occasion disclaimed his identity with Kṛṣṇa. But, at the same time, there can be no doubt that the belief that he was an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa or even Kṛṣṇa himself certainly took form in his life-time among the Gosvāmins, who were his immediate disciples, even though the strictly theological position involved in this belief was never discussed by them.

Some of the Sanskrit Stotras or Stavas which Rūpa and Raghunātha-dāsa wrote clearly indicate this attitude. In the *Stava-mālā* of the former Gosvāmin there are three opening Aṣṭakas in praise of Caitanya, although the rest of the work, consisting of more than fifty separate Stotras, describes in highly erotic imagery the different aspects of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa. In these three Aṣṭakas, however, which are called *Caitanyāṣṭakas*, the high panegyric of Caitanya forms the direct theme. In the first Aṣṭaka, composed in Śikhariṇī metre, we are told in one verse that gods like Śiva, Brahmā, and others worship Caitanya, who is the resting place of the Upaniṣads, the all-in-all of the sages, the sweet sentiment of devotion itself to his devotees and the very essence of love to the Gopīs,—epithets which imply an identification of Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa himself. In another punning verse, which applies equally to Kṛṣṇa and to Caitanya, reference is made to the associates and followers of Caitanya, such as Advaita, Śrīvāsa Svarūpa and Paramānanda (Kavikarṇapūra?), as well as to Gajapati [Pratāparudra]. Mention is also made of Caitanya's reciting of Kṛṣṇa's name, his recollection of Vṛndāvana, his ecstasy, his residence at the sea-side and the Saṃkīrtana processions led by him before the car of Jagannātha. The second Aṣṭaka, also composed in Śikhariṇī, refers, among other things, to the attitude of some deluded people who, overcome by demoniacal tendency (*asura-bhāva*), do not

1 *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xviii, 109-112.

acknowledge Caitanya,[1] who is Kṛṣṇa in fair form (*akṛṣṇāṅga*), whose Yajña consists of Saṃkīrtana and whose human form is always overflowing with bliss in order to teach the doctrine of love and remove the sorrows of the world. The seventh stanza apparently describes Caitanya in the dress and appearance of a Saṃnyāsin[2]. It is also noteworthy that the third stanza of this Aṣṭaka explains the fair complexion of Caitanya by the supposition that Kṛṣṇa, desiring to experience the sweet feeling of the Gopīs, concealed his own dark complexion by stealing the golden hue of Rādhā, his beloved. We shall see presently that this fancy led to the elaboration of the doctrine that Caitanya is the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Rādhā, although the doctrine is already anticipated by the contemporary composers of Bengali Padas on Caitanya and some of his Bengali biographers. The third Aṣṭaka, composed in Pṛthvī metre, addresses the son of Śacī directly as Mukunda, whose greatness could not be described even by men of great intelligence like [Vāsudeva] Sārvabhauma.[3] Caitanya has

1 The detractors of Caitanya are condemned in one whole section of 15 verses, entitled Caitanyābhakta-nindā, by Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī in his *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*.

2 It is the appearance of Caitanya as a Saṃnyāsin which seems to have appealed to the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, and not the personal presence of the comparatively youthful Caitanya who figures prominently in the works of the Navadvīpa disciples. It should be remembered that, according to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Rūpa met Caitanya only thrice: at Rāmakeli (Madhya, i. 172-212), at Prayāga for ten days only (Madhya, xix. 122), and at Puri for about ten months (Antya, iv. 25). All this occurred after Caitanya's Saṃnyāsa. The Yati-veśa is distinctly emphasised by Sanātana in the third Namaskriyā stanza of his *Bhagavatāmṛta*.

3 The name of Sārvabhauma is specially mentioned not only because he was one of the foremost veteran scholars of the day but also because he wrote a Caitanyāṣṭaka, on which perhaps Rūpa's own Aṣṭakas were modelled. Ānandin quotes two verses from this work, one of which is again quoted as Sārvabhauma's by Sanātana and both of which are given as Sārvabhauma's in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya* (vi. 43-44). Murāri puts them in the mouth of Sārvabhauma himself.

revealed the great wealth of Bhakti-rasa, which cannot be found in the Veda or the Upaniṣad and which was never divulged before in any other greater incarnation (*gurutarāvatārāntare*).

In the *Stavāvalī* of Raghurātha-dāsa, who was the most fortunate of all the six Gosvāmins in obtaining longer and greater personal intimacy with Caitanya at Puri, we have only the first two (out of about thirty Kṛṣṇaite) Stotras directly concerned with Caitanya. The first is an Aṣṭaka of the same type (also composed in the Śikhariṇī metre) as those of Rūpa, while the second, consisting of twelve Śikhariṇī stanzas, is entitled *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru*. The Aṣṭaka refers chiefly to Caitanya's life at Puri, his daily visit to the Jagannātha temple where he used to stand near the Garuḍa-column, the solicitous care of Svarūpa and the servant Govinda, his fits of frenzy at Saṃkīrtana, and his revealing of the Bhakti-doctrine which was inaccessible to the old sages and lay concealed in the Śruti. But the most remarkable statement occurs in the first verse, which repeats the fancy of Caitanya's double incarnation by saying that Kṛṣṇa, having once fallen in love with his own beauty reflected in a mirror, and desiring to taste his own sweetness as it was tasted by Rādhā, was born (*jātaḥ*) in Gauḍa in the one indivisible body of fair hue belonging to Rādhā who was his own (*apara-gauraika-tanubhāk*).[1] In his Saṃkīrtana Caitanya has thus merely cited with delight his own sweet names (*mudā gāyann uccair nija-madhura-nāmāvalir asau*). The *Stava-kalpataru*, on the other hand, referring to Caitanya's life of devotion at Puri at the house of [Kaśīśvara-] Miśra, as well as to his Guru Īśvara Purī (also mentioned in stanza 2 of the Aṣṭaka), his disciple Svarūpa and his servant Govinda, describes chiefly the ecstatic

1 This conceit also finds expression in Rūpa's *Lalita-mādhava* viii. 32, where the astonished Kṛṣṇa is enamoured of his own beautiful reflection on the jewelled wall and expresses a greedy longing to enjoy it like Rādhā (*sa-rabhasam upabhoktuṃ kāmaye rādhikeva*); but there is no reference to Caitanya in this connexion.

feelings of divine love which characterized the last phase of his life. It depicts Caitanya more as a Bhakta of passionate devotionalism than as an incarnated deity ; but since the *divyonmāda*, the state of divine frenzy, is regarded in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-theology as the characteristic of the highest Madana Mahābhāva of Rādhā, there is possibly an implication here of the idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya.[1] In the Namaskriyā verse to his *Muktā-caritra*,[2] however, Raghunātha does not refer to the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya, but simply regards him as an Avatāra who took birth in the womb of Śacī in order to bestow upon this world the bright nectar of his own Bhakti,[3] while in the body of the work itself, which deals with a fancied episode of Kṛṣṇa's career, no such reference occurs.

Although these poetical and passionate Stotras do not form a part of the regular theology of the school, they are yet composed by professed theologians ; and in spite of their undoubtedly devotional character, they are coloured a great deal by their sectarian beliefs. It is, therefore, interesting to note that, apart from inevitable embellishment and exaggeration, they acknowledge, even if they do not theologically propound, the divinity of Caitanya and even this identity with Kṛṣṇa. It is, however, not clear from these devout poetical utterances whether Caitanya was regarded as Kṛṣṇa himself or merely as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa. Some passages, as noted above, incline to the former view, but the term Avatāra and

1 But this need not be presumed or read into it, for it is probable from all accounts that Caitanya practised the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti and imagined himself as Rādhā. Raghunātha may be referring to this fact without any such theological implication of Caitanya's Rādhā-incarnation.

2 Raghunātha-dāsa's *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi* contains no Namaskriyā to Caitanya, as also Rūpa's two Dūta-kāvyas, *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* and *Padyāvalī*.

3 *nijām ujjvalitāṃ bhakti-sudhām arpayituṃ kṣitau /*
uditaṃ taṃ śacī-garbha-vyomni pūrṇaṃ vidhuṃ bhaje / /

its derivatives distinctly occur in other passages. It is, however, evident that here we have the definite suggestion, if not the elaboration, of the doctrine of double incarnation, which later writers developed with great delight. If Caitanya is to be regarded as Kṛṣṇa himself, it was found necessary to explain how Kṛṣṇa's dark colour became transformed in Caitanya into a golden hue. Again, Caitanya's ecstatic feeling of divine love for Kṛṣṇa in an almost feminine rôle of mystically erotic passion also required explanation. It was, therefore, imagined, in accordance with the Mādhurya theory of the school, that Kṛṣṇa, in order to relish the supreme taste of his own Mādhurya as it was relished by his most beloved Rādhā, assumed the feelings as well as the beauty of Rādhā, so that the two became one in Caitanya. It has been noted above that one of the most approved modes of devotional realization of this sect consisted of the practice of the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti, an emotional state in which the devotee imagined himself as one of the dear ones of Kṛṣṇa and played that rôle in his longings for the deity. The orthodox records show that Caitanya himself probably began this practice, often imagined himself as Rādhā longing for her beloved Kṛṣṇa and tried to realize the same intense yearnings. We shall see presently that in this emotional practice of the Rādhā-bhāva, he received support from Rāmānanda-Rāya. If it was a fact that Caitanya, for his emotional devotional purposes, imagined himself as Rādhā, it was only a step that he came to be regarded by his disciples as Rādhā herself incarnated. Rāmānanda's attitude, as reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, probably indicates the final shape which the tendency took ; and this conceit was undoubtedly strengthened both by Caitanya's fair complexion and his passionate ecstasies. The idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya, voiced already by the contemporary composers of Bengali Padas on Caitanya, was thus probably suggested by the Rādhā-bhāva, which his 'divine madness' for Kṛṣṇa typified, as well as by the theological necessity of furnishing an

explanation of the appearance of a fair, instead of a dark, Kṛṣṇa. But the idea is only poetically suggested ; its theological implications never appear to have been fully worked out until Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja sets it forth much later as the view of Rāmānanda-Rāya in his Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

In the professed theological works of the Gosvāmins, however, Caitanya is referred to only in the Namaskriyās, but nowhere else in the body of these elaborate treatises his divinity or incarnated appearance is either mentioned or discussed in the same way as the divinity of Kṛṣṇa. For reasons best known to themselves, these recognized theologians of the sect and authors of systematic treatises do not, except in their brief Namaskriyās, make any reference to Caitanya. While the personality and the direct spiritual realizations of the Master are silently passed over, Jīva Gosvāmin, who gives an exposition of the entire philosophy and theology of the sect in his stupendous six *Saṃdarbhas*, does not utter a single word about the Caitanya-concept in itself, as well as in relation to the Kṛṣṇa-concept, with which latter concept he appears to be entirely occupied. Rūpa and Sanātana, in their two *Bhāgavatāmṛtas*, consider with great devotional and scholastic acumen the question of Avatāra, but in this connexion they make no reference, either direct or illustrative, to Caitanya. Just as the Kṛṣṇa-concept had to be traced and established in the light of Bhāgavata texts, so it was necessary that the Caitanya-concept in a similar manner should find a distinct place in the authoritative philosophic and theological compendiums of the sect. If Jīva thought it necessary to write an elaborate *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, he never thought it necessary, for some unknown reason, to write a similar *Caitanya-saṃdarbha*. This remarkable omission is, no doubt, made good by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his scholastic Bengali biography of Caitanya, but Kṛṣṇadāsa's theology on this point is clearly the theology of a later date, anticipated, no doubt, by the six Gosvāmins but never clearly expressed. Even in the collection of Stotras mentioned above, written by the

professed theologians of the sect, we have only four (out of nearly one hundred) separate poems which are devoted to the glorification of Caitanya, the rest setting forth in highly sensuous language and imagery the various phases of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The realization of the Līlā or divine sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa indeed forms the central creed, which Caitanya himself is reported to have emphasized by the erotico-religious emotionalism characterizing his own devotional career. But this Līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is considered by the Gosvāmins, only as set forth by the Bhāgavata texts, and not as directly realized by Caitanya, only in itself and not in relation to the Caitanya-līlā, even though they regard Caitanya as the first founder of the emotional creed.

We find the same attitude in the dramatic and Rasa-śāstra works of Rūpa Gosvāmin. One might expect that the systematic exposition of the emotional aspects of the creed in the Rasa-śāstra should, by way of illustration at least, make some topical reference to Caitanya's own realization of this supreme emotion as a Rasa, but as a matter of fact this is never done either here or in Jīva Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-* and *Prīti-saṃdarbhas* ; and wherever illustrations are drawn, they are all cited from the older Purāṇas, and not from the newer living exemplification of the doctrines in Caitanya himself. The *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa is even remarkable in not containing the usual Namaskriyā to Caitanya, although there is a Namaskriyā addressed to Rūpa's elder brother and master Sanātana ; while in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* Rūpa pays only in one verse[1] his homage to the lotus-feet of Caitanya-deva who is Hari, and acknowledges the emotional inspiration which has stimulated even an insignificant person like himself to undertake the task. Turning to Rūpa's dramatic works, which appear to have been purposely

1 *hṛdi yasya preraṇayā pravartito'haṃ varāka-rūpo'pi |*
tasya hareḥ pada-kamalaṃ vande caitanya-devasya | |

composed to illustrate the emotional aspects of the faith, we find that they are entirely devoted to the treatment of certain aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā on the basis of the Purāṇic tradition. The *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*, which was probably his earliest dramatic attempt, contains even no express Namaskriyā to Caitanya but opens with two descriptive Namaskriyās to Kṛṣṇa. The Sūtradhāra, however, describes in the third verse the frenzied ecstasy of an unnamed Bhakta, which is probably drawn after Caitanya's example. The work itself, on the other hand, sets forth a supposed episode in Kṛṣṇa's amorous career, which is not found in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* or *Gīta-govinda*, but which certainly became popular in mediaeval times as the Dāna-līlā and formed the theme of the Dāna-khaṇḍa of Caṇḍīdāsa's earlier Bengali *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, as well as of many a later Bengali song and poem. In the two other dramatic works of Rūpa, entitled respectively *Vidagdha-mādhava* and *Lalita-mādhava*,[1] Kṛṣṇa is presented as the Vidagdha and the Lalita Nāyaka respectively of the erotico-religious sentiment, emphasizing in turns the Aiśvarya and Mādhurya aspects of Kṛṣṇa's legendary career. The last named work opens with a suitable Namaskriyā to Kṛṣṇa, but the fourth verse pays homage to Caitanya, the son of Śacī, without however directly identifying him with Kṛṣṇa. But the second verse of the first work gives us a remarkable Namaskriyā to Caitanya, which is often quoted as expressing the author's views about the founder of the sect to which he belonged. Imperfectly translated into English it runs thus:

> Let the son of Śacī shine in the hollow of my heart, the Hari, who is lighted up by an assemblage of lustre lovelier than that of gold, and who in his compassion has descended at last in the Kali Age in order to bestow that wealth of his own Bhakti, which was never bestowed before and

1 The titles are obviously on the model of Jayadeva's descriptive naming of each section of his *Gīta-govinda*.

which consists of the exalted sentiment of love or Ujjvala-rasa.[1]

In this verse which is similar to, but more definite than, the Namaskriyā verse already cited above from Raghunātha-dāsa's *Muktā-caritra*, Rūpa Gosvāmin states quite expressly his belief of Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa; but it also appears that the son of Śacī was regarded by him as an Avatāra in the Kali Age (*avatīrṇaḥ*) for the special purpose of teaching, by his own example, the secrets of Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa, by which is of course meant the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment, which the Rasa-śāstra of this school established as the highest sentiment of Bhakti.

Rūpa in this attitude appears to follow the views of Sanātana whom in more than one verse he reverently addresses as his master or Prabhu. The third Namaskriyā verse of Sanātana's *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* makes it clear that Sanātana, like Rūpa, regarded Caitanya not so much as the supreme deity of the faith as the ideal devotee-incarnation, the Bhakta-Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, who incarnated as the fair-hued ascetic son of Śacī for the purpose of himself relishing his own sweetness as it was relished by Rādhā, his own greatest devotee. It says:[2]

> Victory be to this son of Śacī, the Hari here in the dress of an ascetic, bearing the lustre of gold and the name of Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, who having sweetly contemplated from his own feelings the feelings of his own beloved towards himself, has descended out of greed (to taste them) in the form of a Bhakta or devotee.

1 *anarpitacarīṃ cirāt karuṇayāvatīrṇaḥ kalau*
samarpayitum unnotojjvala-rasāṃ sva-bhakti-śriyam/
hariḥ puraṭa-sundara-dyuti-kadamba-saṃdīpitaḥ
sadā hṛdaya-kandare sphuratu vaḥ śacī-nandanaḥ//

2 *sva-dayita-nija-bhāvaṃ yo vibhāvya svabhāvāt*
sumadhuram avatīrṇo bhakta-rūpeṇa lobhāt/
jayati kanaka-dhāmā kṛṣṇa-caitanya-nāmā
harir iha jati-veśaḥ śrī-śacī-sūnur eṣaḥ//

It should be noted that by the word 'greed' (*lobha*) employed in this verse is probably meant, as the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* shows,[1] that Sanātana regarded Caitanya's rapture as an example of the Rāgātmikā or Rāgānugā Bhakti. If the nameless running commentary to this work is by Sanātana himself, he speaks, in his own explanation of this verse, of Caitanya as the Bhakta-rūpa Avatāra,[2] the Parama Guru, the dearest Avatāra of Śrī-bhagavat (*śrī-bhagavat-priyatamā-vatāra*), who spread the sentiment of Bhakti consisting for the most part of the Saṃkīrtana of his own name (*nija-nāma-saṃkīrtanaprāya - bhakti - rasa - vistāraka*). Elsewhere in the same commentary he makes his views quite clear by saying[3] that the Gopī-bhāva was admitted in this particular Avatāra for the purpose of revealing the special excellence of Prema-bhakti. The belief is further indicated briefly in the Namas-kriyā[4] to Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, where he pays homage in almost similar phraseology to the Bhagavat Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya, who is full of compassion and who became an Avatāra in Gauḍa for the purpose of propagating Prema-bhakti. It is also noteworthy

1 See aboye p. 176-77. There is evidence to show that many of the disciples of Caitanya followed the Rāgānugā way of worship and tried to realise the sentiments of Sakhya, Dāsya and Mādhurya. It is alleged in *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*° that the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins realised the Sakhī-bhāva themselves, and they were thus considered as Mañjarīs (see above p. 177. footnote).

2 In *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (śl. 10-11) a classification of the stages or hierarchy of Bhakta-rūpa (Caitanya), Bhakta-svarūpa (Nityānanda), Bhaktāvatara (Advaita), Bhakta (Śrīvāsa and others) and Bhakta-śakti (Gadādhara) is elaborated ; but this appears to be a further scholastic development of fine distinctions It is diffiicult to say if Sanātana wanted to imply any such distinction between Bhakta-rūpa and Bhakta-avatāra, for he appears to use the terms indiscriminately.

3 *yadyapi śrī-caitanya-devo bhagavad-avatāra eva, tathāpi prema-bhakti - viśeṣa - prakāśanārthaṃ svayam avatīrṇatvāt tena tadarthaṃ svayaṃ gopī-bhāvo vyajyate* (on śl. 1).

4 *vande śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyaṃ bhagavantaṃ kṛpāmayam/*
prema-bhakti-vitānārthaṃ gauḍeṣvavatatāra yaḥ//

that these passages appear to accept the implications of the theory of dual incarnation of Caitanya, even if they do not expressly state it. But Ānandin in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta* attributes an eulogistic verse to Sanātana, which distinctly gives expression to this idea by saying that since the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is an expression of the blissful divine attribute (Hlādinī Śakti), it divided itself formerly in this world, in spite of its essential identity, into two forms, but the two have now attained a unity, called Caitanya, which is identical with Kṛṣṇa but which is diversified by the brightness of the state of Rādhā.[1]

These verses, no doubt, reveal an attitude of adoration which verges almost upon worship, but theoretically the Gosvāmins do not maintain any such worship of Caitanya as they insist upon in the case of Kṛṣṇa who alone, in their view, is the supreme deity of the faith. They appear to regard Caitanya more as an Avatāra, the Bhakta-Avatāra *par excellence*, the Kṛṣṇa incarnated as Rādhā, as it were, for a special purpose. It appears, therefore, that Caitanya-worship did not become a definite creed with these learned disciples of Caitanya. This is even more evident from Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which is the most authoritative compendium of Vaiṣṇava Ācāra of the sect. The eighteen out of twenty Namaskriyās to the twenty chapters of this work express the author's deep reverence for Caitanya and apply

1 *rādhā-kṛṣṇa-praṇaya-vikṛtir hlādinī-śaktir asmād*
ekātmānāvapi bhuvi purā deha-bhedaṃ gatau tau|
caitanyākhyaṃ prakaṭam adhunā tad-dvayaṃ caikam āptaṃ
rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-śabalitaṃ naumi kṛṣṇa-svarūpam||

This verse is also cited by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja anonymously at the commencement of his °*Caritāmṛta*.—It may be that the Guru, Jayanta, of the Gopakumāra in Sanātana's *Bhāgavatāmṛta* is an allegorical representation of Caitanya, who was Sanātana's Guru. Jayanta is described there as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa born in Gauḍa on the banks of the Ganges (ii. 3. 122):

gauḍe gaṅgā-taṭe jāto māthura-brāhmaṇottamaḥ|
jayanta-nāma kṛṣṇasyāvatāras te mahān guruḥ||

to him such eulogistic epithets as the *bhagavat, jagad-guru, ananta-adbhuta-aiśvarya, tīrthottama, mahāścarya-prabhāvaka,* but there is nothing in them that does not apply, for instance, to one's Guru ; and it is remarkable that nowhere is Caitanya directly identified with Kṛṣṇa or even spoken of as an incarnation. The contents of the work appear to confirm and support this attitude ; for it is significant that this elaborate authoritative text on the ritualism of the sect gives no direction for the worship of Caitanya or his image, although it deals elaborately with the every-day service as well as the temple-ritual connected with Kṛṣṇa and his image.

There can be no doubt that the determinative creed of the Bengal sect is that Kṛṣṇa alone is the Bhagavat or the only and most perfect god. As the trend of their exclusively Kṛṣṇaite hymns, dramas and poems, as well as Śāstric works which have Kṛṣṇa as their only theme, should indicate, Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, as well as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunāthadāsa, adhere firmly to this creed. But this position, once accepted, would logically exclude every other claimant from the highest divine honour. It was, therefore, not possible from the strictly theoretical point of view to make an explicit declaration of what these personal disciples of Caitanya practically believed, namely, that Caitanya, like Kṛṣṇa himself, was the supreme deity of the creed. This inconsistency could be reconciled only by supposing, as they do suppose, that Kṛṣṇa, as the supreme being of endless incarnations, made his descent in the Kali Age in the form of Caitanya, but that he assumed the fair form as well as the fervid feelings of Rādhā, uniting in himself, for the particular purpose of relishing his own divine bliss, the two incarnated forms (to use a theological phrase) of the Śakti and the Śaktimat in a kind of identity in non-identity. The Gosvāmins have taken great pains to demonstrate that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat and not an incarnation, but they never make any attempt in the same way to demonstrate the creed in the case of Caitanya ; for, to avoid inconsistency, they had to

acknowledge that Caitanya was an incarnation, even if a unique incarnation, of Kṛṣṇa.

The theory of double incarnation, however, is not elaborated by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, but we can see from what is said above that the germs of the idea are already contained in the fanciful suggestions scattered throughout their poetical, if not in their theological, writings. We have already remarked that the idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya is attributed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to Rāmānanda-Rāya whom Caitanya is said to have met on the banks of the Godāvarī during his South Indian pilgrimage. It is possible that some such tradition existed, for Rāmānanda is called a Sahaja Vaiṣṇava by Kavikarṇapūra. But Rāmānanda's existing dramatic work, entitled *Jagannātha-vallabha*, the theme of which is the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, makes no reference to Caitanya at all and does not bear out the allegation. The attribution of Sahajiyā tendencies may have originated from Rāmānanda's admiration and close imitation of the frankly sensuous lyrics of Jayadeva, whom Sahajiyās claim, rightly or wrongly, as their Ādi-guru and one of the nine recognized Rasikas. But our knowledge of Pre-caitanya Sahajiyā cult is so meagre that it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion. It is remarkable, however, that Kṛṣṇadāsa's account for the first time wants to emphasize that after Caitanya met Rāmānanda, the Rādhā-bhāva in Caitanya became intensified, as if Rāmānanda revealed him to himself. From this time also commenced Caitanya's deep appreciation of Jayadeva's erotic mysticism which he is said to have constantly utilized in Rāmānanda's company at Puri. Before this meeting Caitanya appears in his Navadvīpa career chiefly as an incarnation of or identical with Kṛṣṇa (although occasionally the Pada-composers, as well as the biographers of the Navadvīpa circle refer, as we have noted more than once above, to the Rādhā-bhāva of Caitanya); but after the meeting he is held more and more to be the embodiment not only of Kṛṣṇa but also of Rādhā. The closing years of his

life at Puri, where Rāmānanda was one of his constant companions, are said to have been characterized by what is regarded as the highest emotion of the devotional state, namely, the Mādana Mahābhāva of Rādhā. That association with Rāmānanda apparently formed a turning point in Caitanya's career of Bhakti is indicated also by the report of Kṛṣṇadāsa that it was the spiritual insight of Rāmānanda which revealed to Caitanya that he had, for the purpose of realizing his own divine nature, usurped the complexion and devotional spirit of Rādhā in the present Avatāra.[1] We are further told that it is to Rāmānanda alone, and to no other associate or follower, that Caitanya revealed himself in the united form of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.[2]

On the other hand, Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī makes direct use of and elaborates this doctrine in his *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*.[3] This work, consisting of a series of 143 devotional lyrics in praise of Caitanya, may not be a recognized work of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, but it has been held in great esteem. In this work, Prabodhānanda appears to regard Caitanya as one of the greatest Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa (śl, 1 and 7), who descended to earth in the womb of Śacī for propagating the spirit of Bhakti unrevealed even to great sages of old (śl. 18). In one whole section (the tenth) of 21 verses he speaks of the greatness of the Caitanya-Avatāra,

1 राधिकार भावकान्ति करि अधिकार ।
निज रस आस्वादिते करिआछ अवतार ॥

2 तवे हासि प्रभु निज देखाल स्वरूप ।
रसराज महाभाव दुइ एक रूप ॥

The Nāgara-bhāva of Caitanya, emphasized by Locana-dāsa's Bengali biography, apparently develops the idea of Kṛṣṇa-incarnation in a different direction, and has hardly any connexion with the thesis of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya. Jayānanda, the other Bengali biographer of Caitanya, generally steers clear of all such theological subtleties.

3 See above pp. 129-30.

although it is maintained that he is not a partial incarnation (Aṃśa-Avatāra) like the Fish, the Boar and other incarnations of past ages (śl. 141). At the same time there are other passages which seem to indicate that Prabodhānanda believed Caitanya to be the Īśvara (śl. 37), golden-complexioned (Kanaka-rucirāṅga) Kṛṣṇa, and Hari himself (śl. 41, 57, 112). The author, who was more a devotee than a theologian, does not appear to possess any exact theology ; but whatever might be his belief or theology on this point, there is no doubt that his work is one of the early extensive productions which directly inculcate not only adoration but worship of Caitanya.[1] He also seems to be aware of the idea of Caitanya's dual incarnation. He tells us (śl. 13) that in Caitanya we have the form of Kṛṣṇa united with that of Rādhā and bearing the beauty of the interior of a full-blown golden lotus.[2] He therefore addresses Caitanya (śl. 43) as the fair-complexioned lord of the Gopīs manifested in the Kali Age.[3] It is also noteworthy that in stanza 132 there is a reference to Caitanya as Gaura-nāgara-vara, which apparently subscribes to the Nāgara-bhāva doctrine of Narahari and Locana, deprecated or ignored by the orthodox circles of both Navadvīpa and Vṛndāvana.

It appears, therefore, that in this charming fancy of the Caitanyaite poet-devotees, most of whom were also the

1 But Prabodhānanda's alleged pupil Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as we have seen above, hardly lends any support to such a cult. It is possible that although the ascetic Prabodhānanda was apparently older than Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, his conversion to Caitanyaism may have taken place later when such a cult was widely gaining ground, and his work consequently may be of a later date ; or this view may have been his personal belief. But Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's pupilage of *this* Prabodhānanda lacks proof (see above, p. 129 f).

2 *bibhrat kāntiṃ vikaca-kanakāmbhoja-garbhābhirāmam/*
ekībhūtaṃ vapur avatu vo rādhayā mādhavasya//
Also see st. 112.

3 *kalau prakaṭa-gaura-gopīpatiḥ*, with an obvious pun on the word *gaura*.

recognized theologians of the sect, an ingenious explanation was found of the golden hue of Caitanya's body, which would have been dark as Kṛṣṇa's had it not been for the Rādhā-element. As it appears from the works of Pada-composers and the Gosvāmins, it was at first, more or less, a devotional poetical fancy ; but it was soon developed into a fundamental doctrine, and it is probable that from this theory originated the common epithet, Gaurahari, of Caitanya, with an evident pun on the word *gaura*, which makes the appellation mean at the same time 'Gaura who is Hāri' and 'the fair-complexioned Hari.'

The conception of the dual incarnation was, therefore, not unknown to the Gosvāmins, but its theological implications are not found systematically developed until the Bengali Caitanyaite works, which in course of time almost superseded the Sanskrit sources of Caitanyaism, came to be composed. We find it set forth in its full-fledged form in the Bengali theological biography of Caitanya written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja about 1615 A.D. We need not consider here in detail this later theological elaboration of the idea, but the process of Caitanya's elevation from single to double incarnation, as we have already noted, can be traced in the account which Kṛṣṇadāsa records. Although there are many passages in which Kṛṣṇadāsa speaks of Caitanya as an Avatāra, the ideal Bhakta-Avatāra with the mission of Prema-bhakti, yet he expresses in unambiguous language his belief that *śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya prabhu svayaṃ bhagavān*, thus employing to the case of Caitanya the technical theological expression *svayaṃ bhagavān* which had been hitherto applied to Kṛṣṇa alone. In Kṛṣṇadāsa's time Caitanya-worship apparently became an accomplished fact.[1] This zealous biographer of

1 Some of the immediate disciples of Caitanya like Narahari Sarkāra and Vaṃśīdāsa appear to have believed in their own way in the worship of Caitanya's image ; and there is evidence to show that some followers of Caitanya established and worshipped his image even during his life-time. In the *Vaṃśī-śikṣā* of Vaṃśīdāsa we are told that

Caitanya's who also appears to have been a trained theologian in the school of his acknowledged Gurus, Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, spares no pains to demonstrate, with a wealth of theological texts and arguments, Caitanya's essential identity with Kṛṣṇa, laying down emphatically that there is no other greater Tattva in the world than Caitanya who is Kṛṣṇa (*na caitanyāt kṛṣṇāj jagati para-tattvaṃ param iha*). Kṛṣṇadāsa, therefore, takes upon himself the task of analysing the Caitanya-concept and thus supplying an important omission of the previous theologians of the sect. He achieves this end chiefly by applying to the case of Caitanya all the divine attributes and energies of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa which had been elaborated by his predecessors and which have been discussed from the theological point of view by Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*. Some writers even go further, and, identifying Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa, evolve a series of Caitanya's Parikaras and Pārṣadas parallel to those of Kṛṣṇa, so that each associate and follower of Caitanya becomes from this point of view an incarnation of the various associates and followers of Kṛṣṇa.

It is not necessary to consider here the arguments by which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja establishes his position, but what is interesting for us here to note in his analysis of the Caitanya-concept is the further development of the theory of dual incarnation, in which he finds one of the principal

Vaṃśīdāsa, being convinced by means of a vision that he should propagate the worship of Caitanya's image, carved an image out of the wood of the tree under which Caitanya was born. It is also said elsewhere that Pratāparudra of Orissa had a life-size image of Caitanya made some time before his death, but since there is no independent evidence that Pratāparudra was ever a convert to Caitanyaism, the authenticity of this story is doubtful. According to Murāri-gupta (iv. 14. 8, if this part of the work is genuine), Caitanya-image was worshipped by Viṣṇupriyā. Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita is also said to have established and worshipped an image of Caitanya and Nityānanda (Gaur-Nitāi). In any case, these are isolated and sporadic instances and do not bear witness to any theoretical establishment of Caitanya-worship as a cult.

theological justifications of the advent of Caitanya. In applying the characteristics of the already established Kṛṣṇa-concept to the analysis of the Caitanya-concept, Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to maintain that the latter concept may be regarded as a supplement to the former. The motiveless attribute of divine bliss is the *raison d'être* of Caitanya-līlā as it is of Kṛṣṇa-līlā; but while in the latter case the supreme deity enjoys the bliss as the subject (Āśraya), in the former case the bliss is enjoyed both as the subject (Āśraya) and the object (Viṣaya). In other words, Kṛṣṇa the Śaktimat in his Vṛndāvana-līla enjoys the bliss arising from his association with his Śakti, Rādhā, but he does not enjoy the bliss, which Rādhā realizes, as inherent in himself. In the Caitanya līlā, therefore, he combines the rôles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who have separate and real existences in spite of essential identity in the supreme but hitherto unattained divine unity of the subject and object of bliss.[1] The display of the blissful divine attribute (Hlādinī Śakti), therefore, is supposed to receive a further development in Caitanya than in Kṛṣṇa. The difference is merely a difference particular Līlā or divine sport, resulting in Caitanya's adoption of the complexion and feelings of Rādhā, as well as those of Kṛṣṇa, for a greater realization of the blissful attribute, but it does not affect Caitanya's intrinsic divine selfhood as Kṛṣṇa. The doctrine of the inscrutable Bhedābheda, which is peculiar to the school, applies also here between the Kṛṣṇa-concept and the Caitanya-concept; for there is identity so far as the intrinsic divine nature is

1 It is curious, however, that in the later hagiology of the sect Caitanya's intimate friend and follower Gadādhara is regarded as an incarnation of Rādhā and the Śakti of Caitanya (*Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*°, śl. 11), while this honour is not accorded to either of the two wives of Caitanya. It is not denied that Caitanya is Rādhā, but since Caitanya is also Kṛṣṇa, his Śakti from this aspect is Gadādhara. As Ānandin puts it: *svayaṃ śrī-rādhikā.....eka-prakāśena śrī-caitanyenābhinnā, prakāśāntareṇa gadādhara-paṇḍita-svarūpā* (on *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*, śl. 118). See above p. 93, footnote 2.

concerned but there is a difference in the character of the divine sport.

But other theological difficulties were also perceived and had to be reconciled. In the orthodox Purāṇa lists of Avatāras and direct advents of the deity, Caitanya is not expressly mentioned, but his descent has to be presented as a case of fulfilled prophecy in order to bring conviction to the mind of the unfaithful. Then again, there is a *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* text (xi. 8. 13)[1] which apparently informs us that Kṛṣṇa appeared in the three earlier ages in three different complexions respectively, namely, White (Śukla) in the Satya, Red (Rakta) in the Tretā and Golden-yellow (Pīta) in the Dvāpara Age, but it further adds that now, *i.e.*, apparently in the Kali Age, he appears as dark-blue Kṛṣṇa. But the same *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* tells us elsewhere that the god is dark-blue in the Dvāpara (*dvāpare bhagavān śyāmaḥ*, xi. 5. 25), so that the two statements appear to contradict each other. To reconcile this conflict it is maintained by an ingenious interpretation of the texts that the intention really is to indicate that the deity appeared as dark-blue in Dvāpara and not as golden-yellow, which must be the colour, as evident from Caitanya's complexion, suitable to the Kali Age. In this connexion both Rūpa and Jīva employ (without indicating that it is a quotation), as a part of their respective Namaskriyās to their *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* and *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, the following verse, which occurs also in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (xi. 5. 29):

kṛṣṇa-varṇaṃ tviṣākṛṣṇāṃ sāṅgopāṅgāstra-pārsadam|,
yajñaiḥ saṃkīrtana-prāyair yajanti hi sumedhasaḥ||,

The verse has been explained by Śrīdhara, without any particular sectarian colouring, as applying generally to Kṛṣṇa; but both Rūpa and Jīva, as well as Sanātana in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, appear to take

1 *āsan varṇās trayo hyasya gṛhṇato'nuyugaṃ tanūḥ|*
śuklo raktas tathā pīta idānīṃ kṛṣṇatāṃ gataḥ||

the verse as predicting in particular the advent of Caitanya in the Kali Age. According to Śrīdhara's explanation, the verse emphasizes the pre-eminence of the Kṛṣṇa-Avatāra in the Kali Age.[1] The phrase *kṛṣṇa-varṇaṃ*, in his opinion, apparently refers to his dark colour, and the phrase *tviṣākṛṣṇam* is interpreted in two ways by disjoining the word differently, namely, *(i)* in effulgence he is not dark (*tviṣā akṛṣṇam*), as he is dark in complexion, but shines like a bright sapphire (*indranīla-maṇivad ujjvalam*), or *(ii)* in his bright divine presence he is Kṛṣṇa (*tviṣā kṛṣṇam*), meaning that in the Kali Age he is pre-eminently the Kṛṣṇa-Avatāra. According to Śrīdhara, again, the word *aṅga* in the verse refers to Kṛṣṇa's beautiful limbs, *upāṅga* to his natural embellishments like Kaustubha, *astra* to such weapons as Sudarśana, and *pārṣada* to his retinue consisting of Sunanda and others. The word *yajña* need not, in his view, refer to anything more than general worship (*arcanā*), and the word *saṃkīrtana* need not in the same way be taken in any narrow technical sense but should be interpreted generally as meaning the reciting of Kṛṣṇa's name (*nāmoccāraṇa*) and praise (*stuti*).[2]

For those who see in this verse an anticipation of Caitanya's advent it is not difficult to interpret it accordingly. Such methods of interpretative ingenuity are not unknown in Sanskrit mediaeval theology or philosophy ; and such feats are comparatively easy in a language like Sanskrit which

1 *anena kalau kṛṣṇāvatārasya prādhānyaṃ darśayati.*

2 Even if Saṃkīrtana here be supposed to mean the peculiar Vaiṣṇava mode of singing Kṛṣṇa's name, the occurrence of the word in this passage in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* only indicates, apart from any sectarian interpretation, that the mode was fairly old, at least older than Śrīdhara who accepts this passage as genuine. If this is correct, then the Saṃkīrtana is probably not such an innovation introduced by Bengal Vaiṣṇavism as it is often supposed to be, although it must be admitted that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism first realized its possibilities and made it into an effective mode of propagating the mass-emotion of Bhakti.

affords special facilities regarding the large number of meaning which may be assigned to particular words, the different modes of splitting up compounds and the diverse ways in which the syllables comprising a word or a sentence can be disjoined. It is quite natural, therefore, for the predisposed Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins to find in this verse a prophecy of Caitanya's appearance and press it into sectarian service. Accordingly, they agree in splitting up the phrase *tviṣākṛṣṇam* only in one way, namely, *tviṣā akṛṣṇam* 'in brightness not dark' and making it refer to Caitanya's bright and fair complexion; while the phrase *kṛṣṇa-varṇa* is supposed to refer to the citation of the syllables (*varṇa*) of Kṛṣṇa's name by Caitanya, although the more subtle Jīva Gosvāmin appears[1] to think that the phrase refers to the fact that Caitanya was inwardly Kṛṣṇa himself (*antaḥ-kṛṣṇa*) but outwardly Gaura

1 This verse is explained at some length by Jīva at the beginning of his *Sarva-saṃvādinī Anuvyākhyā* to his *Tattva-saṃdarbha*. The prose passage at the commencement of this explanation states as relevant context that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* verse eulogises Caitanya, to whom an eulogistic reference is also made. In this reference of his, Jīva Gosvāmin appears to believe that Caitanya in the Kali Age is an Avatāra worthy of worship by the Vaiṣṇava, that he is the presiding deity of his own Sampradāya, that by his descent he spread the current of loving devotion for the Bhagavat, and that his Bhagavad-bhāva has been well established by the insight of endless believers in the Bhagavat. This is high praise indeed, but it is not clear if Jīva attempts here at all to establish that Caitanya himself is the Bhagavat, as he has in his *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* taken pains to establish that Kṛṣṇa himself is the Bhagavat. On the other hand, Jīva appears inclined to accept Caitanya as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, though he also uses the technical word Avirbhāva. The only other reference that Jīva makes to Caitanya occurs in the Namaskriyā to *Gopāla-campū* and *Saṃkalpa-kalpadruma*. In both these works he employs the same Namaskriyā, which comprehensively includes in one Anuṣṭubh verse homage to Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, Sanātana, Rūpa, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and his own father Vallabha, and which can also be interpreted so as to apply exclusively to Kṛṣṇa. The theme of both these works is of course Kṛṣṇa-līlā. In his *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa* there is a Namaskriyā to Kṛṣṇa, but not to Caitanya.

or Caitanya, fair in complexion (*bahir gaura*, with the usual pun on the word *gaura*), with an implied allusion to the Prakaṭa and Aprakaṭa aspects of the divine sport. All interpretations of the Bengal school, however, agree that the *saṃkīrtana-prāya yajña* in the verse undoubtedly refers to the new mode of emotional worship by loud singing, music and dancing which the school made so popular. They also agree that the rest of the verse means that in this Līlā Caitanya had for his weapon (*astra*) only his companions like Nityānanda (*aṅga*), associates like Advaita (*upāṅga*), as well as followers like Gadādhara and others (*pārṣada*). What value this interpretation in itself may be judged to possess, there can be no doubt that it has an important bearing on the practical creed of Caitanyaism. But it is at the same time somewhat extraordinary that, apart from such passing references in the Namaskriyās and poetical effusions, neither Rūpa, Sanātana nor Jīva in the body of their elaborate and voluminous theological writing ever discusses, amplifies or illustrates the question from the point of view of this important bearing.

It is clear, however, from what has been said above, that the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism implicitly accept Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa, even if they explicitly declare only his Avatāratva ; and, to explain this identity, they indulge in the mystical devotional fancy of the dual incarnation of Caitanya. The accepted theory is that Kṛṣṇa's dark colour and form of a Gopa sporting in Vṛndāvana-līlā are real and eternal, being essential and intrinsic to his divine selfhood ; but here, in Caitanya, Kṛṣṇa has apparently manifested himself differently. Here we have none of the mighty divine qualities of Kṛṣṇa but only the rapture of erotic mysticism. These facts present theological difficulties which have to be explained. They are explained by this curious fancy of the external Rādhā-incarnation containing in itself the internal Kṛṣṇa in essence. This fancy became a creed in the next generation, and the cult of Caitanya-worship became an inevitable result. It would seem strange indeed that these

devout minds should exercise themselves so much on the question of colour and complexion, but this is in perfect accord with the scholastic spirit of the age, as well as with the theological position of the school. The colour and complexion of Kṛṣṇa was regarded as a part of his divine essence, and any anomaly in this direction in his subsequent appearance had to be scholastically explained. The task was to establish the supreme godhead of Caitanya, and all the theological difficulties arising out of the sacred authoritative texts must be settled by the proper scholastic method. The fact of Caitanya's fair complexion and display of ecstatic feminine emotions, which were absent in the legendary Kṛṣṇa, thus gave an opportunity of establishing as a doctrine the theory of dual incarnation, which was indeed suggested but not fully developed by the recognized theological authorities of Caitanyaism.

So much about the views of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins and their disciple Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. When we turn, however, to the Bengali writings of the followers of the Navadvīpa circle, which (with the exception of a few Padas apparently composed in Caitanya's life-time) were contemporaneous with the theological and poetical productions of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, we find that they regard Caitanya as the Parama Tattva of the Bengal faith. We have already indicated their attitude briefly above[1]; but the Gaura-pāramya-vāda, though implicitly accepted without question, is hardly discussed from the theological point of view, in the same way as the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins discuss the Kṛṣṇa-pāramya-tattva. The Bengal writers are concerned more with practical faith than with theological exposition, more with Līlā than with Tattva; and they scarcely think it necessary to examine a question critically which was devotionally or intuitively accepted as a matter of unquestioned faith. The records, however, reveal that the divinity af Caitanya was only

1 See above pp. 229-31.

gradually established. Murāri-gupta tells us that Caitanya revealed himself as an Āveśa of the supreme deity, not consistently from his birth (as Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Locana and others believe) but occasionally (ii. 4. 4 ; ii. 5. 14, etc.) before his pilgrimage to Gayā ; but after his return and transformation into an ecstatic Bhakta (ii. 12. 5-26), he became the acknowledged centre of devotion of the Navadvīpa circle. Nityānanda saw him as the six-handed (Ṣaḍ-bhuja) Viṣṇu (ii. 8. 27), and one day Caitanya, in divine inspiration, sat on the throne in Śrīvāsa's chapel (ii. 9. 18). Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra (Drama Act i ; Kāvya vii. 30-35) and Vṛndāvana-dāsa (ii. 6) record the incident and describe how Advaita and others worshipped Caitanya, for the first time, as the Bhagavat himself. The second declaration of Caitanya's divinity is set forth in the description of what is called the Mahāprakāśābhiṣeka incident in Śrīvāsa's house before a large assembly of his Navadvīpa followers (Murāri ii. 12. 12-17 ; Vṛndāvana-dāsa ii. 9 ; Kavikarṇapūra, Kāvya v. 38-125). But it was after his Saṃnyāsa that his followers looked upon him as the supreme deity ; and it is interesting to note that such Āveśas became rare thereafter, and he himself deprecated such ascription of divinity to himself on many occasions. One such occasion was the public Saṃkīrtana of the name of Caitanya (and not Kṛṣṇa) organised by the followers at Puri, which is apparently the first more public and wider declaration of Caitanya's divinity ; and Advaita appears to have been, here also, the most prominent figure (Vṛndāvana-dāsa iii. 10. 504 f ; iv. 10. 16-20). All this the Vṛndāvana-Gosvāmins did not witness ; but the descriptions would indicate how Caitanya appeared in the eyes of his Navadvīpa followers, and how their adoration and worship of him as the supreme reality of the faith was implicitly accepted and widely declared. The Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins saw Caitanya for the first time as a Saṃnyāsin, in what they extol as his Yati-veśa (garb of an ascetic) ; but his Navadvīpa followers hailed him as the centre of their devotion even before his Saṃnyāsa. The

respective differences of tradition and attitude, therefore, are intelligible. It is only among Caitanya's Navadvīpa devotees that views like Gaura-nāgara-vāda or Gaura-pāramya-vāda could develop ; and Caitanya worship as a cult (along with Kṛṣṇa-worship which the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins encouraged) could establish itself in a highly devotional environment, which led to a rapid deification even during Caitanya's life-time, even before he left Navadvīpa for Puri.[1]

1 A curious metrical work in eight Paṭalas, called *Bhakti-candrikā* (ed. Rakhalananda Sastri of Śrīkhaṇḍa, Satyaratna Press 1920), ascribed to Lokānanda Ācārya and purporting to embody the direct instruction of Narahari Sarkāra of Śrīkhaṇḍa, has for its general theme the worship of Caitanya and the mode of initiation into the Caitanya Mantra. It contains a great deal of ritualistic matter e.g. on Mantra-śuddhi and Mantroddhāra generally (*i-iii*), Dīkṣā (*iv*, mostly Tāntric!), Stotra to Caitanya (ascribed to Advaita by the modern author of the accompanying commentary!), Puraścaraṇa (*vi-vii*) and various kinds of Bīja. The profusion of Tāntric rites and formulas is a noteworthy feature. We are told (iv. 21. 24) that in the six corners of the Tāntric lotus-circle (Maṇḍala), the various followers and associates of Caitanya are to be worshipped—Gadādhara Paṇḍita in front, Svarūpa and Narahari (!) on the right and left respectively, and so forth. Narahari is given the foremost place of honour in the inner region of the Maṇḍala, but men like Nityānanda, Advaita and Mādhavendra Purī are allowed place on the outer circle! The work is not mentioned or quoted anywhere, and comment is needless regarding its genuineness. See above p. 139, footnote.

CHAPTER VI

THE RITUALISM AND DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

1. *The Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*

The entire body of the ritual and devotional practices of Caitanyaism has been codified by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa,[1] one of the six Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, in his elaborate and erudite *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa.* We have already spoken briefly of its scope and extent; but since it is an almost exhaustive metrical compendium of the corpus of Vaiṣṇava Ācāra and Anuṣṭhāna, which aims at an authoritative exposition of most of the compulsory and occasional rites and ceremonies of the cult, a more detailed account of its content is necessary to indicate the ceremonial requirements connected with certain aspects of the faith. Although the highest form of Caitanyaism dispenses with mere Śāstric rule and outward ceremony, and lays stress upon an inner and more esoteric way of realisation, the faith does not at the same time ignore the impulse to devotional acts which comes from the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra and outward forms of piety. The comparatively mechanical process of the Vaidhī Sādhana bhakti, which depends upon Vidhi or injunction of the Śāstra, is an important step to the highest type of spontaneous Prema-bhakti;[2] and as such it demanded the attention and careful treatment of the professed theologians of the sect. An elaborate scheme of devotional acts, therefore, is to be prescribed for the less enlightened and larger mass of devoted followers; and the task was accomplished with such success by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, in collaboration probably with Sanātana,

1 On the authorship of the work, see above pp. 136-40.

2 See the concluding remarks of our author, below.

that this stupendous compilation is now regarded to be the highest ritual authority of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism.

As the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, the 'Charm of Devotion of Hari', epitomises Vaiṣṇava Ācāra, it naturally includes in its scope a great deal of Smṛti topics; and in this sense it may be regarded as the most important Smṛti work of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The name of the work itself may have been suggested by that of the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* of Gajapati Pratāparudra ; but in its content, method and treatment, it differs a great deal from this and other orthodox Smṛti works. It professes to follow the Śruti and the Smṛti, but since the theology of the Bengal school places a somewhat different interpretation upon these terms, it draws very largely upon the Purāṇas, especially upon Purāṇas which are regarded as canonical sources by this school. Little heed is paid to the orthodox Smṛti tradition, for it evolves a Smṛti of its own on the basis of its own sectarian scriptures, although it agrees with the later orthodox Smṛti-Nibandhas in accepting the Purāṇas as an authoritative source. Like the orthodox Smṛti, again, of Bengal, which absorbed very largely Tāntric ideas, rites and formulas since the time of Raghunandana, most of the rituals and ceremonies of this Vaiṣṇava Smṛti appears to have been profoundly influenced by the tenets and practices of Tantra, which must have been widely and deeply spread in Bengal at this time.

The work consists of twenty chapters or Vilāsas, and the distribution of subject-matter given below will sufficiently indicate its general scope and object. The chapters deal in their order with the following topics: I. The Preceptor, Disciple and Mantra, II. Initiation or Dīkṣā, III-IV. The Daily Devotional Acts, V-VI. Daily Morning Worship, VII. Offering of flowers, leaves, etc., in worship, VIII. Use of incense, ringing of bells and other rituals connected with worship, IX. Midday Rites and Duties, and Partaking of the Food-offering (Mahāprasāda) dedicated to the Deity, X. The characteristics of the Vaiṣṇava devotee and Vaiṣṇava

religious practices, XI. The Evening Service, Rules of pious conduct and Efficacy of the sacred Name and of Bhakti, XII. Fortnightly Fasts and Observances, XIII. Rites and Duties connected therewith, XIV - XVI. Monthly Observances throughout the year, including Festivals, XVII. Puraścaraṇa (preparatory ritual) and its initiation, XVIII. Construction of Images, and XX. Construction of Temples. It will be seen from this enumeration that the topics of the work are peculiar to itself, and differ from those of an orthodox Smṛti treatise. It is of the nature of a guide-book to the Vaiṣṇava devotee rather than a work on social and legal customs and usages. While it enumerates the compulsory and occasional duties and ceremonies, as well as the rules for everyday service, it omits, for instance, all treatment of the Smārta purificatory rites, known as the Saṃskāras (even of the Vaiṣṇava form of the Śrāddha or funeral ceremony); but it devotes one chapter to the peculiar Vaiṣṇava rite of Initiation or Dīkṣā. As Festivals from an important part of the religious practice, they are treated fairly fully, although it is remarkable that while the non-Vaiṣṇava Śiva-rātri is included, no reference is made to the important Vaiṣṇava festival of Rāsa-yātrā. It has nothing to say about Caitanya-worship or worship of Caitanya's images which became a remarkable feature of the later development of the faith. Of the worship of Kṛṣṇa as such, or construction of images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, it has equally little to say.[1]

The work is camposed in the usual Anuṣṭubh śloka metre, but each rule or prescription is supported and illustrated copiously by long quotations from the Purāṇas and other scriptures. The main contents of the work can be summarised briefly, but the quotations swell the work into an enormous bulk. The second of the four opening stanzas of the work names Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a disciple of Prabodhānanda, as compiling it to satisfy Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa and Sanātana. The

1 See above pp. 137-39.

fourth verse refers to the venerable Vaiṣṇavas residing in the circle of Mathurā and to Kāśīsvara and Lokanātha then living at Vṛndāvana. This is followed by a synopsis of nearly 140 heads of subjects dealt with in the work, after which the first Vilāsa begins with the topic of Mantra-Dīkṣā or initiation of a Vaiṣṇava. The running commentary on the work, entitled *Digdarśanī*, is attributed to Sanātana Gosvāmins, but no name of the author is found in the commentary itself. We give below a brief survey of the principal contents of the work, chapter by chapter, and it will fairly indicate the peculiar character of the various religious practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

Vilāsa I

The subjects dealt with in the first Vilāsa are: the necessity of a Guru or Preceptor; the qualifications respectively of the Guru and the Śiṣya or Disciple; greatness of the Bhagavat who is the supreme object of worship; efficacy of the Mantra or mystic formula which has the Bhagavat for its object; persons qualified to receive the Mantra; the method of finding out the nature of the particular Mantra, to be imparted by the Guru to the Śiṣya, and the purification of particular Mantras.

The first qualification that a man requires for becoming a Vaiṣṇava is Mantra-Dīkṣā or Initiation for the purpose of receiving the proper devotional formula of the sect from the qualified Guru or Preceptor. For the acquirement of Bhakti to Kṛṣṇa, which is regarded as the highest object of life, a worthy preceptor is of the greatest importance, for without resorting to the feet of the preceptor, people become overwhelmed by hundreds of perils, like merchants without a pilot in the sea. A long list of the characteristics of a good preceptor, such as good descent, purity, worthy conduct, continence, vast learning, clean dress, young age, physical beauty, knowledge of ritualistic practices (*prayoga-vid*), skill in worship (*arcāsu kṛta-dhīḥ*) etc., is compiled from such works

as *Mantra-muktāvalī*, *Agastya-saṃhitā* and *Viṣṇu-smṛti*. The Guru is to be preferably a householder (*gṛhastha*). He should be versed in Tāntric lore, capable of Mantroddhāra and Mantra-saṃhāra, must have a deep knowledge of mystic diagrams and spells, and should know how to perform Puraścaraṇa and Homa. A Brahman preceptor who can impart the Mantra to all castes is highly desirable. In his absence, worthy people of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes may act as preceptors to men of their own or lower castes respectively, while a Śūdra preceptor can initiate only a man of his own caste. Thus, Anuloma initiation is permitted, but Pratiloma initiation is expressly prohibited (*prātilomyaṃ na dīkṣayet*) on the authority of a text cited from the *Nārada-pañcarātra*. In other words, a man of a higher caste can never accept initiation from a man of a lower caste. In expressing this view, the author of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* recognises the implications of the Varṇāśrama-Dharma, although his attitude is liberal enough to permit persons other than Brahmans to act as preceptors to men of his own or lower castes.[1] The author, however, is clear in stating that in no case, even a Brahman, who is not a Vaiṣṇava, should be accepted as a preceptor. On the authority of the *Padma-purāṇa* a Vaiṣṇava is defined as one who has taken the initiation relating to Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇu-dīkṣā*) and who is devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu. Here, as well as in what follows, our author is somewhat singular in emphasising devotion to Viṣṇu, which form of the deity is apparently exalted even over that of Kṛṣṇa. This fact is noteworthy, because the other Gosvāmins and followers of Caitanya regard the form of Viṣṇu to be a lower manifestation than that of Kṛṣṇa, who in its fundamental creed is the exclusively highest deity and

1 Caitanya himself does not appear to have encouraged monopoly by any particular caste or person of the function of a spiritual teacher. He was willing to learn from Rāmānanda-rāya, and himself selected Raghunātha-dāsa, a Kāyastha, and Rūpa-Sanātana of doubtful social status, to become the highest spiritual teachers of the faith.

the only object of worship. This partiality for Viṣṇu, which is distinct throughout this work, is presumably due to the lingering influence of the Southern Vaiṣṇavism of the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect, to which Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, hailing from the South, is said to have originally belonged. If this surmise is correct, then the authorship of this work can hardly be ascribed to Sanātana, whose attitude towards Viṣṇu does not agree with what is expressed here so distinctly.

Disciples are also to be carefully selected. Their character, lineage, physical beauty, attitude of deep reverence, pious inclination, health, youth etc. should be counted. Long lists are furnished not only of such desirable qualities but also of characteristics which are undesirable. Persons lacking the desirable qualifications, and also those who are addicted to the objects of senses, acquire wealth by evil means or work hard to gain their livelihood (*kaṣṭa-vṛtti*), are to be rejected. The *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* is quoted to show that Mantras are never to be imparted to the Hetuvādin followers of Jaimini, of Kapila, of the atheist Gautama, of Sugata (the Buddha) and of Mahāvīra.

Before people enter into the relationship of preceptor and disciple, at least one year's constant companionship on their part is necessary for the discovery of each other's qualities and defects. During this time the person desiring discipleship should serve and honour the preceptor by various acts of devotion and service, of which a long list is given. The name of the Guru is not to be lightly taken ; and, in uttering it one must prefix it by *oṃ śrī* and suffix it by the phrase *viṣṇu-pāda*, in accordance with the direction of the *Nārada-pañcarātra*. When the prescribed period has elapsed, the disciple should pray to the preceptor to initiate him in the Mantra of Viṣṇu ; for Viṣṇu is the highest god and the only saviour, and alone deserves the epithet of the Bhagavat. Viṣṇu is incomparable, and one who compares him with other deities is a low-born infidel and is sure to go to hell! The worship of a god other than Viṣṇu is compared to saluting a Caṇḍāla woman rather

than one's own mother, and to taking poison instead of nectar. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Mantra, therefore, is highly glorified as the means of attaining all supernatural powers. There are two kinds of Viṣṇu-Mantra ; nemely, the Mantra of eight (*oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*) and twelve syllables (*oṃ namo bhagavate nārāyaṇāya*) respectively. The former is called the Mantra-rāja, because it is highly potent ; and those who utter it go to the abode of Viṣṇu for good. This great Mantra is called the essence of the Vedānta ; it is inseparable from Viṣṇu himself and comprises all lores and gods. The Mantra of twelve syllables is also highly efficacious. Similar also are the Mantras of Narasiṃha and Rāma. The Śrī-Kṛṣṇa Mantra of eighteen syllables (*kliṃ kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopī-jana-vallabhāya svāhā*) is also very potent ; for the real Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa is described in it as revealing the world with the help of Svāhā, which means Māyā. In the *Gopāla-tāpanī* the universe is mystically said to have originated from the component part of this Mantra, namely, water was evolved from the syllable *ka*, earth from *la*, fire from *i*, the moon from the nasal *vindu* or *anusvāra*, and the sun from its sound (Nāda), the sky from the syllables *kṛṣṇa*, air from the syllable *ya*, cows from the word *govindāya*, the fourteen branches of learning from *gopī-janāya*, and the sexes from the word *vallabhāya* !

Before imparting a Mantra to the disciple, the preceptor should be guided by several considerations. Of these the selection of worthy recipients is of primary importance. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa holds that chaste (*sādhvī*) women and noble-minded (*sad-dhī*) Śūdras are entitled to receive initiation into Tāntric Mantras, and quotes several authorities from the Purāṇas and Saṃhitās to support this view. People of mixed or low castes, including even the lowest Caṇḍāla, can also enjoy this privilege. The preceptor should also find out the suitable nature of the Mantra to be imparted and determine whether it is favourable or not, in accordance with the Tāntric principle of a Mantra being of twenty types, such as Siddha,

Sādhya, Susiddha, etc.[1] This is to be accomplished by the purely Tāntric method described in the *Śāradā-tilaka*, by means of a rectangular Maṇḍala, in the sixteen Koṣṭhas of which the letters of the alphabet are to be written.[2] Some of the Mantras are declared to be beneficent and some harmful, while others are deficient and impure. The latter kind, therefore, requires Saṃskāra or purification, which consists of the ten operations of Janana, Jīvana, Tāḍana, Rodhana, Abhiṣeka, Vimalīkaraṇa, Āpyāyana, Tarpaṇa, Dīpana and Gupti, described in the *Śāradā-tilaka*, which work is again quoted extensively. But there are, of course, certain Mantras which are beneficent in themselves and do not require any Saṃskāra.

Vilāsa II

The second Vilāsa deals with the mode of initiation or Dīkṣā, in accordance with directions, we are told, of the *Krama-dīpikā*. A man without initiation is not entitled to worship, for the act of initiation destroys all sins and bestows divine knowledge.

For initiation careful choice of the proper month, day, planetary influence and so forth is essential. The months of Jyaiṣṭha, Āṣāḍha and Bhādra should generally be avoided. No initiation should take place on an intercalary month (Malamāsa) during which religious ceremonies are forbidden. Tuesday and Saturday are inauspicious. The stars, such as Rohinī, Śravaṇā, Ārdrā, the three Uttaras (Uttara-phālgunī, Uttarāṣāḍha, Uttara-bhādrapada), Puṣya and Śatabhiṣā are declared to be auspicious ; but some add Aśvinī, Svāti,

1 The twenty kinds are: Siddha, Sādhya, Susiddha, Ari, Siddhā-siddha, Siddha - sādhya, Siddha - susiddha, Siddhāri, Sādhya-siddha, Ṣādhya-sādhya, Sādhya-susiddha, Sādhyāri, Susiddha-siddha, Susiddha-sādhya, Susiddha-susiddha, Susiddhāri, Ari-siddha, Ari-sādhya, Ari-susiddha and Ari-ari!

2 The method, with a diagram of the Maṇḍala, is explained in Syamacharan Kaviratna's ed. of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (Calcutta 1911-12), p. 40-41.

Viśākhā, Hastā and Jyeṣṭhā. With regard to the Tithi or lunar day, the second, fifth and sixth days of the fortnight are specially favourable; but the Dīkṣā can also be performed on the twelfth and the thirteenth day; while some authorities prescribe also the seventh and the tenth day, as well as the day of the full-moon. In holy places, during eclipses, in the Tantu-parvan in Śrāvaṇa and Dāmana-parvan in Caitra, and on the acquisition of a worthy preceptor, who is rare in this world, no discrimination of time is necessary. The direction of the Guru regarding all these should be strictly followed; for if the Guru permits, any day, month or place is auspicious.

The *Śāradā-tilaka* enjoins four forms of initiation, namely, Kriyāvatī, Kalātmā, Varṇamayī and Vedhamayī. Of these Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is now concerned with the form called Kriyāvatī. For the purpose of this ceremony a Maṇḍapa, measuring seven cubits and having an altar (Vedikā) in it, is to be built. It must have eight flag-staffs with flags in eight directions, four doors, four portals (Toraṇa) consisting of Kṣīra-plants like Plakṣa; and it should be encircled by a thricely corded string of Kuśa-grass. On the north of this Maṇḍapa a square pit (Kuṇḍa) with three enclosures or girdles (Mekhalā), one marking line called neck (Kaṇṭha) and a cavity or Yoni, is to be dug. The measurements of the depth of the pit and of its Kaṇṭha and Yoni, as well as their position in relation to each other, are also given. But the size of the pit or Kuṇḍa should vary according to the Maṇḍapa, the directions of the Śāstras are to be strictly followed to avoid calamity. The Maṇḍapa is then to be sprinkled with Pañcagavya (milk, sour milk, butter, cow-dung and urine of the cow) and with fragrant water. On the altar of Vedikā of the Maṇḍapa is to be drawn a Dīkṣā-maṇḍala, consisting of the figure of an eight-petalled lotus bounded by three circles, twelve Rāśis (zodiacal signs), a four-footed seat (Pīṭha), four paths and doors embellished with Śobhā, Upaśobhā and Koṇa. After performing his morning duties, the Guru should place

the conchshell (Śaṅkha) and things necessary for the ceremony in their proper places as described below. Then the Guru should worship his own Guru and Gaṇeśa, as well as the Pīṭha itself. He should then place Kuśa-grass and Śāli rice on the figured lotus, the ten Kalās of the fire[1] (symbolised by the letters beginning from *y* and ending with *kṣ*) on the Kuśa with appropriate Mantras, and the Kumbha or consecrated pitcher as directed. The twelve Kalās of the sun[2] (symbolised by the letters *k* to *ṭh* and the letters *bh* to *d* in the reverse order) are then to be placed on the pitcher with certain incantations, and the pitcher worshipped. Then white flowers with sugar, rice, gold, gems and Kuśa-grass should be thrown into it. Filling it with holy water from some holy place, the sixteen Kalās of the moon[3] (symbolised by the fourteen vowels, the Anusvāra and the Visarga) are to be placed and worshipped in the water. Mystic operations of the same nature are also to be performed in placing the conch-shell (Śaṅkha-sthāpana). Some water, mixed with eight kinds of perfume favoured by the deity, is to be taken into the conch-shell and poured into the pitcher, its mouth being then closed with a flat lid (Śarāva) and covered with flowers, twigs of the mango-tree and two pieces of cloth. The Bhagavat is then to be worshipped in the picher with various kinds of Nyāsas,[4] with the exception of Karaṇa-nyāsa and Pīṭha-nyāsa. The

1 The names of the ten Kalās are given as Dhūmrācis, Uṣmā, Jvalanī, Jvālinī, Visphuliṅgī, Suśrī, Surūpā, Kapilā, Havyavahā and Kavyavahā.

2 The twelve Kalās are Tapanī, Tāpaṇī, Dhūmrā, Bhramarī, Jvālinī, Ruci, Suṣumṇā, Bhogadā, Viśvā, Bodhanī, Dhāriṇī and Kṣamā.

3 The sixteen Kalās are Amṛtā, Mānadā, Pūṣā, Tuṣṭi, Puṣṭi, Rati, Dhṛti, Śaśinī, Candrikā, Kānti, Jyotsnā, Śrī, Prīti, Aṅgadā, and Pūrṇāmṛtā.

4 It is difficult to translate this Tāntric word. It has been described generally as the mental assignment of the various parts of the body to the divinities, accompanied by Japa (muttering of formulas) and gestures.

Dīkṣā-homa (sacrifice or oblation appropriate to the Dīkṣā) is then to be performed 1,008 times in the Kuṇḍa after placing in it fire which is also worshipped elaborately in the Tāntric fashion. Details of this worship and a list of things necessary for such Homa, as well as quantities required, are also given. The preceptor should then allow the disciple, who has fasted and taken the vow, into the Maṇḍala, and performing the Mātṛkā-nyāsa on his body, give him instructions regarding this Nyāsa. The Guru will then contemplate the deity in the pitcher, perform 1,008 Japas, and after eating something will lie down to sleep. The Śiṣya also, contemplating his Guru and doing the Japas, should lie down by the side of his Guru on a piece of deer-skin placed on Kuśa-grass. All these are preliminaries to be performed on the day preceding that fixed for the actual Dīkṣā.

On the day of the Dīkṣā the Guru should, again, worship the pitcher, his own Guru and various deities (such Gaṇeśa, Viṣvakṣena, etc.) ; and, after performing Homa and Saṃhāra-mudrā,[1] he should sprinkle and consecrate (*abhiṣeka*) his disciple, and purify his body by Bhūta-śuddhi and by various ceremonies, Nyāsas and Mantras. Then, solicited by the disciple, the preceptor should dedicate the disciple to Kṛṣṇa, place sectarian marks, garlands etc. on his body, whisper the Mūla-Mantra thrice in his right ear, and infuse his own power into the disciple. The preceptor should then offer to the disciple the Mahāprasāda or food consecrated to the deity, and bless him. The disciple should repeat the Mantra imparted to him one hundred and eight times, and receive from the preceptor instructions with regard to his conduct and the conventions (Samaya) to be followed. The instructions are inviolable. Among them, secrecy regarding the Mantra, reverence to the Guru and to all Vaiṣṇavas, painting of sectarian Tilaka marks on the body, avoidance of all kinds

1 A Mudrā consists of particular positions or intertwinings of the fingers (24 in number) practised in religious worship (chiefly Tāntric).

of unclean food (such as fish and flesh), observance of the Ekādaśī and other fasts, daily reading of or listening to the Purāṇas, performance of such rites as Tāntrikī Saṃdhyā, Bhūta-śuddhi and various kinds of Nyāsas, avoidance of all acts concerning deities other than Viṣṇu, as well as of such Tāntric Abhicāra acts as Uccāṭana, Vaśīkaraṇa, etc. are noteworthy. A list of 104 duties is compiled from the *Viṣṇu-yāmala* in this connexion! The Dīkṣā is completed with the disciple doing obeisance by falling prostrate (Daṇḍavat Praṇāma) at the feet of the preceptor, with offer of money and things as fee (Dakṣiṇā) to the preceptor and with feeding of Brahmans and friends.

The above mode of Dīkṣā is mainly Tāntric, and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa also admits it.

But another kind of Dīkṣā, called Paurāṇikī Dīkṣā, is also mentioned, the main outlines of which are thus summarised from the *Varāha-purāṇa*:

Testing of the disciple for one year ; the disciple's prayer for Dīkṣā, and lying down by the side of the Guru on the bright tenth day of the month of Kārttika ; determination of the good or bad effects of Mantra by the nature of dreams dreamt by the disciple ; fasting on the next Ekādaśī day and visiting the temple on the next Dvādaśī morning after a bath ; the drawing of a mystic Maṇḍala, Soḍaśāra or Navanābha Cakra (circle having sixteen spokes or nine naves), or an eight-petalled lotus ; worship of Viṣṇu with other deities ; placing of eight pitchers in eight directions with a ninth dedicated to Viṣṇu ; sprinkling of the disciple with water from one of the nine pitchers, preferably from the ninth ; making him enter the Maṇḍala (mystic circle) with his eyes covered, and purifying him with Bhūta-śuddhi and Tattva-nyāsa ; performing of Homa with the incantation *oṃ namo bhagavate viṣṇave sarva-rūpiṇe huṃ svāhā*, and of the various Smārta Saṃskāras or sacraments ; uncovering the eyes of the disciple and whispering the Mantra into his ears ; and lastly, the offer of Dakṣiṇā to the Guru.

It should be noted that although Gopāla Bhaṭṭa prescribes this Purāṇic initiation on the basis of the *Varāha-purāṇa*, the ceremony in its employment of Tāntric operations and incantations is not free from obvious Tāntric influence.

In case of inability, elaborate ceremonies are dispensed with, and shorter ways are prescribed for what is called Saṃkṣipta-Dīkṣā. The Mantra, for instance, may be imparted to the disciple after sprinkling him with water from a pitcher placed in a Sarvatobhadra Maṇḍala, or with water from a consecrated lotus, or after performing Homa with grains, or even with words only.

The chapter concludes with an enumeration of the merits of the Mantra-Dīkṣā.

Vilāsa III

The third Vilāsa deals with the conduct and daily pious duties (*sadācāra*) of the initiated Vaiṣṇava devotee.

Waking up in the Brāhma-muhūrta (early dawn, between the 4th and 2nd Ghaṭikā before sunrise) with the name of Kṛṣṇa on his lips, the Vaiṣṇava devotee should wash his face, hands and feet, cleanse his teeth and change his clothes. He should then contemplate the feet of his spiritual preceptor and think of Kṛṣṇa. This meditation is called mental bath (Mānasa Snāna); it produces the merit of bathing in all the places of pilgrimage, and is, therefore, the best of all holy baths. He should utter verses from *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (such as x. 90, 24; x. 46. 35 etc.) in praise of Kṛṣṇa. These verses are said to be very efficacious; but our author adds that although this is the prevailing custom, one may contemplate the deity in his own way in the form most desirable. Then he should perform morning obeisance (Prātaḥ-Praṇāma) no less than four times to the deity. This mode of morning prayer and contemplation (Prātar-Dhyāna) and its effects are described in detail by means of quotations from the Pañcarātra and other scriptures. The form of the deity to be contemplated should, according to one's inclination, be such

as is described in the *Gopāla-tāpanī*, the *Śāradā-tilaka* and other sectarian and Tāntric works.

Then the devotee should go to the temple and rouse the deity by ringing the bells and citing verses from the *Bhāgavata*. After performing Nīrājana (lustration or waving of lights as an act of adoration), he should remove the remains of the previous day's offerings (Nirmālya-apasāraṇa), with the exception of the offering of Tulasī leaves. If this is not done properly, atonement for the consequent sin is to be performed by Japa and Puraścaraṇa. The face of the deity is then to be washed by offering all the requisites for the purpose, namely, tooth-brush, tongue-scraper, earth for cleansing the hands, water, towel and Tulasī leaves. Then the Ārātrika (adoration by waving of lights etc.) is to be performed.

As soon as the sun rises, the devotee, singing Kṛṣṇa's name, should go out to a sacred bathing place. After answering the call of nature and cleaning himself with earth and water, about which elaborate directions are given, he should do the Vaiṣṇava Ācamana (sipping of water from the palm of the hand), wash his hand and feet and cleanse his teeth with appropriate Mantras by means of the twig of some sappy tree. The choice of such tooth-brushes and the avoidance of particular kinds on particular days are important. After this, he should do the Ācamana again, arrange and tie up his long tuft of hair (Śikhā) and take his bath which is compulsory, as well as necessary, for purity and health. One may bathe in a river, lake, pond, hill-stream or even with water drawn from a well. Placing fresh clothes, Kuśa-grass and Mṛttikā (earth) on the bank, the devotee should again wash his hand and feet, and having done Ācamana again, he should contemplate the sacred river, Gaṅgā, and make offerings with proper Mantras to the Tīrtha or place of bath. He should then enter the water, facing the current in the case of a river, or facing the sun in other cases. He should then invoke the Gaṅgā from the orb of the sun, and holding Kuśa-grass in hand, he should perform Prāṇāyāma (the three

'breath-exercises,' Pūraka, Recaka and Kumbhaka), meditate upon Kṛṣṇa's name, repeat the Mūla-mantra (*oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*) and immerse himself in water twelve times. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa tells us that the mode of bath described above is partly Vedic and partly Tāntric, and then goes on to mention some other special modes in accordance with the *Padma-purāṇa* and other texts. For instance, the devotee may, after invoking the Gaṅgā in a square Maṇḍala, bathe with the repetition of certain Mantras. He may hold on his head the water with which the feet of his preceptor, his parents and Brahmans have been washed, or water with which the sacred Śālagrāma stone has been washed and which is fragrant with Tulasī leaves. He may take water in a conch-shell, and after drinking it a little, throw a portion of it on his own head ; he may then pour water on his head with the Kumbha-Mudrā and with offer of libations of water to the gods.

After finishing his bath, the devotee should dry his body with a piece of cloth, and putting on fresh clothes he should sit down and do Ācamana again. He should put proper sectarian Tilaka marks on his body and perform Saṃdhyā (religious act to be performed at the three divisions of the day), according to the Vedic and Tāntric modes. In the case of the former mode, he should sit on a seat of Kuśa-grass facing the east, perform Prāṇāyāma thrice and repeat the Gāyatrī a thousand times, or a hundred times, or even ten times only. In the case of the latter mode (Tāntric), he is to offer libations of water thrice to Kṛṣṇa with the utterance of the Mūla-Mantra, and make offerings to Kṛṣṇa, residing in the orb of the sun, with the citation of the Kāma-gāyatrī (*klīṃ kāma-devāya vidmahe, puṣpa-bāṇāya-dhīmahi, tan no'naṅgaḥ pracodayāt*). Leaving off with the word 'forgive' (*kṣamasva*), he should then make offerings to the sun. There is, however, according to some authorities, a different mode of the Tāntric Saṃdhyā. The devotee in this case should attain inner and outer purity by uttering the Hṛdaya-mantra (*namaḥ*), the Netra-mantra

(*vauṣṭ*), and the Astra-Mantra (*phaṭ*). Then libation of water is to be offered thrice to Kṛṣṇa, residing in the orb of the sun, with the citation of the Gopāla-gāyatrī (*gopī-janāya vidmahe, gopī-janāya dhīmahi, tan naḥ kṛṣṇaḥ pracodayāt*). The six parts of the Mantra are to be placed on the six limbs, namely, head, forehead, two eyes, two arms, two feet and the whole body. Contemplating Kṛṣṇa as enjoying the Rāsa-sport in the orb of the sun, the Vaiṣṇava should then extend his two hands and repeat the Gopāla-gāyatrī for a while. He should perform the Ṣaḍ-aṅga Nyāsa, Mudrās like Dhenu-mudra, utter the Pīṭha-mantra and offer libations of water (Tarpaṇa) one hundred and eight times, first for the satisfaction of the god and then for the whole world, including other gods, Pitṛs, saints and sages.

The merits of the holy bath are many, but its effects are enjoyable only by those who have faith in it. Otherwise, it becomes fruitless like the diving of fishermen.

Vilāsa IV

This Vilāsa continues the topic of daily devotional acts.

After performing the Saṃdhyā, the devotee should cleanse the temple, sprinkle and besmear it on all sides with cow-dung, earth and water. He should adorn it by drawing various kinds of figure, such as Maṇḍalas of lotus and Svastikas, with earth, Dhātu-rāga (coloured mineral), Varṇaka (pigment) and powder of various colours, placing flagstaffs and flags, fastening garlands and planting pillars of plaintain trees. The methods and results of these pious acts are described in detail. Then, after cleansing the utensils, clothes and seats of Viṣṇu in the manner described in the scriptures and Smṛtis, he should gather Tulasī leaves, flowers, twigs etc. necessary for worship. Regarding the plucking of flowers, Hārīta is of opinion that flowers, which are plucked before one takes one's bath, are never acceptable to the gods, but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa thinks that Hārīta's remark is applicable only to the midday bath. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa also differs from the

Padma-purāṇa in the view expressed in the work that Tulasī leaves plucked before bath cannot be used in the worship of gods, unless they are sanctified by the Pañcagavya ; for he thinks that there are other texts to the contrary.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa then takes up the topic of bath at home (Gṛha-snāna) and ceremonies connected with it. Both cold and hot water, mixed with Tulasī leaves, may be used in house-bath, the former on the special occasion of Naimittika or Kāmya Snāna and the latter on all occasions. The efficacy of hot bath is supposed to lie in the fact that contact with fire lends additional sanctity to the water. Before bath, Āmalakī (Emblic Myrobalan), Tila (Sesamum) and Taila (Oil) should be used, except on forbidden days. The Vaiṣṇava should perform Ācamana, Prāṇāyāma and Nyāsa ; and, summoning all the holy waters of Gaṅgā in the reservoir of water, he should think of self-purification by the holy Ganges proceeding from the feet of Kṛṣṇa. Then he should put on fresh clothes ; elaborate instructions are given regarding the kind of clothes to be worn. He should then sit down in due form on a seat made of prescribed kinds of wood, besmear his body with the preparation of sandal-paste and Gopī-candana, and paint Tilaka marks, consisting of Ūrdhva-puṇḍra (upright and perpendicular mark on the forehead), Nārāyaṇī Mudrā, figures of Vaiṣṇava Avatāras (the Fish, Tortoise etc.), or of the Vaiṣṇava weapons such as Śaṅkha, Padma etc., on twelve different parts of the body. The method and merit of drawing these marks, especially the distinctive Ūrdhva-puṇḍra, are dealt with in some detail, possibly because in later Vaiṣṇavism these became the peculiar sectarian marks. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa cites a large number of texts to eulogise them and their proper wearing, but he allows freedom with regard to the drawing of different figures, and says that these may be worn, as one wishes, in accordance with the established sectarian usage (Sāmpradāyika Śiṣṭācāra).

The next topic is that of the wearing of garlands, made of

Tulasī leaves, Tulasī beads, lotus seeds or Āmalakī fruits, after dedicating them to Kṛṣṇa. These should be purified with the Pañcagavya, with the uttering of the Mūla-mantra over them, and with repeating eight times the Gāyatrī, accompanied by certain eulogistic formulas addressed to the garlands themselves. With the garlands on, the devotee performs his prayers and offers libations of water to the deity. He can attain supreme merit even by merely wearing them.

The devotee should worship his spiritual preceptor (Guru) first, because the Śāstras ordain that the worship of a preceptor should precede that of the gods, inasmuch as the preceptor is the representative of all the gods, and calamity is bound to befall one who does not observe this duty. The chapter ends with the eulogy of the spiritual preceptor ; but it is laid down in this connexion that the Mantra should be taken preferably from a Vaiṣṇava preceptor, although a preceptor once accepted, even if he is a non-Vaiṣṇava, should not be given up.

Vilāsa V

In this Vilāsa Gopāla Bhaṭṭa proposes to describe mainly the Tāntric method (*prāyaśas tāntriko vidhiḥ*) of daily morning worship of Gopāla-deva, as given in the *Krama-dīpikā*, by means of the Mantra of eighteen syllables (mentioned above) pertaining to the deity. We are informed that this method is followed even by Brahmans ; for in the Kali-yuga worship is possible, according to the *Viṣṇu-yāmala*, only through the way of the Āgama, and not by the Śrauta or Vedic method.

The chapter begins with the worship of the Attendants (Pārṣadas) of Kṛṣṇa, namely, Garuḍa, Dvāra-lakṣmī, Caṇḍa and Pracaṇḍa, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ, Jaya and Vijaya, Bala and Prabala, Vāstu-puruṣa, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi, Gaṇapati, Durgā, Sarasvatī, and Kṣetrapālas at the door and at different parts of the temple. The worshipper should then enter by putting his right foot

forward, and without touching the threshold with his feet. He should then worship Brahmā and the Vāstu-puruṣa, as well as the special Pārṣadas of Kṛṣṇa inside the room. He should throw some rice and flower with appropriate Tāntric Mantra before the image, and take his seat in the Padmāsana or Svastikāsana posture after greeting (Āmantraṇa) and worshipping (Arcanā) the deity with proper formulas. If there is an image he must sit facing it ; otherwise, he should turn his face towards the east in the day-time and towards the north in the evening. The seat (Āsana) may be made of various materials, e.g. bamboo, stone, wood, earth, Kuśa-grass, leaves etc., of which the skin of antelopes and tigers, woollen blankets, or mats of Kuśa grass are preferable. Thus seated, he should place the requisites of worship, such as conch-shell, the plates and pots for Arghya, Pādya, Ācamanīya and Madhuparka, the basin for Tulasī leaves, sandal and flowers, the pitcher filled with water, ghee, oil, lamps etc. in their respective places. The utensils may be made of gold, silver, earth and bell-metal, but copper is the most desirable material. In this connexion Gopāla Bhaṭṭa refers to the view of some people who prefer other metals to copper for holding the Madhuparka, on the ground that copper wares are spoiled by the products of cow's milk. Some like to use the conch-shell as the receptacle.

The auspicious pitcher (Maṅgala-ghaṭa), properly filled with water and accompanied by a piece of stone, camphor and fruits, is to be placed before the deity. Directions are also given for placing and sandal, flower, rice, Kuśa grass, honey, milk, water etc. in the different utensils for the offering of Arghya, Pādya, Ācamanīya and Madhuparka. Each of these utensils should be protected by muttering the Mūla-mantra eight times and performing the Cakra-mudrā on them. Afer reciting the Maṅgala-śānti Mantra and the Astra-mantra (*astrāya phaṭ*) for averting evils and accidents, clapping the palms of one's hands thrice and doing obeisance to the Guru and the different gods and other preliminary ceremonies, the

devotee should perform the Bhūta-śuddhi (purification of the five elements) in the Tāntric manner, practise control of breath (Prāṇāyāma) and engage himself in the contemplation of Kṛṣṇa. Next comes the repetition of the Mūla-mantra ; but unaccompanied by the Nyāsas, the repetition is fruitless. The process of performing such Nyāsas as Mātṛkā-nyāsa, Keśavādi-nyāsa, Tattva-nyāsa, Pīṭha-nyāṣa, Aṅga-nyāsa, Akṣara-nyāsa, Pāda-nyāsa and Ṛṣyādi-nyāsa, as well as the description of the forms, Śaktis and Dhyānas, are then given in some detail. For instance, in the Mātṛkā-nyāsa all letters of the alphabet from *a* to *kṣ* are to be placed on the petals of the six lotuses in one's body, as well as on the different limbs. In the Keśavādi-nyāsa, the letters are to be placed with the fifty-one forms of Kṛṣṇa and his Śaktis. Regarding the use of the different parts of the body in the different Nyāsas, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa does not find any objection in placing them on such forbidden parts as the feet or anus, because they all get sanctified by the process of Bhūta-śuddhi. Then the devotee proceeds to perform the five kinds of Mudrā dear to the Lord (namely, Veṇu, Vanamālā, Śrīvatsa, Kaustubha and Bilva) and meditate on Kṛṣṇa with the Mudrā, called Kara-kacchapikā, by placing the hand with palm upward on his lap. This meditation or mental worship (Antar-yāga or Mānasa-Pūjā) consists of various operations ; and the various articles of worship, which are employed in the external worship, may also be utilised in the internal.

The objects of outward worship are the image of the deity and the Śālagrāma stone. The image (Mūrti) may be of various kinds according to the material out of which it is constructed, namely, stone, wood, metal, sand, jewels, paint and drawing material, besides being purely mental (Manomayī). The special characteristics, which confer upon an image the names of Vāsudeva, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa etc., are then enumerated ; and twelve principal varieties are distinguished, some authorities like the *Siddhārtha-saṃhitā* giving as many as twenty-four varieties of the image of the deity.

The special kinds of dark-coloured stone found in the region round the banks of the Gaṇḍakī are termed Śālagrāma. They are distinguished according to their size, colour and other characteristics, but the merits and demerits are spoken of only in connexion with Sakāma worship meant for the attainment of some mundane object ; for, however defective a Śālagrāma stone may be, it possesses in itself sanctity and merit. They are also termed Vāsudeva, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa etc. in accordance with the special signs or characteristics they possess. These signs are enumerated in detail, and the list of names include most of the well known names of Kṛṣṇa, his Associates and Avatāras.[1] The smaller the stone in size, the more auspicious it is. The worship of one Śālagrāma is said to be more efficacious than that of thousands of Śiva-liṅgas. The purchase and sale of Śālagrāma are strictly forbidden. Its worship is compulsory (*nitya*) ; and even women and Śūdras[2] are entitled to worship, the prohibition being applicable only to those who are non-Vaiṣṇavas. Greater merit may be attained by worshipping the Śālagrāma along with the symbolical stone known as Dvārakā-śilā. The latter is characterised by the thirteen names of Kṛṣṇa and his Associates, such as Sudarśana, Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa, Trivikrama, Janārdana, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Baladeva, Puruṣottama. Nava-vyūha, Daśa-mūrti, Aniruddha, Dvādaśātmaka and Ananta, according as the stones possess increasing number of

1 The names are: Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Parameṣṭhin, Viṣṇu, Kapila, Narasiṃha, Varāha, Matsya, Kūrma, Hayagrīva, Vaikuṇṭha, Śrīdhara, Vāmana, Sudarśana, Dāmodara, Ananta, Yogeśvara, Padmanābha, Hiraṇyagarbha, Hṛṣīkeśa, Lakṣmī-nṛsiṃha, Trivikrama, Kṛṣṇa, Caturmukha, Viṣṇu-pañjara, Śeṣa, Garuḍa, Janārdana and Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa.

2 This view is endorsed in the commentary, ascribed to Sanātana, which explains: *bhagavac-chikṣā-prabhāveṇa śūdrādīnām api vipra-sāmyaṃ siddham eva.* But a Śūdra in Bengal never received the right of worshipping the Śālagrāma! Caitanya himself, however, is said to have entrusted a Govardhana-śilā to his Śūdra disciple, the Gosvāmin Raghunātha-dāsa (see above p. 121).

circular lines or Cakras from one to thirteen or more. The merit of their worship may vary with variation in their size and colour.

Vilāsa VI

This chapter deals with the operations relating to the daily morning worship of the image of the deity and its bathing and washing. Though the Śālagrāma worship is declared to be superior to image-worship, yet the latter has its importance, because it attracts the mind easily by its form and beauty. The images are self-revealed (*svayaṃ-vyakta*) or established by some pious devotee (*sthāpita*), of which the former is rare.

The process in its different stages is then described in detail. First comes the Saṃskāra of the image. This is done by washing it with water, if it is of a kind other than Lepya or Lekhya (i.e. meant to be besmeared or painted) ; and the Mūla-mantra is to be repeated during the act eight times. This is called Mūrti-śuddhi or purification of the image ; but the purification may also involve (*i*) self-purification (Ātma-śuddhi), which follows as a direct result, (*ii*) purification of the place of worship (Sthāna-śuddhi), (*iii*) purification of the articles employed in worship (Dravya-śuddhi), (*iv*) purification of the formula of incantation (Mantra-śuddhi) and (*v*) purification of the mind (Citta-śuddhi) by the relinquishment of every other thought. These six forms of Śuddhi are permissible as auspicious, and they are to be preferred according to the custom of one's own sect. After this, comes the Pīṭha-pūjā or consecration of the seat of the image. In a square drawn on the seat, which is made of copper, should be painted a lotus of eight petals. On the left and right side of the divine seat, the devotee should perform Tāntric Nyāsas, and worship the Pūrva-gurus and their footwears, as well as Nārada and the great Vaiṣṇavas, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, the Ādhāra-śaktis and the Maṇḍalas of Sun, Moon and Fire. The worshipper should then place the image on the seat with the citation of the Mūla-mantra and offer of flowers. Then

mentally identifying the image with the particular deity he adores (Iṣṭa-devatā), offering flower three times and placing his foot on the ground, he should perform the eight operations, called Āvāhana (invocation), Sthāpana (establishment), Saṃnidhāpana[1] (showing complete surrender by the words 'I am yours'), Saṃnirodhana[2] (restraining the deity till the end of the worship), Sakalīkaraṇa[3] (displaying all the limbs of the deity), Avaguṇṭhana[4] (display of great joy), Amṛtīkaraṇa[5] (restraint by all the limbs) and Paramīkaraṇa[6] (accomplishment of the desired object), with their respective eight Mudrās (called Āvāhanī, Sthāpanī, etc.) According to the custom of his sect, he can also, with his fingers besmeared with sandal, show seventeen other Mudrās, named after the weapons, ornaments and appendages of the deity, namely, Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā, Padma, Musala, Śārṅga, Khaḍga, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Garuḍa, Śrīvatsa, Kaustubha, Veṇu, Abhaya, Vara, Vanamālā and Bilva, which are elaborately explained in the commentary.

After throwing three handfuls of flowers, the Āsana or seat should be formally offered with appropriate words and Mudrās. Then the deity should be offered the Pādya, Arghya, Ācamanīya, Madhuparka and Punar-ācamanīya ; but, according to others, the sixteen Upacāras are Āvāhana, Āsana, Pādya, Arghya, Ācamanīya, Snāna with Ācamana, Vastra with Ācamana, Ābharaṇa, Upavīta with Ācamana, Gandha, Puṣpa, Dhūpa, Dīpa, Naivedya, Vandana and Punar-Ācamanīya. The different methods of offer of these are then described, with the details of each of these ceremonies, their merits, and the articles necessary for their performance.

1 *tavāsmīti tvadīyatva-darśanam.*

2 *kriyā-samāpti-paryantaṃ sthāpanam.*

3 *tat-sarvaṅga-prakāśanam,* explaimed by commentary, which adds *kecic ca—'aṅgair evāṅga-vinyāsaṃ sakalīkaraṇāṃ vidur' iti vacanāpekṣayā śrīmad-aṅgeṣu mantrāṅga-nyāsaṃ sakalīkaraṇaṃ manyante.*

4 *ānanda-ghaṭātyanta-prakāśaḥ.*

5 *sarvair evāṅgair avaruddhatā.*

6 *abhīṣṭa·saṃpādanam.*

The bathing of the image (Snāna) is then dealt with. After soliciting permission and offering a pair of footwear, the worshipper should take the image to the bathing place, and exhibit the Amṛtīkaraṇa-Mudrā after placing Āsana, Pādya, Ācamanīya etc. The image is then placed on a copper-plate (for the purpose of collecting the sacred water after washing), or on the leaf of lotus, banyan or plantain, besmeared with unctuous substances (Abhyaṅga-dravya) and bathed with five nectars (Pañcāmṛta), namely, milk, curd, ghee, honey and candied sugar (Śarkarā). During the bath of the deity, incense is to be burnt. After removal of oil and dirt by means of powdered wheat, barley, Kūrca (bundle of Kuśa grass) or other cleansing substances, the image is to be bathed with the citation of proper formulas, first in warm and then in cold water, purified with Tulasī, camphor and various herbs and scented with Aguru (the fragrant Aloe), sandal and perfumes. A bath with the holy water from a conch-shell is said to be very desirable. Those who bathe the deity in the above manner become free from all sins and earn the merit of heavenly bliss. Incense is then to be burnt, and bells, conch-shells and musical instruments are to be sounded with the pronouncing of appropriate Mantras. Singing and dancing should also accompany the performance. The thousand blessed names of the deity and famous hymns should be recited ; and the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas should be read. Then, with the exhibition of the Snāna-Mudrā, the body of the image should be dried by means of a piece of fresh fine cloth. With the Vastrārpaṇa-Mudrā, it should then be dressed in a pair of garments or with special dress for special images or occasions, and invested with the sacred thread. Blue garment is forbidden. After offering ornaments and besmearing the image with sandal and other scented pastes (the forbidden pastes being Padmaka, Rakta-candana and Uśīra), the image should be fanned with Cāmara (chowry) or with a fan made of palm leaf. The merit accruing from all these acts is also described elaborately.

Vilāsa VII

This Vilāsa, called Pauṣpika or Puṣpa-karman, begins with the topic of offering of flowers in worship, and gives long lists of commendable and forbidden flowers, as well as a description of their merits and demerits with reference to their species, colour, smell and season of growth. Flowers which blossom in the forest, or in the city, or in one's own garden, which are fresh, uninjured (*acchinna*), purified by sprinkling (*prokṣita*) and free from insects and impurities, and which have colour, smell and grace, even if they have thorns, are the best for Vaiṣṇava worship. Long lists of such flowers are compiled from the Purāṇas (chiefly the *Vāmana*, *Skanda* and *Nāradīya*), *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Hārīta-smṛti* and other works ; and the merits of the offering of different kinds of flowers at different seasons are detailed. The dedication of an arbour (Maṇḍapa), umbrella (Chatra), canopy (Vitāna), swing (Dolā) and bed (Śayyā), all made of flowers, is prescribed ; and artificial flowers, made of gold and set with precious stones, may be offered by rich persons. The forbidden flowers are those which grow in places where dead bodies are burnt and on wayside trees (Caitya-druma) which people worship, those which are fallen on the ground or those which are no more than buds (Kalikā). White flowers alone are preferable ; but of red flowers (e.g. Jabā),[1] as well as flowers which have thorn (e.g. Ketaka),[2] those that possess sharp smell or no smell, or blossom out of season, those which are specifically approved in the scriptures, may be offered. The flowers specially forbidden in Vaiṣṇava worship are Karavī, Dhustūra, black Kuṭaja and Arka, but some add Jhiṇṭi, Girikarṇikā, Kaṇṭakārikā, Śālmalī and Śirīṣa. The

1 The Jabā, favoured by the Śakti-worshipper, is permitted by the *Viṣṇu-rahasya*. Some authorities also permit the offer of buds of certain flowers.

2 It is forbidden by the *Vāmana-purāṇa*, but allowed by other authorities.

undesirable flowers can, however, be used if the commendable flowers are unavailable, but not those which are expressly forbidden ; and it is curious that some authorities permit stealing of flowers for purposes of worship, if they cannot be obtained otherwise. The flowers can, however, be substituted by the leaves of Durvā and Kuśa grass, of Apāmārga, Bhṛṅgarāja, Bilva, Baka-vṛkṣa, Tulasī, Āmra and Jambīra ; but of these, the five (beginning from Apāmārga and ending with Tulasī) are the best and possess successively higher merit. In any case, the offering of Tulasī is obligatory, being declared the most efficacious and sacred in the scriptures, and all Vaiṣṇava worship being fruitless without it. In the recounting of the merits of Tulasī, which are innumerable, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa compiles a large number of texts ; its power of removing sin and destroying enemies, of giving prosperity and happiness here and hereafter, of producing religious merit and devotion to the deity and of conferring emancipation is endless.[1]

After the worship of the supreme deity, comes the Aṅga and Upāṅga Pūjā, with reference to the Mantra, Varṇa, Pada, Veṇu, Mālā, Śrīvatsa and Kaustubha of the deity at the particular place of Nyāsa on the image, and to his attendant deities (Āvaraṇa-devatā), retinue, weapons and parapharnelia. This worship must be performed, with his permission, by means of bath, flower-offering and appropriate Mantras. The lists of such subsidiary objects of worship include the friends (Sakhi) of the deity, such as Dāma, Sudāma and Vasudāma ; his wives such as Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Nāgnajitī, Sunandā, Mitravṛndā, Sulakṣaṇā, Jāmbavatī and Suśīlā ; such relatives as Nanda, Yaśodā, Balarāma, Subhadrā, the Gopa-Gopīs (but Rādhā is not explicitly mentioned!) ; the eight Dikpālas ; the five sacred trees (Mandāra, Pārijāta, Kalpa-vṛkṣa, Hari-

1 The topic of Tulasī-māhātmya is again taken up and elaborated in Vilāsa IX below. The veneration for the Tulasī plant long antedates the Caitanya movement.

candana and Saṃtāna) ; his eight weapons and ornaments (such as Vajra, Śakti, Daṇḍa, Khaḍga, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Gadā, Triśūla, as well as Cakra and Padma) ; and lastly, his eight sacred names, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa, Devakī-nandana, Yadu-śreṣṭha, Vārṣṇeya, Asurākrānta-bhāra-hārin and Dharma -sthāpaka. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa adds that those who are unable to go through elaborate ceremonies may worship with these eight names alone, which are equally efficacious.

Vilāsa VIII

This Vilāsa continues the topic of morning worship (Pātar-Arcā). It begins with a description of the burning of fragrant incense (Dhūpana), accompanied by the ringing of a small bell carried in the left hand, and by proper Mudrā and Mantra. The usual ingredients of the incense are Ruhikā, Kaṇa (Guggula), Dāru, Sihlaka, Aguru, Sitā, Śarkarā and Jāti-phala but some add ghee, honey and sandal. No animal product, except musk, is to be used. The Yakṣa-dhūpa, prepared from the exudation of Śāla trees, or incense made from the Uśīra grass and Śalka-rasa, is forbidden. After offering Dhūpa to the deity, one should fumigate oneself with the remainder fume. The burning of incense before the deity is highly praised in the Purāṇas, and it is said that it qualifies one for the Sārūpya form of emancipation.

Next comes the offering of light (Dīpana) and waving it in adoration before the image of the deity, directing the illumination from its feet to its eyes, with proper Mudrā and Mantra. In the light, which must be kept in a metal (and not earthen) receptacle (Dīpa-vṛkṣa), and never on bare ground, one may use camphor, ghee or scented oil. The offer of big lights (Mahādīpa), containing 108 Palas of oil and a wick of untorn cloth (*vāsasā tu samagreṇa*), is highly approved. The wick should not be double (*ayugma*) ; but red or blue wick is to be avoided, and torn, dirty and used cloth should not be employed in preparing it. One who reverentially illuminates the deity or his temple in the manner described acquires great

religious merit, but one who wantonly puts out the light is liable to great sin and calamity.

The offer of the Naivedya (food), which follows, is elaborately described. Besides Naivedya-mudrā, different kinds of Mudrā (such as Cakra-mudrā ; Dhenu-mudrā ; Grāsa-mudrā ; the five Mudrās, called Prāṇa, Apāna etc. explained in the commentary, are to be employed at different stages of the ceremony, with the muttering of different Bījas (mystical letters or syllables which form the essential part of a Mantra), such as Vāyu-bīja (*yam*), Vahni-bīja (*ram* and Amṛta-bīja (*ṭham*) ; the procedure thus indicating that the entire ritual is Tāntric. Long lists of different kinds of food, which should constitute the Naivedya are compiled from the different Purāṇas ; but the *Bhāgavata* briefly and simply mentions Guḍa, Pāyasa, Ghṛta, Śaṣkuli (cooked in oil, as the commentary explains), sweets like Apūpa (=Maṇḍaka), Modaka and Saṃyava (oblong wheaten cake fried with ghee and milk, sugar and spice), Dadhi (coagulated milk) and Sūpa (broth or sauce), and whatever is most desirable and tasteful to oneself. A long list of fruits is also given from the *Varāha-purāṇa*. The forbidden food is that which is unclean (like meat, fish and wine) and which is not fit to be taken (like ghee made from the milk of buffalo, sheep or goat ; certain vegetables like Vārtāku, Udumbara, Mūlaka and Alābu ; potherbs like Kalambī, Jālikā, Kusumbha and Aśmantaka ; lentils like Masura ; and garlic, Laśuna). After describing at length the religious merit accruing from the proper offer of the Naivedya, the author gives a list of sweet and fragrant drinks compiled from the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Drawing a curtain before the image, the worshipper should contemplate outside, with the muttering of prayers (Japa), that the deity is accepting the food and drink offered. Some perform Homa in the manner described in the chapter on Dīkṣā, but those who are unable to do it should mutter Japa four times. He should then offer water to the deity for rinsing the mouth (Gaṇḍūṣika) ; and finally, with Saṃhāra-

mudrā, he should make the divine halo, which came out to accept the food, re-enter the mouth of the deity!

Removing the curtain, the worshipper should offer a part of the Naivedya to Viṣvaksena and to such Vaiṣṇava devotees as Bali, Bibhīṣaṇa, Kapila, Nārada, Arjuna, Prahlāda, Ambarīṣa, Vasu, Hanūmat, Śiva, Uddhava, Akrūra, Sanaka, Śuka and others, famed in the Purāṇas. Having besmeared with cowdung the ground on which the Naivedya was offered, the worshipper should again place water for rinsing the mouth and a tooth-brush, Ācamanīya water for sipping and washing the hand, and a towel for rubbing the body. He should then rub the image, clothe it in a new garment, offer another seat and water for washing the feet (Pādya), and perfume the hands of the deity with paste of sandal and aloe, his mouth with Tulasī leaf and fragrant camphored betel. Again offering perfumes and unguents, he should besmear and paint Tilaka marks on the body of the image, offer regal dress, chowry, umbrella and footwear, and place a mirror before the deity. For the pleasure of the deity the worshipper should then have music, song and dance, preferably of the type introduced by the sage Bharata. The deity is then to be lustrated again with a light and with a conch-shell containing water, and honoured with the chanting of hymns derived from the sacred scriptures or composed by later poets. The worshipper should then prostrate himself before the deity like a log of wood (*daṇḍavat*) and offer homage with the proper Mudrā.

All this is followed by a series of devotional acts which complete the ritual ; namely, circumambulation (Pradakṣiṇa) from the left to the right of the divine image ; dedication of self in the spirit of a servant (Dāsa-bhāva) ; muttering the Mūla-mantra 108 or 1,008 times with the performance of Prāṇāyāma ; prayer for the attainment of Bhakti and absolution from thirty-two kinds of sin ; and lastly, reverentially placing on one's head the remains of the offering presented to the deity (Nirmālya). Then the worshipper should take leave of the deity with the Visarjanī Mudrā and the prayer

that the heart of the worshipper should become the resting place for the deity, accompanied by Lakṣmī.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa concludes with a few general remarks on the mode of worship, which, in his opinion, is a means of Bhakti, meant for the perfection of Mantra and Japa. He lays down distinctly that the Bhāgavatas should proceed with devotion always in accordance with the views of his own Saṃpradāya (*sva-sva-saṃpradāyānusārataḥ*), for every act is fair and fit if performed with due devotion (*bhaktau sarvaṃ hi śobhanam*). In a temple the worship is either compulsory or occasional, and all ritualistic details should be carefully observed ; but in one's own house the worship is compulsory, although one may follow one's own fancy in the matter of details.

Vilāsa IX

This Vilāsa purports to deal with the Mahāprasāda or the 'great favour' of food-offering, accepted by the deity and then distributed among devotees and people present at the worship ; but in reality the chapter digresses into various connected topics.

The water in the conch-shell (Śaṅkhodaka), sanctified by the sight of the diety, should first be given to the Vaiṣṇavas and then held on his own head by the worshipper. By doing this, he can reap the fruit of a holy bath in the Ganges. He should then offer the Pādodaka (water used for washing the deity's feet) to the Vaiṣṇavas and himself drink it, placing a few drops on his own head. The house, which is daily sanctified by the Pādodaka of the deity, remains free from all sins and calamities. In the eloquent and lengthy series of eulogy of the Pādodaka, culled from the different Śāstras, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa remarks in conclusion that it is possible to count the waves of sea, but it is not possible to exhaust the enumeration of the endless virtues of the divine Pādodaka. It is added that the Pādodaka mixed with the sacred leaves of the Tulasī is specially efficacious.

The worshipper should then go to the Tulasī grove, and worship the shrub, which is Hari's darling, with perfume, flowers and rice, bow down before it with complete prostration of the body, and pray with appropriate Mantra and Stava for its favour. A large number of Purāṇa and other texts supplies exuberant and endless eulogy of the sacred Tulasī. Sometimes the laudation is extravagant, but nothing appears exaggerated to the devout mind, which even believes, among other things, that if one sits even for a single moment under the Tulasī shrub, the sins of one crore of re-births melt away ! In this connexion the religious efficacy of the Āmalakī tree is also glorified. By carrying an Āmalakī fruit, a man purifies himself ; by eating it, he becomes equal to Nārāyaṇa ; and by keeping it in the house, he remains untouchable by sin!

After finishing the worship, the members of the three higher castes, especially the Brahmans, should study the religious books (Śāstras) themselves or teach others ; for the Śruti and the Smṛti are said to be the two eyes of the twice-born. After daily study, one should make an effort to earn one's livelihood ; but if this is not necessary, one should join the assembly of good men and listen to their virtuous talk. The various modes of earning livelihood are classified in the *Bhāgavata* (vii. 11. 18-19) as (*i*) Ṛtāmṛta, gleaning things here and there (*uñchaśīla*) and receiving them unsolicited (*ayācita*), (*ii*) Mṛta, constant begging (Nitya-Yācñā), (*iii*) Pramṛta, agriculture (Karṣaṇa), (*iv*) Satyānṛta, merchandise (Vāṇijya). A Vaiṣṇava should prefer these to waiting upon a low and wicked person, which is rightly called 'dog-subsistence' (Śva-vṛtti), fit only for a low toady. But the really pure livelihood (Śuklā Vṛtti), for a Brahman, consists of gifts (Pratigraha), receipts from priestly service or presents from a worthy disciple ; for a Kṣatriya, it consists of military service (Yuddhopakāra), application of power (Daṇḍa) and legal practice (Vyavahāra) ; for a Vaiśya, the worthy means are agriculture (Kṛṣi), merchandise (Vāṇijya) and preserva-

tion of cattle (Go-rakṣā) ; for the Śūdra, service to people of higher castes is the best way of livelihood. The best wealth is that which is inherited, which has been received by friendly gift or which comes with the wife as her dowry. In this connexion it is laid down that food and certain things should not be accepted from the Śūdra. The Vaiṣṇava should accept food from a Vaiṣṇava, but not from a non-Vaiṣṇava, even if he is a Brahman. It will be seen from all this that the system of caste and consequent restriction of food and gift are not altogether rejected. If it is impossible to support oneself in the ways described above, one may accept things from men of those castes and professions from whom acceptance is not disallowed by the Śāstras. Some authorities advice muttering of the Mūla-mantra with firm faith in the deity without caring for livelihood.

Of the midday rites and duties, the foremost is the midday worship, performed after an actual or symbolical (by means of Mantra) bath in the same manner as described above. In the sixth part of the day one should perform, with rice dedicated to Kṛṣṇa, the five "great" Gṛhya sacrifices (Pañca Mahāyajña), namely, Deva-yajña (sacrifice to the gods by means of Homa or offer of oblations), Bhūta-yajña (offer of food, Bali, to all created beings), Pitṛ-yajña (dedication of oblation, Piṇḍa, to the dead ancestors), Manuṣya-yajña (entertainment of guests) and Brahma-yajña (study of the Veda or Purāṇa). In this connexion Gopāla Bhaṭṭa makes some incidental remarks on the ceremony of Vaiṣṇava Śrāddha, the daily or periodical present of food and water to the dead ancestors. It should be performed with food, first dedicated to the Bhagavat and mixed with Tulasī. The Vaiṣṇavas are to be fed, but while eating, non-Vaiṣṇavas should not be allowed to sit on the same row. Regarding things which should be dedicated to the Bhagavat, it is said that such food, light, flower water and so forth, as are meant for any other deity, should not be offered to the Bhagavat. A Vaiṣṇava should not eat until the worship of the deity is finished,

or without first offering what is meant for oneself to the deity.

The mode of taking and distributing the Mahāprasāda is then described in detail. After respectfully saluting the Mahāprasāda, the worshipper should consecrate it with the name of his Iṣṭa-deva or tutelary deity (with Gāyatrī, according to the commentary) and seven times with the Mūla-mantra. Keeping aside portions meant for Yama and the Pitṛs, it should be sprinkled with the Pādodaka and Tulasī leaves, and some verses are then to be recited. After dedicating the food to the Pañca Prāṇas, the worshipper should distribute portions to Vaiṣṇavas (but in no case to non-Vaiṣṇavas!) and himself partake of it, in front of the deity, with his face turned towards the east. The ceremony of eating also has an elaborate set of pious rules, but it is not necessary to summarise them here. The Vilāsa concludes with the glorification of the Mahāprasāda by quotation of texts on its Māhātmya.

Vilāsa X

This Vilāsa is devoted entirely to the characterisation of the Vaiṣṇava devotee and Vaiṣṇava religious practice, and gives an epitome of social and religious usages known as Vaiṣṇava Sad-ācāra.

After performing the rites and ceremonies described above, a Vaiṣṇava should adorn himself with sectarian Tilaka marks and repair humbly to the assembly of Vaiṣṇava devotees. The characteristics of a Vaiṣṇava devotee are then enumerated and illustrated by the citation of a large number of authoritative texts. The general definition is that one whose deity is Viṣṇu is a Vaiṣṇava.[1] Even those devotees of Śiva, who do not make any distinction between Śiva and Kṛṣṇa, and observe Vaiṣṇava usages are good Vaiṣṇavas. After mentioning the general excellences of piety, good birth, learning, devo-

1 *viṣṇur eva hi yasyaiṣā devatā vaiṣṇavaḥ smṛtaḥ.*

tion, humility, compassion and good conduct. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa deals with the special qualities in detail. They are: (*i*) attachment to the Bhāgavata Śāsıras and Bhāgavata religion (Bhagavacchāstra-dharma-paratā), (*ii*) paying honour to the Vaiṣṇavas (Vaiṣṇava-saṃmāna-niṣṭhā), (*iii*) devotion in the service of Tulasī (Tulasī-sevā-niṣṭhā), (*iv*) joy in the sacred names (Nāman) and in the recollection (Smaraṇa), meditation (Dhyāna) and worship (Pūjā) of the deity, (*v*) exclusive devotion (Ekāntikatā), causing undivided intentness (*ananya-paratā*) by the knowledge (*vijñānena*) of the Bhagavat. This exclusive devotion presents four aspects, namely, faith in the religion, indifference to other things like Jñāna and Karman, deep affection (Manorati) in spite of hindrance (*vighnākūlatve'pi*), and absoluteness of love for the deity (Premaika-paratā). There are three grades in this love or Preman. That love is superior which sees the deity in all creatures and all creatures in the deity, and attains the consciousness of identity (Abheda-jñāna). That love is middling which is devoted to the deity, friendly to his devotees and compassionate to the ignorant but which disregards the hostile and thus adopts an attitude of distinction (Bheda-jñāna). That love is inferior and common (Prākṛta) which concerns itself only with the worship of the deity and does not respect his devotees nor regard anything else.

This is followed by an elaborate glorification of the Vaiṣṇava devotee and the supreme benefit of his devout company, each statement being illustrated, in the usual manner, by the citation of a large number of texts. The company of the Vaiṣṇava devotee (Bhagavad-bhakta-saṅga) is said to destroy all evil (Anartha-nivartakatā), turning all evil into good (Anarthasyāpyarthāpādakatā), accomplish the attainment of all desired objects (Sarveṣṭa-sādhakatā) and absolution from all sin (Sarva-pātaka-mocakatā), sharpen the intellect (*buddhiṃ-viśadayati*), produce devotion (Bhakti-saṃpādakatā), make one forget everything about the Deha (body) and Dehin (soul), bring joy to the whole world (Jagad-ānandakatā) and

lead to emancipation (Mokṣa-pradatā). It is indeed superior to taking baths in all holy places (Sarva-tīrthādhikatā) and higher than all pious deeds (Sarva-satkarmādhikatā); in fact, it is the essence of everything (Sarva-sāratā). The evils of bad company (Asat-saṅga) and of reviling the Vaiṣṇava (Vaiṣṇava-nindā) are then dealt with in detail, as well as the mode of approaching the holy company of the Vaiṣṇavas (Vaiṣṇava-samāgama-vidhi). If a Vaiṣṇava meets a devotee of Viṣṇu, he should welcome and embrace him, greet him with sweet words, and salute him by falling prostrate at his feet (*daṇḍavat*); for Viṣṇu resides in the heart of all Vaiṣṇava devotees. In this connexion Gopāla Bhaṭṭa describes at length the merits of praising and paying respect to the Vaiṣṇava and of reading or listening to their scriptures (Śāstras), of which the most sacred and purifying is the great *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. By listening to the deeds of Śrīkṛṣṇa described therein, both the speaker and the hearer ensure the highest religious merit for themselves by the removal of their sins, gratification of all desires, and awakening of resignation and love for the deity.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa now proceeds to explain in detail the general characteristics of the Bhāgavata religion (Bhagavad-dharma), which leads to the love (Rati) of the deity. The subject is approached more from the point of view of religious practice than theology and philosophy. Besides general qualities like kindness, friendship, reverence, piety, penance, compassion, restraint of words and deeds, study, simplicity, continence, power of endurance, contentment and so forth, the list of special characteristics includes such overt acts of piety and observance of vows, rites and usages as are enjoined by the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras. These are, for instance, the observance of the eleventh day of a fortnight (Ekādaśī), on which day fasting is considered indispensable and efficacious, celebration of certain nights with vigil, daily worship, reciting of the thousand sacred names, keeping vows on the Mahā-dvādaśī days, constant use of Tulasī garland, Tulasī paste and

Tulasī leaves in all religious acts, holding the Pādodaka on one's head and partaking of the sacred food-offering (Naivedya), annual visit to Mathurā, listening to the scriptures and singing the glories of the deity, dancing and music on the nights of vigil and a series of similar pious acts which foster devotion to the Bhagavat. The chapter concludes with a description of the merits of celebrating the glories of the deeds and sports (Līlā) of the Bhagavat.

Vilāsa XI

This Vilāsa deals with worship in the evening and at night, and contains incidental remarks on certain rules of virtuous conduct and on the efficacy of repeating the sacred names.

According to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the proper time for evening worship comes when the sun is half set. Punctuality is necessary, but if one is possessed of the highest devotion, no sin will accrue if one fails to be punctual. The religious rites are not indispensable for a man who has reached the highest stage of devotion, and the question of Pātitya (degradation) does not arise on account of unintentional mistake, which is always pardonable.

There are rules, given by the *Gautamīya Tantra*, for different modes of meditation and worship at the three junctures of the day (Tri-saṃdhyā). In the morning Kṛṣṇa should be contemplated as seated among Gopa-Gopīs under the shade of the divine Wishing Tree (Kalpa-vṛkṣa) at Vṛndāvana, and worshipped with sixteen kinds of gifts (Ṣoḍaśopacāra, to be mentioned below), and with the offering of milk and curd (Dadhi) in a golden plate to Kṛṣṇa and in a plate of bell-metal to the Gopas respectively. At midday, Kṛṣṇa should be contemplated as seated in the Padmāsana posture at the foot of a golden mountain adorned with lakes, lotus, birds and trees, and worshipped with the offer of Jāti flowers and with rice-food placed in a silver plate before Kṛṣṇa and his companions. In the evening, Kṛṣṇa should be

contemplated as seated in an arbour of jewels under the Kalpa tree and adorned with sandal decorations, garlands and ornaments, and worshipped with fragrant flowers and offer of pure boiled milk in a silver cup. All these three are really mental modes of worship (Mānasī Arcanā) and should be accompanied by the muttering of the Mantra one thousand and eight times (or, for brevity, one hundred and eight times).

The worship at night follows by an offering of oblations (Homa) in accordance with the usage of particular Saṃpradāyas. After some music and dance, the worshipper should pray to the deity to retire to bed, take the image there, offer thick sweetened milk, camphored betel, unguent and garland, and leave it to rest after dedicating mentally all his own acts to the deity. Wealth properly acquired receives its fruition in elaborate ceremonial worship, but those who are unable to undertake it should offer the minimum requisites of gift, or may only witness the performance. The witnessing of the worship or the sight of the image is in itself productive of the highest good.

Gifts to the deity are never wasted, but they always produce the highest merit. Special gifts are specially efficacious. Among such gifts are mentioned the offer of a black milch-cow with a calf, the dedication of a pond and garden, the construction of market-avenue (Āpaṇa-vīthikā), the building of a city, the gift of palanquin, horse, elephant, ringing bells, pitchers, stands or receptacles for incense, light, garlands and perfume, metal utensils, various kinds of jewels, dress and ornaments, flower and fruit trees, religious books (like the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*), dancing girls and maid-servants, musical instruments, and lastly, the construction of altar (Vedī), portal (Toraṇa) or temple (Mandira).

Regarding the requisites of worship, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa states that though the number of Upacāras is not limited, the Tāntric Vaiṣṇavas have grouped them into three classes to suit the means and convenience of different kinds of worshippers. The group of five Upacāras consists of perfume

(Gandha), flower (Puṣpa), incense (Dhūpa), light (Dīpa) and food-offering (Naivedya). The second group consists of ten Upacāras, namely, the five just mentioned and Arghya (reception-offering of rice, Durvā-grass and flower, or water only), Pādya (water for washing the feet), Ācamanīya (water for purificatory sipping), Madhuparka (offer of milk and honey), and Punar-Ācamanīya (water for sipping again). The third group of sixteen Upacāras comprises all these ten, and Svāgata (word of welcome), Āsana (seat), Snānīya (water for bathing), Vasana (garment), Ābharaṇa (ornament), and Candana (sandal-paste).[1] But there is also a long list of sixty-four Upacāras, which is also enumerated, but we are told that they are differently given in i erent books. If these requisites of worship are not available, simple procedure is prescribed. In such a case, one may offer flower and unhusked barley-corn (Akṣata-yava) or pure water, or a piece of Tulasī leaf only. Whatever is unavailable may also be imagined and offered mentally.

In this way is completed the perfect day of the Vaiṣṇava devotee. After saluting the deity with prostration of the body, he should take his meal, retire to bed and fall asleep with the remembrance of the deity and with the muttering of prayers and sacred names. He should wash his hand and feet and perform Ācamana before retiring to bed and lie down with his head either towards the east or the south. In this connexion Gopāla Bhaṭṭa lays down, for the benefit of householders, certain rules with regard to sleeping with one's own wife.

The rest of the chapter is devoted to the glorification of Vaiṣṇava worship of the Bhagavat, its necessity and efficacy, and dwells at length on the cultivation of the devotional attitude of Bhakti and the supreme merit of uttering the various sacred names of the deity. The worship of the Bhagavat is

1 In this last enumeration some substitute Pradakṣiṇa (circumambulation). Namaskāra (obeisance) and Visarga (parting) for Punar-Ācamanīya, Madhuparka and Candana. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa speaks of local custom in the enumeration of Upacāras.

the highest good and brings all bliss and blessing in this and next life. This thesis is illustrated in various ways by the testimony of a large number of authoritative texts, which speak of its wonderful virtue and its obligatory character. Even worship performed negligently does not become fruitless; it is much more meritorious than, for instance, the study of the Vedas or offering of oblations. But the best form of worship and devotion in the Kali Age is the recollection and uttering of the blessed names. A list is given of the various names to be uttered at different times and in different situations; for the Śāstras declare the utterance of particular names for the accomplishment of particular objects. For instance, the name Viṣṇu is appropriate at the time of taking medicine; Janārdana at meals; Padmanābha when one retires to bed; Prajāpati at the time of sexual enjoyment; Cakrin in the battle-field; Varāha in water and Jalaśāyin in fire; Narasiṃha in the forest and Raghunandana in the mountain; Govinda in case of bad dreams; Nārāyaṇa at the time of inauspicious sneezing; Garudadhvaja to avert the effects of poison; Vāsudeva in bathing, worship, Homa and Pradakṣiṇa; at all times Madhusūdana and in all acts Mādhava! Different results can be obtained by uttering the different names in different seasons, months, fortnights, days and Tithis.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa refers to the dogma, which we have already mentioned,[1] that the name (Nāman) and the possessor of the name (Nāmin) are in the case of the supreme deity identical. From this, the supreme efficacy of taking the divine names, which is not mere eulogium (Artha-vāda), necessarily follows. It is said to have the power (*i*) to destroy all sin (Akhila-pāponmūlanatva), (ii) to remove all misery (Sarva-duḥkhopaśamanatva), (*iii*) to take away the evil effects of Kali Age (Kali-bādhāpahāritya), (*iv*) to rescue one destined for hell (Nārakyuddhārakatva), (*v*) to demolish the effects of Prārab-

1 See above p. 289.

dha Karman[1] (Prārabdha-vināśitva), (*vi*) to dispel all offence (Sarvāparādha-bhañjanatva), (*vii*) to act as a complement to human effort (Karma-sampūrti-kāritva), (*viii*) to be more than all the Vedas, all holy bathing and pilgrimage, and all good acts (Sarva-veda-tīrtha-satkarmādhikatva), (*ix*) to bestow all desired objects (Sarvārtha-pradatva), (*x*) to be all-powerful (Sarva-śaktimattva), (*xi*) to bring joy to the whole world (Jagad-ānandakatva), (*xii*) to make one universally adorable (Jagad-vandyatāpādakatva), (*xiii*) to be the only way to those who have no other way (Agatyekagatitva), (*xiv*) to be practised always and everywhere (Sadā sarvatra sevyatva), (*xv*) to make one attain emancipation (Mukti-pradatva) and the Vaikuṇṭha-loka where the deity resides (Vaikuṇṭha-loka-prāpakatva), (*xvi*) to please (Prīṇanatva) and bring the deity himself under the control of the devotee (Vaśīkāritva), (*xvii*) to be in itself the highest good (Svataḥ parama-puruṣārthatva), and lastly, (*xviii*) to be the highest form of Bhakti or devotion (Bhakti-prakāreṣu śraiṣṭhyam). Of all the sacred names, there is a special efficacy in taking the name of Kṛṣṇa. The Nāmāparādhas[2] or offences relating to the sacred names are then briefly dealt with, and it is laid down that the taking of the name itself is an expiation of such offences.

The next topic is the rarity (Durlabhatva) and efficacy (Māhātmya) of the devotional attitude called Bhakti. It cannot be had on demand, but it is the fruit of merit acquired in succession of births. It may be acquired by knowledge, meditation, worship or penance, but it is the grace of the deity alone which awakens it in the minds of men. It destroys sin, removes the necessity of activity (Karmādhikāra-nirasanatva), purifies and makes the mind serene, stimulates all good qualities, strikes at the root of egoism, pleases and subjugates the deity, effects union with him, makes one attain all desired objects and reach the Vaikuṇṭha-loka. It is the

1 See above pp. 172.
2 See above p. 175.

highest duty, the highest path ; it is higher than Mokṣa or mere emancipation ; it is in its very nature the highest good.

The outward acts of piety,[2] such as Śravaṇa, Kīrtana, Smaraṇa, Pada-sevā, Arcanā, Vandanā, Dāsya (=Karmārpaṇa according to the commentary), Sakhya (=Trust) and Ātma-nivedana, determine the characteristics of Bhakti ; and such Aṅgas or means may be eight, nine or sixteen. They may include initiation (Dīkṣā) into the Viṣṇu-Mantra, taking of the Pādodaka and Mahāprasāda, wearing the sectarian marks, doing service to Vaiṣṇavas, worship of the Tulasī plant, observing the fast days and night vigils, singing, dancing or enacting a religious play (on the divine Līlā) before the deity, visit to Mathurā and so forth. Some of these acts are obligatory, but some optional ; and of all these, as well as of the characterisation of Bhakti into three grades as Tāmasa, Rājasa and Sāttvika according to the nature of the devotee, we are told that detailed information will be found in such works as the *Muktā-phala* (of Vopadeva) and (the commentary adds) the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*.

The highest form of Bhakti, however, is what is called the Prema-Bhakti or loving devotion for the deity, which dispenses with the necessity of overt acts and brings the Caturvarga (Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa) under the unsolicited control of the devotee. The inner and outer springs of the Prema-bhakti, such as complete detachment from objects of senses, tears, thrilling of the body and mind, singing, dancing, laughing, crying, melting of the heart, and so forth, are described. Such a devotee is neither sane nor insane. He is above all fear, all shame and all misery. The attitude consists of complete surrender of self (Śaraṇāpatti) to the grace (Prasāda) of the deity, who thereby reveals himself to the devotee in all his self-surrendering charm. The necessity, characteristics and effect of Śaraṇāpatti are then dealt with in detail.

2 See above p. 175.

The chapter concludes with a list of rules of virtuous conduct and traditional usages for Vaiṣṇava householder (Sadācāra),[1] but it is too long and detailed to be summarised here. It is noteworthy, however, that in addition to the Purāṇas, the orthodox law-books of Viṣṇu and Atri are also drawn upon. Some injunctions are noteworthy. For instance, one should expiate by looking at the sun if one comes across the sight of a low-caste Caṇḍāla, an atheist or a Yavana! It is forbidden to receive any gift from a Śūdra. These and similar injunctions point to a regard for Varṇāśrama-Dharma as a curious feature of this Vaiṣṇava faith.

Vilāsa XII

This Vilāsa, called the Ekādaśī-nirṇaya, deals with the topic of fasting on the eleventh (and also the twelfth) day of the fortnight, and opens with a salutation to the Bhagavat, to whom these days of fasting are said to be very dear.

Of the necessity of fasting on the eleventh lunar day or the Ekādaśī Tithi, four reasons are given, namely, satisfaction of the Bhagavat (Bhagavat-prīṇanatva), observance of Śāstric injunction (Vidhi-prāptatva), prohibition of eating on that day (Bhojana-niṣedha) and liability to sin resulting from non-observance (Pratyavāya).

No distinction should be made between the Ekādaśī days of the dark and the bright fortnights respectively, and fasting on both days produces the same result. If the Ekādāśī falls on a Sunday or on the day of the sun's zodiacal passage (Saṃkrānti), it is specially effective. Jaimini expresses a contrary opinion and forbids fasting on these days, as well as during solar and lunar eclipses ; but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa thinks that the prohibition is applicable to what is called Kāmya Upavāsa that is, optional fasting for the attainment of a particular object, and not to fasting on the Ekādaśī which is

1 Some of the rules are almost similar to those prescribed for the Snātaka in the Dharma-Śastra.

compulsory. The Ekādaśī should be observed even during the period of impurity (Aśauca) consequent upon birth and death. The Śrāddha day, which might happen to fall on the Ekādaśī, should be shifted to the following day in order that the Ekādaśī fasting may be observed duly.

Every one, without distinction of caste, sex, creed, or station in life, is entitled to fasting ; but those whose age is below eight and above eighty, need not fast. A householder (Gṛhastha), a student (Brahmacārin), a sacrificer (Āhitāgni) or a hermit (Yati), as well as a Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva or Saura, should, therefore, observe fasting on the Ekādaśī day. In case of inability, a substitute, who is a near relative (son, wife, brother, sister, or any Brahman) and who is not paid for the purpose, may be appointed ; but the substitute appropriates to himself a large part of the merit of fasting. Or, one may, in lieu of fasting, offer gifts to good Brahmans. If he is very old or very young, or afflicted with disease and disability, he may eat once at night or live on milk, fruit and water. But in no circumstances should a Vaiṣṇava eat on those days when the deity goes to sleep (Śayana-Ekādaśī, the eleventh day in the light half of the month of Āṣāḍha), or when he rises from sleep (Utthāna-Ekādaśī, the eleventh day in the light half of the month of Kārttika), or when he turns on the other side in his sleep (Pārśva-parivartana-Ekādaśī, the eleventh day of the light half of the month of Bhādra). The merits of Ekādaśī fasting are then exuberantly detailed ; we are told, for instance, that such fasting is superior in merit to the performance of thousands of horse-sacrifices or of the Vājapeya.

The Tithi (lunar day) of Ekādaśī may be Viddhā (Mixed) or Saṃpūrṇā (Pure). It is Pūrva-viddhā when touched in the forepart by Daśamī, and Uttara-viddhā when touched in the latter part by Dvādaśī. Of these two, fasting on the Pūrva-viddhā day is to be avoided, although it is generally stated that fasting of the Viddhā Ekādaśī day is highly inauspicious. In this connexion four kinds of Vedha (namely, Vedha, Ati-

vedha, Mahāvedha, and Yoga) are distinguished; and Mādhava's interpretation of these terms is quoted. It is explained that other Tithis are called Saṃpūrṇā when they last from one sunrise to the next sunrise: but in the case of Ekādaśī, if it lasts for two Muhūrtas[1] before sunrise it is Saṃpūrṇā, and a Vaiṣṇava should fast on that day. The term 'sunrise,' or strictly speaking, 'dawn' (Aruṇodaya), is explained as the time consisting of four Daṇḍas before the actual sunrise; while a 'Vaiṣṇava' is described as one who has accepted the Viṣṇu-Mantra and worship of Viṣṇu and who is very particular about his duties and observes fasting on the Ekādaśī day.

All this is more or less technical discussion, but it is necessary to determine the exact time and period of fasting as a vow. Various types of Ekādaśī are distinguished. If the Saṃpūrṇā Ekādaśī begins at dawn and remains up to the next morning, the fasting, which is called Unmīlanī, should be observed on the Dvādaśī. If a portion of the Saṃpūrṇā Dvādaśī, which is preceded by a Saṃpūrṇā Ekādaśī, falls on the thirteenth day (Trayodaśī), then both the fasting and its break, which is called Vañjulī, should occur on the Dvādaśī. If the three lunar days, the Ekādaśī, Dvādaśī and Trayodaśī, fall on the Dvādaśī, it is called Tri-sparśa; the fast, beginning on the Dvādaśī, should be broken on the Trayodaśī. It is said to be one of the most efficacious fasts. If the Saṃpūrṇā Pūrṇimā (full-moon) or Amāvasyā (new moon) covers a portion of the next day (Pratipad), then one should not fast on the preceding Ekādaśī (even if it is Saṃpūrṇā), but on the Dvādaśī, which vow is called Pakṣa-vardhanī. The conjunction of stars also gives us four divisions of the Dvādaśī, namely Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī and Pāpa-nāśanī, but the details are considered in the next Vilāsa. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa concludes the subject with the remark that the correct ascertainment of the Ekādaśī Tithi is difficult. In case of doubt, learned and pious Vaiṣṇava Brahmans should be consulted;

1 A Muhūrta is said to be 30th part of a day, a period of 48 minutes.

but those, who pay no attention to the Veda, Tantra and Dharma-śāstra, or have no regard for their preceptor, Mantra and Vaiṣṇava scriptures, should be avoided.

Vilāsa XIII

In this Vilāsa the connected topic of the rites and duties of the days respectively preceding and following the Ekādaśī fast is dealt with.

On the tenth day of the fortnight (Daśamī), the Vaiṣṇava should take his morning bath, put on a fresh garment, and take a solemn vow with the Saṃkalpa-Mantra of performing it for three days with effect from the Daśamī and completing it without hitch by the grace of the deity. During this time it is not necessary to bathe again, even if he comes in contact with one who is not touchable. At midday he should take his meal consisting of Haviṣya and Kṣāra, the ingredients of which are described in detail. Without taking any food at night, he should lie alone on the ground, thinking of the deity. The use of certain things are forbidden on this day ; bell-metal utensils, meat, the lentil or pulse called Masura, the chick-pea (Caṇaka), honey, eating twice, physical labour, speaking untruth, gambling, sleeping at daytime and society of women.

On the day of fasting the Vaiṣṇava should bathe in the morning and worship the Bhagavat ; then, facing the north and holding a copper pot filled with water, he should take the vow (Saṃkalpa-Mantra) of fasting for the day and taking his meal on the following day. Offering flowers to the deity, he should drink the water thus sanctified by the Mantra. If the Daśamī extends beyond midnight, the vow (Saṃkalpa) should be taken after the first four Praharas (Prahara=about three hours) of the Ekādaśī elapses. The Upavāsa (Fasting) is characterised in the *Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa*, *Kātyāyana-smṛti*, *Viṣṇu-dharma*, *Brahma-vaivarta* and other works. It is said to be association (Vāsa) with virtue by the avoidance (Upa=Upā-vṛtya) of sin. As a form of continence, it consists chiefly of

the discarding of all objects of luxury or enjoyment (Bhoga), such as ornaments, garlands, perfumes, unguents, betel, collyrium, fine dress and even tooth-brush! In addition, one should avoid gambling, untruth, sleep by day, meat and drink, sexual enjoyment, and the sight of unbelievers, which last act entails an expiation. The virtues that should be cultivated are forbearance, truth, kindness, silence, purity, control of the senses, worship of gods and fire-sacrifice, contentment, avoidance of anger, injury and theft, as well as meditation, recollection and repetition of Kṛṣṇa's name. After performing evening worship, the Vaiṣṇava should observe vigil at night (Jāgara). This may be done by worship, prayer, dance, music and other entertainments for the pleasure of the deity, listening to the Purāṇas and so forth,—twenty-six different kinds of acts being prescribed for the purpose. The vigil is obligatory, as well as dance and music ; and the glory of observance and sin of non-observance are described in detail on the testimony of the scriptures.

The break of fast (Pāraṇa) has also a set of rites and duties. After morning worship, the vow is to be dedicated, with appropriate formula, to Hari ; but, in the opinion of some authoritative Vaiṣṇavas, the Upacāras need not be offered at this worship, and the image of deity should not be bathed. After finishing his daily duties, the Vaiṣṇava should feed the Brahmans and eat a few Tulasī leaves before breaking the fast. The Dvādaśī should never be allowed to pass. If the Dvādaśī lasts for a short period, the morning and midday duties must be performed early in the morning. If this also becomes impossible, then they should be completed before daybreak. In case of difficulty even in this period, the fast should be broken with water only, and then the duties performed in due course. The first quarter of the Dvādaśī is called Hari-vāsara, or Hari's day ; it should be allowed to elapse before fast is broken. Regarding choice of food, the same rules about permitted and forbidden food as mentioned under Daśamī should be observed.

The rest of the chapter is taken up with a detailed account of the eight kinds of Dvādaśī, already mentioned, namely, the quartet depending on Tithi (Unmīlanī, Vañjulī, Tri-sparśa and Pakṣa-vardhanī) and the quartet depending upon certain stellar conjunction (Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī and Pāpa-nāśanī); their merits, method of observing vows and rules of worship on these special occasions; determination of time for observing and breaking fast by consulting such works as the *Nṛsiṃha-paricaryā*; and topics connected with these rites and observances.

Vilāsa XIV

This and the two following Vilāsas deal with the subject of monthly religious observances, occurring throughout the year, and rites and duties connected with them, and includes a treatment of the various Vaiṣṇava festivals. The present Vilāsa is devoted particularly to those occurring from the month of Agrahāyaṇa to that of Caitra.

The month of Agrahāyaṇa or Mārgaśīrṣa is the most important and foremost of the months, during which the rites and ceremonies mentioned below confer much merit. One should worship the Bhagavat under the Tulasī shrub with dance and music. The performance of Nakta-vrata (nightly vow), that is, fasting at daytime and taking food once only at night, worship of the Fish-incarnation (the other nine incarnations to be worshipped successively in the following months), morning bath, Japa and Homa, offer of Pāyasa (a preparation of milk, rice and sugar) as Naivedya, and gift of warm clothes for protection from cold, are acts of piety approved in this month. The only Vrata that may be undertaken is the Kātyāyanī Vrata, which the Gopīs, living on Haviṣya, performed for the pleasure of the deity.

In the month of Pauṣa, a pious Vaiṣṇava should sleep on the ground, bathe and worship thrice daily up to the twelfth day of the bright fortnight. This may be observed for the whole month or for a fortnight or for ten or five days. He

should complete, with dance and music, the act of worship by the Festival of Curd and Rice (Dadhyodanotsava), and besmear the image of the deity five times with five seers of Ghee.

The month of Māgha is said to be highly auspicious from the devotional point of view. Besides worship of the deity three times daily in the manner already described, placing of gifts of light, blankets, fuel, garment, footwear, oil, sheath of cotton, cotton tree and cotton covering, distributing painted piece of cloth and rice and feeding of Brahmans, are mentioned as praiseworthy. The most meritorious and obligatory function in this month is the daily morning bath (Māgha-snāna), bare-bodied, in the Ganges or in a pond, to which every one, without distinction of caste, creed, sex or age, is entitled. The three festivals and Vratas in this month are the Vāsantī Pañcamī, Bhīṣma-Aṣṭamī, Bhīma-Ekādaśī, and Vārāhī Dvādaśī. The first, the early Spring Festival, occurs on the fifth day of the bright fortnight, during which there is great worship with fresh flowers, leaves and unguents, songs sung in the Vasanta Rāga, dance, music and lustration. The second occurs on the eighth day of the bright fortnight, during which libation of water is to be offered to Bhīṣma, the best of Bhāgavatas, and fast is to be observed. The Bhīma-Ekādaśī and Vārāhī Dvādaśī follow on the eleventh and twelfth days respectively.

In the month of Phālguna, worship of the deity with Campaka flowers, mango-blossoms, incense and perfume, as well as offer of libation to the Fathers, is prescribed. Among the chief festivals we have the Śiva-rātri to be observed on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight. Though it is not compulsory for Vaiṣṇavas, it is mentioned in accordance with the practice of good Vaiṣṇavas, who should not be indifferent to it but observe it for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa.[1] On this

1 According to the theology of this school, Śiva is a devotee (Bhakta) of Kṛṣṇa. In Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's biography we are told that Caitanya visited Śaiva temples in his South Indian pilgrimage.

particular night, it is necessary to fast, worship Śiva and keep a whole-night vigil. If the twelfth day of the bright fortnight is connected with the Puṣya asterism, it is called Govinda-dvādaśī. It involves fast, vigil, and worship, and is observed after the manner of the Pāpa-nāśanī Vrata mentioned above; it is also called Āmardakī Dvādaśī, as the worship of the deity is prescribed under the Āmardakī tree. On the day of full-moon, there is the Vasanta-Utsava (Spring Festival), which consists of the worship of Vasanta (Spring), Kṛṣṇa's favourite, with mango-blossoms; the method of worship is described in the *Bhaviṣyottara* Purāṇa, revealed therein to Yudhiṣṭhira by the Bhagavat himself.

The three important observances in the month of Caitra are, during the bright fortnight, the Rāma-navamī on the ninth, the Dola-yātrā on the eleventh, and the Madanārpaṇa festival on the twelfth day. The first of these consists of fast with worship of Rāma and the five series of his attendant deities (Āvaraṇa-devatā), such as Kauśalyā, Hanūmat, Bharata, Bibhīṣaṇa and so so forth. The accomplishment of the vow (Vrata) abounds with Tāntric practices of Mudrā, Nyāsa, Maṇḍala etc. The Dola-yātrā is an important Vaiṣṇava festival. In the opinion of some Vaiṣṇavas, it may be held on the third day of the bright fortnight; if possible it should be continued uninterruptedly for the rest of the month. The image of the deity, with its face turned towards the south, is placed on a swing and moved to and fro with the celebration of song, dance and music. Lustration, worship, night-vigil and other usual rites are to be duly performed. The other Vaiṣṇava festivals of Snāna-yātrā, Candana-yātra and Ratha-yātrā, like Dola-yātrā, are to be celebrated on the days and after the manner of those of Jagannātha at Puri. The Madanārpaṇa or Damanaka-ropaṇa festival consists of the planting of an Aśoka tree with appropriate Mantras and ceremonial worship, being really a devotional service to the love-god, whose symbol is the red Aśoka. On the preceding night the Aśoka plant should be placed in a Sarvatobhadra

Maṇḍala in front of the deity ; and on the eight quarters the love-god is to be invoked, with appropriate Bīja and Mantra, as Kāma-deva, Bhasma-śarīra, Anaṅga, Manmatha, Vasanta-sakha, Smara, Ikṣu-cāpa and Puṣpa-bāṇa, and worshipped with flowers and with the repetition of the Kāma-gāyatrī 108 times.

In the month of Vaiśākha, various devotional acts, known collectively as Keśava-vrata, are prescribed, such as bathing twice in a river or pond, living on Haviṣya, practising continence, lying on bare ground, worship of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī at the three Saṃdhyās, offer of sesamum, ghee, water, rice, candied sugar and a real cow or a sesamum-cow (to be specially offered by the rich devotee), and gift of gold, food, clothes, footwear, umbrella and other things to worthy Brahmans. Of special merit are the acts of morning bath, worship, gift, fasting, living on Haviṣya and Brahmacarya, to which is added feeding of Brahmans. These are to be specially observed on certain days, namely, the Akṣaya-tṛtīyā (the third day of the bright fortnight), the day on which the Yugas and the Vedas commenced ; the Śuklā Saptamī (the seventh day of the same), celebrating the drinking up and releasing of the Jāhnavī (Ganges) by the sage Jahnu ; and the full-moon day which commemorates the commencement of the Varāha-kalpa. The festival of Nṛsiṃha-caturdaśī, on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight, deserves special observance as the day on which the Man-lion incarnation appeared. It includes elaborate worship of the deity and his devotee Prahlāda. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa concludes the chapter with the remark that those who are unble to undertake all the rites and ceremonies of the month of Vaiśākha need only observe morning bath and worship (to be performed according to capacity) on the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth (full-moon) day of the bright fortnight, or only feed ten Brahmans.

Vilāsa XV

In this Vilāsa Gopāla Bhaṭṭa continues the subject of monthly festivals and observances, and deals with those which occur from the month of Vaiśākha to that of Āśvina.

From the full-moon day of Vaiśākha to that of Jyaiṣṭha, the worship of Kṛṣṇa reposing in water is the most important rite. This may also be performed in Āṣāḍha or Śrāvaṇa, if there is no rain to allay the heat of the season. The image of the deity, consisting of the dark Śālagrāma stone, is to be placed in a receptacle of gold, silver, copper or even earth, which is filled with cool and fragrant water ; and daily worship is to be performed in the usual manner. In the evening, after the image is annointed with unguent and perfume, it should be placed on a throne and honoured with the waving of lights (Nīrājana) and other forms of worship (Ārātrika) ; this should be specially performed on the Dvādaśī night. It is highly efficacious on the days in which the sun stands in the zodiacal sign of the Cancer (Karkaṭa) or of Gemini (Mithuna).

In the month of Jyaiṣṭha, when the sun stands in the signs of Taurus or Gemini, on the eleventh or Ekādaśī day of the bright fortnight, one should undertake the vow of what is called 'waterless fasting' (Nirjalā Ekādaśī), in which one should avoid even a drink of water from sunrise to sunrise. It is said that those who are unable to keep periodical fasts, this one fast is enough to cover the deficiency. At night, the deity is to be worshipped with the usual rites and bathed in milk ; and an all-night vigil is to be observed with dance and music in front of the image. After a bath next morning and worship of the Trivikrama form of the deity, the worshipper should make gifts of gold or of pitchers filled with water to Brahmans, and then break his fast after drinking water.

On the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha when the Bhagavat goes to sleep, the worshipper, after breaking his fast, should wear Viṣṇu's marks (conch-shell, disc, mace or

lotus, Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā or Padma[1]) burnt on the skin with red-hot iron. This is meant to be a sign of the devotee's ardent love for the deity, and should never be ridiculed on the pain of punishment in hell! Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped on the occasion with five Upacāras ;[2] and the emblems, Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā and Khaḍga, of the deity are to be invoked, propitiated and worshipped with appropriate Mantra and Tāntric spells (Bīja) like *oṃ raṃ ṇaṃ maṃ naṃ pāñcajanyāya namaḥ* or *oṃ raṃ khaṃ caṃ phaṃ saṃ gadāyai namaḥ*, and so forth. The worshipper should get these tokens made of gold, silver, copper, bell-metal or iron as amulets, and wear the Śaṅkha and Cakra on his two arms, the Śārṅga on the head, and the Khaḍga on the heart. The chief festival of this month is the Śayanī-kṣīrābdhi-mahotsava, and the chief Vrata is the Cāturmāsyā. The first is to be celebrated on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight, which is known as Śayana-Ekādaśī, and the second on that day, or on the passage of the sun to the sign of Cancer (Karkaṭa-saṃkrānti), or on the full-moon day. The first festival, with its attendant ceremonies, is described in detail. The image of the deity, after lustration, should be carried in a palanquin, with song and music, to a sacred tank ; and after due worship, it should be requested, with proper prayer and Mantra, to lie down and sleep on the water. The Cāturmāsyā vow, lasting for four months during which the deity sleeps, may be taken immediately. During this period the Vaiṣṇava should practise restraint in everything, bathe daily, observe pious rules of conduct, take his meal only once daily but avoid certain edibles, lie on the bare ground, preserve nails and hair, and keep the Cāndrāyaṇa fast regulated by the course of the moon (the food being diminished every day by one mouthful for the dark fortnight, and increased in like manner during the bright

1 As Khaḍga (sword) and Śārṅga (Viṣṇu's bow) are also mentioned, the six-armed Viṣṇu is probably meant.

2 See above p. 485.

fortnight). Besides his favourite fruits, he should discard potherbs in Śrāvaṇa, coagulated milk (Dadhi) in Bhādra, milk in Āśvina and flesh or fish in Kārttika.

In the month of Śrāvaṇa, the only important ceremony is the Pavitrāropaṇa, for which authority is quoted not only from Vaiṣṇava and Tantra texts, but also from recognised Smṛti works like those of Bodhāyana and Manu. It is to be observed on the bright Dvādaśī or the full-moon day. It consists of the investiture of the image of Kṛṣṇa with the Pavitra (or Upavīta, sacred cord), and offer of the cords also to the retinue of the deity, to Fire, to the spiritual preceptor, to good Vaiṣṇavas and to self. The cord is to be prepared with threads of gold, silver, copper, silk, lotus-fibre, cotton, Kuśa or Kāśa grass. If only simple cotton is available, the thread should be spun by unmarried Brahman girls, should be folded and re-folded thrice. After sprinkling it with Pañcagavya and washing with pure water, one should sanctify the cord with the repetition of the Mūla-mantra one hundred and eight times. There are three kinds of cord, according as they contain 108, 54 or 27 such threads and 36, 24 or 12 knots ; and their length should respectively reach the knee, thigh or the navel of the image. If the cord is made of 1008 pieces of thread and 108 knots, it is called Vanamālā, and it extends from the crown on the head of the image to its feet. For the attendant deities, the cord should consist of 27, 16 or 12 pieces of thread ; for the Guru and Agni, 27 threads folded nine times ; for himself, 26 folded nine times ; for others there is no definite rule. On the previous day the threads should be coloured and perfumed with saffron (Kuṅkuma), fragrant aloe (Agaru) or Gorocanā (a bright yellow orpiment prepared from the bile of cattle) ; and the cords should be covered with cloth and placed in a basket. On the day of investiture, the cords should be placed on full pitchers, in a Sarvatobhadra Maṇḍala, for preliminary purification by the invocation and worship of the twenty-one presiding deities of the cords, threads and knots. The cords should then be dedicated with

appropriate Mantras and ceremonies, with worship and lustration of the image, and with all-night vigil of song and dance. The cords are to be worn for a month, for a fortnight, for three days and nights, or for one day and night.

In Bhādra, on the eighth day of the dark fortnight, comes the Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī, or the Birth-festival of Kṛṣṇa, one of the most famous of all Vaiṣṇava festivals. Its mythical origin, as detailed in the *Bhaviṣyottara*, is quoted at length, and the method of determining the exact time and period of the vow and its great efficacy are discussed and described. In this connexion the authority of the *Gautamīya Tantra*, which is said here to be the exclusive Śāstra on Kṛṣṇa-worship, is quoted and followed with great respect. The festival consists of the construction of a lying-in chamber of Devakī and installation therein of her image and that of the infant Kṛṣṇa sucking at her breast. There should also be placed the images of a large number of attendant deities, including that of Ṣaṣṭhī, the goddess presiding over child-birth. Then follows an elaborate course of ceremonial worship and adoration, accompanied by fast and vigil, and enlivened by song, music and dance. On the eleventh fast-day of the bright fortnight of Bhādra is also to be celebrated the Pārśva-parivartana or Kaṭi-dāna-Utsava of Viṣṇu, in which the image should be taken, after the manner of the Śayana-Utsava described above, to a tank, laid on the water and made, after due worship, to change its side from left to right. If the next following Dvādaśī day is connected with the asterism Śravaṇā, the Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata is to be undertaken with a bath at the confluence of rivers, and with fasting and worshipping of the Vāmana incarnation of the deity. If one is unable to fast on two such consecutive days, he may fast only on such a Dvādaśī. If this Dvādaśī touches the preceding Ekādaśī, the conjunction forms the Viṣṇu-śṛṅkala-yoga, and fasting on such a day is declared to be highly meritorious.

In the month of Āśvina, on the tenth day of the bright fortnight, one should observe the Vijayotsava festival, which

Rāma is said to have performed under a Śamī tree after Hanūmat brought back the message of Sītā. In this ceremony, Rāma is to be worshipped with kingly honour under a Śamī tree, which also should receive proper worship.

Vilāsa XVI

This Vilāsa is devoted entirely to the month of Kārttika, which is notable for a series of religious vows and pious observances involving fast, daily bath, continence, worship, vigil, distribution of gifts and festivity.

The rites and ceremonies for this month are dealt with in detail in *Skanda, Padma* and other Purāṇas ; Gopāla Bhaṭṭa purports to summarise them in this chapter. The general acts of piety, which are obligatory in this month, are daily bath in the river, living on Haviṣya which should be taken in silence on Palāśa leaves, association with pious men and listening to pious words, gifts of various things (especially of Tila or sesamum), tending the Tulasī shrub, keeping vigils at night by lying on bare ground, and general worship and adoration. One of the special observances is the placing of lights (Dīpa-dāna) inside and outside the temple, on its pinnacle (Śikhara-dīpa), the lights being fed with ghee, sesamum oil or camphor. Lights may also be placed on streets, cross-ways, in water, in the house of Brahmans, under trees, in cow-pens, and on difficult roads through forests or wilderness. Of great efficacy is the posting of lamp on an elevated pole in the air (Ākāśa-dīpa), and the nocturnal illumination with rows of light (Dīpa-mālikā) on the dark new-moon evening (Amāvasyā) after due worship of Lakṣmī. The vows of Kārttika are to be taken from the eleventh fast day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina. Certain articles of food are to be avoided in this month, of which a list is given (including honey, fish and flesh) ; one should not use oil or unguent, sleep on others' bed, take others' food or associate with others' women. The special worship of Rādhā and Dāmodara in this month consists of the usual ceremonies,

but a Brahman and his wife should be made to represent the deities and worshipped with garment, ornament and feeding. On this occasion the eight stanzas on Dāmodara (Dāmodarāṣṭaka) from the *Padma-purāṇa* are to be recited. Other pious rites and acts of worship are: bath in the spring or well called Rādhā-kuṇḍa, on the eighth day of the dark fortnight (Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī) ; offer of light to Yama placed outside one's house on the thirteenth night (Kṛṣṇa-trayodaśī) ; worship of Dharmarāja or Yama the next day (Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī) ; nocturnal illumination (Dīpāli), mentioned above, on the new-moon night (Amāvasyā), and fasting ; worship of the Govardhana hill, represented by an artificial hillock of cowdung, on the first day of the bright fortnight (Śuklā Pratipad), accompanied by worship of cows (Go-pūjā), and by their sport (Go-krīḍā) ; worship of the mythical king Bali and his wife Vindhyāvalī, represented in a picture, the same evening ; worship of Yama, bath in the Yamunā and taking of meals served by one's affectionate sisters the next day (Yama-dvitīyā or Bhrātṛdvitīyā), a well known observance in Bengal ; worship of cows on the eighth day of the bright fortnight, called Gopāṣṭamī ; and so forth.

One of the important festivals of this month is the Prabodhanī or awakening Viṣṇu from his sleep, on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight, to be conducted in the same manner as the Śayana and Pārśva-parivartana ceremonies of Viṣṇu mentioned above. The image is to be taken to a tank, laid there and roused after due prayer and worship. In the night, it is to be brought back to the temple in a chariot, with song, dance and music, along roads brightened by garlands of light. It is highly meritorious to follow the chariot, look at the deity and sing and dance in the procession. A night-vigil, with worship, is to be observed.

The Cāturmāsyā is to be completed on the same day with proper observances and with the feeding of Brahmans. As parts of the Cāturmāsyā are mentioned various Vratas, such as Kṛcchra, Tri-rātra, Ekāntaropavāsa, Eka-bhakta, Nakta,

Vastra, Ayācita, Phalāhāra, Pāyasa, Śākāhāra, Taila-tyāga, Ghṛta, Dadhi-varjana, Kṣīra-tyāga, Apūpa, Vrīhi, Dhānya, Lavaṇa and Abhyañjana, most of which, as their names imply, relate to restriction or taking of particular kinds of food, as well as to distribution of particular gifts prescribed by the Śāstras for particular vows.

A Vaiṣṇava, if capable, should observe the vow of Bhīṣma-pañcaka for five days beginning from the Ekādaśī, the Dhātrī-vrata on the full-moon day, and Akṣaya-navamī-vrata on the ninth bright day. If the intercalary month (Mala-māsa) occurs, the Vaiṣṇava should offer gold and thirty-three pieces of cake, made with ghee, to a pious Brahman householder.

Vilāsa XVII

After having dealt with the daily, fortnightly and monthly practices, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa proposes in this chapter to deal with occasional observances. The subject is mainly Puraścaraṇa (preparatory rite), the rules of which the author purports to derive from the *Krama-dīpikā* which, in his opinion, is the essence of all works on the worship of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.

The Puraścaraṇa, which is described as unavoidable for the complete attainment of the Mantra (Mantra-siddhi), is a preparatory procedure which consists of five heads of pious acts[1] daily performed, namely, worship of the deity at the three junctures of the day (Traikālikī Pūjā), repetition of the Mantra (Japa), offer of libations (Tarpaṇa), sacrifice with oblations (Homa) and feeding of Brahmans (Brāhmaṇa-bhojana). It is necessary, in the first place, to select a spot suitable and solitary for the purpose of undisturbed and intensive performance. A long list of such places is given : temple, cave, mountain-top, cow-pen, river-bank, Tulasī-grove, one's own house, Agni-śālā, lonely garden, confluence of rivers, the proximity of one's spiritual preceptor, seaside, the foot of an Aśvattha or Āmalakī tree, or any holy place which

1 *pañcāṅgopāsanā siddhyai puraś caitad vidhīyate.*

leads to purity and concentration of the mind ; but the selection should be made with an eye to the best possible result. Directions are given regarding preparation of the place, the orbit of which should be imagined to extend to two or four miles. Eight pegs, measuring twelve fingers' breadth, made of the wood of some sappy tree (Kṣīra-vṛkṣa, a common name for four trees, Nyagrodha, Udumbara, Aśvattha and Madhuka), are to be consecrated with the Astra-mantra (*phaṭ*) ten times, and fixed on the ground respectively towards the eight quarters by an invocation of the eight Dik-pālas. A Tāntric circle, in the form of a tortoise (Kūrma-cakra), which is described in detail, is to be drawn ; and the worshipper, sitting on the figure which represents the head of the tortoise, should practise repetition of his Mantra (Japa). During Puraścaraṇa, light food should be taken, and forbidden food (especially such as cause excitement of the senses) avoided ; all luxury, such as music, unguent or garland of flowers, as well as association with women, should be strictly discarded. Certain rules of conduct should be observed, such as daily bathing and worship, sleeping on a mat of Kuśa grass, restraint of body, mind, speech and act, putting on clean clothes and associating with pious people. In accordance with the result desired (such as success, knowledge, removal of misery or disease), the seat or Āsana should consist of the skin of a tiger or deer, cotton, cane, silk or wool. The rosary for counting muttered prayers or spells requires elaborate directions with regard to its material, construction, length, number of constituent beads, and suitability for different kinds of worshippers, as well as its consecration (Saṃskāra), method and number of counting for different purposes, rules to be observed and things to be avoided at the time of counting, atonement for deficiencies, and the merit and efficacy of the act. These details need not be summarised here, but certain broad features may be indicated. The beads may be made of conchshell, gold, silver, seed of lotus or night-lily, jewels, pearls, Rudrākṣa (berry of

Elaeocarpus Ganitrus), Kuśa grass, seed of Putramjīva (Putramjiva Roxburghii), Āmalakī (Emblic Myrobalan) or wood of Tulasī ; and the number may be 108, 50 or 25. The result is said to differ according to the material or number of beads ; and for persons of different castes or of different motives, the different kinds are prescribed. The best and most efficacious for a Vaiṣṇava is the rosary of Tulasī wood. The muttered prayer with the rosary may be loud (Vācika), whispered (Upāṃśu) or mental (Mānasa), the last mode being the best. There are directions also regarding the number of Japas and the fingers to be employed in different modes. The rosary should be hidden from sight at the time of Japa by a piece of cloth or by the upper garment ; and the Japa should be performed in solitude with a contented, covered and clean body and a continent, undisturbed and undivided mind. If any breach of rules occurs, atonement is available by sipping water (Ācamana), bathing, repetition of the Viṣṇu-mantra, Yogic breathing exercises (Prāṇāyama) or Tāntric Nyāsas. If the Mūla-mantra is muttered with different Tāntric spells (Bīja), different results are obtained. Thus, if the Kāma-bīja (*klīṃ*) is prefixed, the whole world comes under control ; with Māyā-bīja (*hrīm*), the eight superhuman powers (Aṣṭaiśvarya) are attained ; and so forth. But all Japa eventually should be conducted in accordance with the particular usage of one's own Saṃpradāya.

The Homa should be performed, in accordance with the rules laid down in the section on Dīkṣā, with the offer of red lotuses besmeared with honey, ghee and treacle (or simply boiled rice mixed with lumped sugar and ghee). The number of such offers should be one-tenth of that of the muttered prayers or Japas. In case of inability, the Japa may be a substitute for Homa.

Libation of water (Tarpaṇa), mixed with flowers and unhusked corn (Akṣata) and sanctified with Japa, should then be offered to Kṛṣṇa, the number of such libations being

one-tenth of that of Homa. When this is done, the worshipper should sprinkle handfuls of water on his own head, the number of such sprinklings being one-tenth of that of libations.

The feeding of Brahmans (Brāhmaṇa-bhojana), with offer of Arghya, Pādya and other requisites of worship, comes next. The Brahmans should be also satisfied with the offer of perfume, garland, garment and suitable fee (Dakṣiṇā). Alms and food should then be distributed to the people deserving charity. Then the spiritual preceptor, the Guru, should be honoured with gifts of cow, land, gold and clothes. The whole ceremony is concluded with the taking of sweet and savoury food with one's relatives and friends.

If any mistake is committed in the Puraścaraṇa, it may be atoned for by Japa and obeisance (Namaskriyā), or by the feeding of Brahmans.

There are also shorter modes of Puraścaraṇa, but they are meant for those who are unable to follow the elaborate process described above. The man, who succeeds in attaining the Mantra, is said to receive supernatural powers, as well as joy, beauty and energy. Even such a person should worship Kṛṣṇa thrice daily and mutter the Mantra 108 times.

The chapter concludes with describring the method of preparing a Yantra or amulet with mystical diagrams and Tāntric spells, written on a leaf of gold, silver, copper, Bhūrja, silk or finely woven cloth. It is said to have the power to make the wearer very powerful, attractive to women, endowed with occult energies, defiant of all evil spirits ; and he can attain emancipation and paradise with great ease!

Vilāsa XVIII

The construction, from diverse materials, of different kinds of images of the various forms of the Bhagavat, as well as their characteristics, defined in the Śāstras, forms the subject-matter of this Vilāsa, in which, as usual, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa

supports his statements by copious quotations from the Purāṇas and from Tāntric and Vaiṣṇava texts.

The account begins with the statement that it is necessary to construct images of the deity, because Vaiṣṇava worship depends on them and derives as much happiness from their sight as from the direct beatific vision. The characteristics of the appearances, as revealed to great devotees and recorded in the Śāstras, should be strictly followed. The main features of the Viṣṇu-image and the measurement of its various limbs are then described in detail, chiefly on the testimony of the *Matsya* and the *Nāradīya* Purāṇa. The number of arms of the image may be eight, four or even two ; and various weapons and emblems are to be placed accordingly. In the eight-armed image, the Khaḍga, Gadā, Śara and Padma are to be assigned to the four hands on the right, and Śārṅga. Carman (shield), Śaṅkha and Cakra to the four on the left. If it has four hands, Gadā and Padma should be placed on the right and Śaṅkha and Cakra on the left hands. If it represents the two-armed Kṛṣṇa, then Śaṅkha and Cakra (and not Veṇu!) may be assigned to the two hands without any discrimination. Below, between the two feet, the image of Pṛthivī (Earth) should be inserted. On the left side of the Viṣṇu-image, there should be Garuḍa and on the right the beautiful Lakṣmī with lotus in her hand ; and on the two farther sides there should be Śrī and Puṣṭi. On the arch overhead the Vidyādharas and the adoring godlings should be imaged. The Gopāla-image has some variations. It should be dark-coloured (Ghana-śyāma), two-handed (Dvi-bhuja), decorated with a chaplet of peacock feathers (Barhāpīḍa), and engaged in playing upon his flute (Veṇu-vādana-tatpara). But the most remarkable omission is that the Kṛṣṇa-image as such, with that of Rādhā, is not described at all by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa.

The height of the image should vary according to the accommodation of the place where it is to be installed. When intended for one's own house, it should not be smaller in size than a joint of the thumb (Aṅguṣṭha-parvan) and bigger

than one Vitasti (12 Aṅgulas or about 9 inches). In a temple, its height should fluctuate between one and sixteen cubits.

After describing in some detail the construction and measurement of various limbs of the images of female deities, the author proceeds to give an account (which takes up a large bulk of this chapter) of the Śāstric features and measurements of particular images representing different forms of the deity, namely, Mahā-varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Trivikrama. Mahā-viṣṇu, Lokapāla-viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, the ten Avatāras (including the Buddha!)[1] and nine Vyūhas, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Hayagrīva, Kapila (with his four pupils, Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila and Vaiśaṃpāyana), Valmīki, Dattātreya (rarely worshipped in Bengal!). Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, the eight-handed Trailokyamohana with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, Puruṣottama, Viśvarūpa and Jalaśāyin. Of the attendant deities, the images of Lakṣmī and Garuḍa are described in detail. As the quotations are lengthy and the treatment is elaborate in its detail, it is not possible to summarise briefly; but there can be no doubt that the chapter is highly interesting to students of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava iconography.

The images may be of four kinds, in accordance with the particular material used in its construction, and they have different degrees or kinds of efficacy from the devotional point of view. They may be painted on a canvas (Citraja), moulded in plaster or earth (Lepya), cast in iron (Pākaja) or carved from wood or stone (Śastrotkīrṇa). Besides these, mention is made of images made with gold. silver, jewels, brass, copper, flower and saffron.

Detailed directions are given regarding the selection of stone-slabs and the ceremonies attendant upon the process of fetching and carving them. Stones possessing special and

1 The Buddha is acknowledged by the *Bhāgavata* list of incarnations and by Jīva Gosvāmin (see above p. 315), but the teachings of the Buddha are ridiculed by the latter.

auspicious characteristics and found in particular places, are to be chosen carefully. Slabs, for instance, which contain salt or acid, or which are found in a town, cemetery, cross-road, ant-hill, waste land or disreputable places, or which are used for other purposes or for the making of the images of other gods, or which have been brought by undesirable persons, are to be avoided ; but those found in holy and desirable places and do not possess such deficiencies are acceptable. Before starting to bring the slabs, the spiritual preceptor, who wants to install the image, should worship Nṛsiṃha, accompany the sculptor to mountains like the Trikūṭa or Śrīparvata where the desirable stones are generally found. He should inspect and select an unbroken and one-coloured piece with certain rites in which, among other things, the sacrifice of an animal (Krūra-bali) is enjoined. Next morning, he should again perform ceremonial worship of the slab of stone, as well as of the implements of the sculptor, and have it cut out, brought to a hut nearby and given the intended shape. The actual carving comes later, but it should be preceded by proper worship of the stone-slab again. During the carving the sculptor, well versed in the art, should live a life of purity and be extremely careful in his work. Defects in the image, aesthetic or otherwise, which are described in detail, are said to be productive of evil and disaster.

The method of constructing wooden images is almost identical with that of stone-images described above.

In the case of earthen images, equal care is necessary. The preparation of plastic earth is of great importance. It should be procured from a holy and suitable place, and mixed in equal parts with the dust of iron, stone, and nodules of limestone (Karkara, found in Bengal under the name of Kaṅkara). It should then be beaten with a stick of Kaṣāya (Grislea tomentosa), Khadira (Acacia Catechu) or Arjuna (Terminalia Arjuna) wood, and stirred up with the resin of Sarja (Vatica Robusta) and Śrīveṣṭa (Pinus Longifolia), with exhudation of Kuṭaja (Wrightia antidysentarica) and with

unctuous substances, saffron, milk, dadhi and ghee. This should be done for a month before the preparation is used for the construction of an image.

The Vilāsa concludes with a description of the mode of constructing the seat or stand (Pīṭha) of an image.

Vilāsa XIX

This Vilāsa deals with the installation and consecration of images. The rites and ceremonies connected therewith are so elaborate and the various stages of the procedure are treated so lavishly with long quotations from authoritative texts[1] that only a bare summary is possible here. But the interest consists mainly in the details of ceremonial worship, which is undoubtedly interesting to students of mediaeval religious practice of the Vaiṣṇava sects in general, but of which enough has been already said above to give a rough idea.

The account begins with the glorification of the pious deed of installation and consecration of images, but no image of Viṣṇu should be set up without that of his consort Lakṣmī. The account passes on to the rules for determining proper time and place without which no pious deed can be auspiciously accomplished, and to the enumeration of classes of persons who are entitled to perform it. The months of Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha are preferable, as well as certain auspicious conjunction of stars and lunar days (Tithis) ; but the act should be avoided during the time of the deity's going to sleep from the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha to the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. Regarding place of installation, any holy place, riverside, or the bank of a pond are suitable ; but the image should not face the following cardinal and intermediate points of the compass, namely, Agni-koṇa (south-east), Nairṛta-koṇa (south-west) and Vāyu-koṇa (north-west). Undesirable

1 The quotations are chiefly derived from the Purāṇas but also from such works as *Viṣṇu-dharma* and *Hayaśirṣa-pañcarātra*.

persons, such as a Śaiva, Saura, Naiṣṭhika (a class of Buddhist), naked mendicant, a hypocrite or an atheist, one who is ugly, impure, diseased, of mixed birth, wicked or hostile to the Śāstras, the son of a widow and of an unmarried or twice-married woman, a bastard, the husband of a Śūdra woman, one whose livelihood is acting, dancing or music, a physician, and so forth, are not privileged for the pious act.

Before the actual work of consecration, Gaṇapati and the sixteen Mātṛkās[1] are to be worshipped, and the Ācārya and the priests honoured after Nāndī- or Vṛddhi-śrāddha[2]. There should be present four each of Brahman, Hotṛ and Dvārajāpaka (muttering Japa at the door) priests, five Garbhajāpakas (muttering Japa inside the Maṇḍapa), one Mūrti-dhara (who protects the image) and one Purāṇa-pāṭhaka (who reads the Purāṇas), for uttering Puṇyāha ('happy day') and Svasti (welfare). A shed or pavilion (Maṇḍapa), for which directions are given, is to be constructed, including a Maṇḍapa for bathing the deity (Snāna) and for preliminary purification (Adhivāsa). The latter should have an altar (Graha-vedī) and four pits (Kuṇḍa) on its four sides. All the Maṇḍapas should be furnished with arches (Toraṇa) and awning (Candrātapa) and decorated with fresh twigs, coloured rags, flowers and festoons, while the floor should be cleaned and besmeared with holy cow-dung. The Yajamāna, with his wife and family, should enter, with the priests, through the western door and place two pitchers, filled with water and a piece of gold and covered with twigs, at each of the four doors, putting it on barley-corn (Yava) strewn on the floor. The flags and other things should then be dedicated and the Dik-pālas worshipped with proper prayers and formulas.

The elaborate ceremony of consecration then commences.

1 The names are: Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī, Medhā, Sāvitrī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Mātṛ, Loka-mātṛ, Dhṛti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, and Sva-kula-devatā (the tutelary deity of one's family).

2 Offering to ancestors on any auspicious occasion.

After consecrating the Maṇḍapa and himself by a series of preliminary Mantras and religious acts, the chief priest (Ācārya) should perform purification of the pitchers (Kalaśādhivāsana) to be used for bathing the image, place the various articles to be offered in worship (Arghya-dravyādisthāpana), make the image enter the place of bathing (Snānamaṇḍapa-praveśa) and bathe it with a prayer to become pure and free from the defects which might have been caused by the artists, as well as with appropriate rites and Mantras. The artists should also be honoured and duly rewarded. Then comes the ceremony of conferring benign (Saumya) sight to eyes of the image (Netronmīlana), of putting collyrium and unguents to the eyes (Netrābhyañjana), of offering Arghya and other requisites of worship (Arghyādyarpaṇa), of invoking auspiciousness (Māṅgalyācaraṇa) by rewarding the priests and Brahmans with gifts, and averting evil (Amaṅgala-nivāraṇa), of specially bathing the image again (Viśeṣataḥ Snāpanam) with Pañcagavya, various herbs, milk, honey, Dadhi, Ghee, earth of various places, and with holy water made fragrant with sandal, flowers and other ingredients, each act being accompanied by its appropriate spells and prayers. The image should then be lifted (Utthāpana) and carried in a suitable conveyance borne by Brahmans to the Adhivāsamaṇḍapa. It should then be installed (Sthāpana) on a bed of Kuśa grass, twigs of bamboo and flowers, and covered with fine garment. The priest then performs the purification ceremony (Adhivāsana) of the image by means of Bhūtaśuddhi and Nyāsas, inspires it with life (Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā), and worships it, along with its attendant deities (Aṅga- and Parivāra-devatās), in the manner prescribed in the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra*, to which one should refer for particulars. In the Maṇḍapa, the chief priest (Ācārya) should appoint four Brahmans to protect the image, four Hotṛs, four Ṛtvijs, four Jāpakas and one Sūkta-jāpaka (the Sūkta being the Vedic Puruṣa-sūkta), as well as four sentinels respectively at the four doors. There are special rules for the Japa and recitation

of special Sūktas, Mantras, Stotras, and chapters of sacred texts. Then comes the Homa in which the various priests take part, bathing of the image again with the water contained in the auspicious pitcher of peace (Śānti-ghaṭa) with various rites and prayers. After honouring the Brahmans with precious gifts, the ceremony for the time being is completed, and the night should be passed in vigil and in great festivity with the sounding of conch-shell, auspicious rejoicings, song and music.

Next morning, a pit is to be made in the place where the image is to be housed. The pit should be divided into four parts, respectively called Brāhma, Daiva, Mānuṣa and Paiśāca ; and after some special stones are laid, different objects like corn, gem, metal, iron, sandal, perfume and so forth should be thrown into the four parts of the pit, with their respective Mantras. On these, a specially constructed slab of stone, which will serve as the seat (Piṇḍikā) of the image, is to be laid. The image, bound by a piece of rope, is to be carried from the Adhivāsa-maṇḍapa with the sound of Svasti, bathed by four women whose husbands are living, and placed on the seat at an auspicious moment with music and offer of flower and perfume. It should be bathed again in Ghee and worshipped. The priest should touch six parts of its body (namely, right and left sides, back, head and two feet) with appropriate Mantras ; and, with the recitation of six Vedic Sūktas (reference to which is given), he should place his hand on the head of the image and contemplate the deity, muttering special Japas. The whole procedure is completed by the celebration of Mahāpūjā or great worship, in which Āvāhana, Sthāpana, Saṃnidhāpana etc are to the performed in the manner described in Vilāsa vi, but with different Mantras. The Ācārya, along with the priests and Vaiṣṇavas present on the occasion, should then be honoured by fees (Dakṣiṇā) in the form of gifts of gold, silver, clothes, cows or pieces of land.

Those who are able may continue the festivity and act of worship for one day or several days, the procedure of which is then described by our author. The method and merit of decorating the temple with flags, the process of worship on particular days or occasions, the duties of the priest during ceremonies like Avabhṛta-snāna, Vyāhṛti-homa and Yajamānā-bhiṣeka, are then dealt with in detail.

All these rules apply to the installation and consecration of immovable images (Sthira-mūrti), but moveable images (Cala-mūrti), meant for family worship, have their own set of rules. Two methods of installing and consecrating moveable images are now described at length, respectively in accordance with the views of Bodhāyana and the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra*. No laying of the seat (Piṇḍikā) is, of course, necessary in this case; but the methods are almost similar, if less elaborate, to those described above, and need not be summarised here.

In the mode of installation called Ekādhvara, no Kuṇḍa, Maṇḍapa or Vedī is necessary. After performing the Vṛddhi-śrāddha, the Yajamāna is to appoint only one priest who will cook Caru (an oblation of rice, barley and pulse boiled with butter and milk), bathe the image with Pañcagavya and pure water, and put it on a seat placed in a Sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala. This is to be followed by the acts of Dīpa-dāna (offer of lights), Cakṣur-unmīlana (conferring of eye-sight), Homa (to be performed 108 times), worship of the deity and of attendant deities, feeding of Brahmans and Dakṣiṇā. It is meant to be a much simpler and briefer process.

The Vilāsa concludes with elaborate directions regarding reconsecration or re-installation of the image in case it is displaced by wicked people, desecrated by the touch of undesirable persons, destroyed by fire and flood, defiled by wine or blood, or decayed by age. This process is necessary, because the deity never resides in an image which is thus rendered unfit for its holy habitation.

Vilāsa XX

This Vilāsa is concerned with the rites and duties connected with the construction of temples, the quotations in it being derived chiefly from the Purāṇas (especially the *Matsya*) and the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra*.

The sacred texts declare that it is a work of great piety to construct and dedicate a temple in accordance with the rules laid down in the Śāstras. It may be built with earth, wood, stone, iron, silver, gold or jewels, and each is successively more efficacious from the point of view of bringing religious merit to the builder. It should be commenced in an auspicious hour and constructed in a desirable place. The rainy season, Sunday and Tuesday are not auspicious, nor are the months of Caitra, Jyaiṣṭha, Bhādra, Āśvina and Pauṣa. Auspicious asterism and lunar day should be selected, the details of which are described. The selection of a place has already been discussed in connexion with the ceremony of installation in Vilāsa xix, but it is added that the new building should not butt upon or disturb, either in height or proximity, an already existing structure. The selected piece of ground should be pleasantly situated, nicely wooded, soft to work, solitary, and auspicious in the various characteristics which are described in the Śāstras ; but it should be cleaned, sanctified by Pañcagavya and other holy substances, divested of the influence of evil spirits by the offer of Māṣa pulse (Phaseolus Radiatus), powdered turmeric, fried or parched rice (Lāja) mixed with coagulated milk (Dadhi) and groats of corn (Saktu). The place should be restricted by the planting of eight pegs (Śaṅku) in eight directions. An oblation (Homa) with Ghee is to be performed, the ground sprinkled and tilled, bones of animals removed and four pieces of brick or stone placed in four directions. Twelve Brahmans are to be fed on the occasion. The plot on which the building is to be erected (Vāstu-maṇḍala) undergoes a similar process of being cleaned, levelled, sanctified by Pañcagavya and herbal water, measured with a white thread, and marked out into eighty-one divisions

with a gold pin. Within and outside this enclosure forty-five deities should be duly worshipped. The elaborate ceremony of Vāstu-pūjā (worship of the site) now commences, with the offer of a large number of articles (of which a list is given) in different directions to various deities, demons, mythical beings and animals, and with the performance of Homa in a pit (Kuṇḍa) furnished with three girdles (Tri-mekhalā). Then the foundations are to be dug with similar rites ; and four pieces of stone or brick, of which special and auspicious characteristics are given, are to be carefully laid after proper measurements.

The names and characteristics of various kinds of temple-structures are then given in a long extract quoted from the *Matsya-purāṇa*, while description of different parts of the structure and their measurements are given in a quotation from the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra*. The characterisations are general and do not enter into technical details ; but the names of the different kinds of structures are given as Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa, Kumbha, Siṃha, Mṛga, Vimānacchandaka, Śrīvṛkṣa. Mṛgādhipa, Valabhīcchandaka, Vartūla, Sarvabhadraka, Gaja, Candana, Nandi-vardhana, Haṃsa, Vṛṣa, Suparṇa, Padmaka, and Samudgaka. Every temple should be furnished with a Maṇḍapa, which may be built, according to the *Matsya-purāṇa*, again, in any one of the twenty-seven forms, namely, Puṣpaka, Puṣpa-bhadra, Suvṛtta, Amṛtānandana, Kauśalya, Buddhi-saṃkīrṇa, Rājabhadra, Jayāvaha, Śrīvṛkṣa, Vijaya, Vāstukīrṇa, Śrutiṃdhara, Yajñabhadra, Viśāla, Saṃśliṣṭa, Śatrumardana, Bhāga-pañca, Nandana, Mānava, Mānabhadra, Sugrīva, Harṣaṇa, Karṇikāra, Padārdhaka, Siṃha, Śyāmabhadra, and Subhadra ; the main distinction between the different types consisting of the number of constituent pillars which may vary from fourteen to sixty-four. The features of doors and height of the surrounding walls form the next topic. Round the temple, fruit and flower trees of various kinds (including the sacred Tulasī shrub) are to be planted and tanks excavated.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa concludes this Vilāsa with the remark that the elaborate ceremonial worship described by him in this work is not necessary for those exclusive devotees (Ekāntin) who have attained the highest stage of indifference to the world and loving devotion to deity (Prema-bhakti), and who can, therefore, dispense with mechanical acts of devotion (Vaidhī Bhakti); but the rites and duties are meant for those good householders who have wealth and attachment enough to undertake them to their own advantage. He informs us that some rites and duties, which have been described as Sadācāras in the Śāstras, have been omitted by him, because there is no earnest demand for them; but whatever has been omitted must be learnt from the Śāstras or from one's own Guru.

The rapid survey which we have given of the contents of this extensive work will give some idea of its importance; but in spite of its vast bulk and minute treatment of certain acts of worship, its incompleteness is surprising. Although it purports to be an epitome of Vaiṣṇava Sadācāra, it has little to say on social usages, and we have already remarked upon its omission of ordinary Smṛti topics.[1] Since the author appears to have great faith in Varṇāśrama Dharma in his general acceptance of the system of caste, in his exaltation of Brahmans and depreciation of Śūdras, it may be presumed that Vaiṣṇavas, in his opinion, are to be governed by ordinary Smṛti rules in their social duties and relations, unless one believes that the *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā*, which purports to femove this deficiency, is a genuine work of his. As it is, the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is more a guide-book to Vaiṣṇava piety and its modes of worship than a regular work on Vaiṣṇava Smṛti. Although it is often said that Vaiṣṇavism is entirely unritualistic, this extensive compilation itself will indicate the minute ceremonial requirements of its religious practice. The Vaidhī Bhakti, having its root in overt acts of

1 See above p. 449-50.

piety, may imply a comparatively mechanical process of spiritual realisation, but it is acknowledged as an important stage for the ordinary devotee, who cannot yet pass beyond outward rule and form to inward meditation. The attitude of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism towards traditional piety and towards established social order is not so radical as one might imagine, and the limitation of caste or sex is still acknowledged in the sphere of ceremonial worship. This conservatism is noteworthy; it could never have proved a solvent to social exclusiveness or caste-rigidity in the history of the faith. In the higher stage of devotion, the offering of love needs no priest nor ritual; for the grace of God is in no man's keeping, nor attainable by anything else but devotional love and self-surrender. But it would not be correct to say that Caitanyaism sought to remove religion entirely from carefully guarded ritual or sacerdotal sanction, and throw its privileges to all men and women without discrimination. No doubt, Caitanya himself is reported to have admitted into devotional fellowship low-caste men, as well as Muhammadans; but his biographical records also indicate that he never altogether repudiated traditional piety and traditional social usage.[1]

The work undoubtedly reveals its author's erudition in Vaiṣṇava devotional literature in general and in Purāṇic literature in particular, from which sources its endless number of quotations, large or small, is patiently and laboriously compiled. Of the Purāṇas, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata, Padma, Skanda* and *Matsya* supply the largest number of quotations; next to these come, in frequency of quotations, the *Bhaviṣya* and *Bhaviṣyottara, Nārada* and *Bṛhannāradīya, Garuḍa, Narasiṃha, Kūrma, Brahma, Brahma-vaivarta* and *Viṣṇu*. Of Vaiṣṇava and Tāntric texts, the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra, Gautamīya-Tantra, Śāradā-tilaka, Krama-dīpikā, Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Viṣṇu-rahasya* are very largely utilised or quoted. We give an index of quotations in this huge

1 See above pp. 107-9.

compilation, which will give an idea of the sources which are liberally drawn upon[1].

Agastya-Saṃhitā[2] I. 19, 25-26, 49-51, 64-65, 336-337, 350-351, 519, 585, 659, 663-664, 666-668, 670, 671, 849, 855, 863-864, 874, 1154-1156, 1177, 1195, 1202-1203, 1307 ; III. 60-64 ; IV. 3-4.

Agni-Purāṇa (also called Āgneya and Vahni-Purāṇa) I. 463-465, 536-537, 546, 583-584, 586, 652-653, 697, 911-912, 1157, 1237-1238 ; II. 3, 4, 21, 52-53 ; III. 144-145, 209-210, 211, 219, 225, 226 ; IV. 22, 51, 414-415, 486.

Aṅgiras I. 297, 890, 1194 ; Atri I. 295-296 ; Atri-Smṛti I. 199, 229, 293, 890, 1401, 1402 ; Atharva-pariśiṣṭa III. 142 ; Atharva-Veda I. 321.

1 For other ritualistic works of minor importance, see above p. 138, footnote. Nothing is known of the *Kṛṣṇa-janma-tithi-vidhi* and the *Kṛṣṇārcana-dīpikā*, ascribed respectively to Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmins ; they are not yet recovered or published (see above pp. 154, 158). Informatian, however, is supplied by Haridas Das of Navadvīpa that a MS of a *Bṛhat-Kṛṣṇārcana-dīpikā* by Jīva Gosvāmin is in his possession. It purports to establish with elaborate argumentation and citation of authoritative texts the joint worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. There is also a summary of the work, also called *Kṛṣṇārcana-dīpikā*, in nine Prakāśas, by one Kṛṣṇadāsa, available to him in MS, the date of copying being Saṃvat 1714 (=1658 A.D.). Another brief anonymous abstract, entitled *Sūkṣmā Kṛṣṇārcana-dīpikā* is also available in MS, the date of its composition being Śaka 1618 (=1796 A.D.). The original work has no division into Prakāśas, but the subject-matter does not differ from that of the summaries.

2 The index follows the text published in Bengali characters by Ramnarayan Vidyaratna from the Radharaman Press, Berhampore. (The book is printed in four parts, the first part containing Vilāsa I-XI ; the second, Vilāsa XII-XIII ; the third, Vilāsa XIV-XVI and the fourth, Vilāsa XVII-XX. These four parts are referred to in this index as I, II, III and IV). See above, p. 137, footnote 1. The verses being irregularly numbered, the references are by pages.—For the preparation of this index we are indebted to our former pupil, Dr. Rajendrachandra Hazra. There is another, and much better printed, edition of the work, also in Bengali characters and with a running Bengali translation, in one volume, by Syamacharan Kaviratna (Gurudas Chatterji : Calcutta, B. E. 1318=1911-12).

Anye I. 511 ; Anyatra I. 33, 39-40, 87, 165-166, 219, 274, 297, 298, 299, 305, 330, 344, 347, 349, 360, 391, 472, 473, 488, 528, 556-557, 602, 646, 666, 669, 695, 706, 734, 735, 774, 795-796, 798, 822, 847-848, 869, 890-891, 906-907, 922-923, 928-929, 1274, 1292 ; II. 30, 110 ; III. 43, 46, 55-56, 77, 392-395, 401-402 ; IV. 6-7, 16-19. 25-27, 29-35, 41-42, 44-45, 53-54, 61, 64.

Avantīkhaṇḍa I. 853 854.

Āgama I. 41-42, 79, 82-83, 154-155, 267, 516-519, 548, 552, 582-583, 750, 789-790, 807-809, 811-813, 1170-1171, 1178-1179 ; III. 110-114 ; IV. 2-3, 8-9, 21-22.

Āṅgirasa Purāṇa I. 1268-1269 ; Āditya-Purāṇa I. 320, 347 ; IV. 418 ; Ādi-Purāṇa I. 983-985, 1145, 1187, 1271-1272, 1279-1280 ; Ādi-Varāha I. 366-367, 1305-1306 ; Āpastamba I. 351.

Itihāsa-samuccaya I. 978-982, 1306-1307 ; Itihāsottama I. 1233, 1242, 1283, 1285-1286, 1293.

Ṛk-pariśiṣṭa III. 149 ; Ṛgvedīyāśvalāyana-Śākhā III. 141.

Kaṇva II. 3, 83 ; Kapila-pañcarātra I. 503-505.

Kātyāyana I. 216-219, 226 ; II. 138, 178, 185-186 ; III. 15 ; Kātyāyana-Saṃhitā I. 1293-1294, 1297 ; Kātyāyana-Smṛti II. 10, 16, 22, 25-26, 133.

Kālikā-Purāṇa I. 697, 705, 718 ; II. 14, 104-105, 185.

Kāśī-Khaṇḍa I. 157-158, 167, 179-180, 206-209, 212, 217, 221-223, 227, 230-231, 254-255, 315, 318, 319, 669-670, 762, 860, 975-976, 1123-1125, 1193, 1226, 1281-1282, 1400-1401.

Kāśyapa-pañcarātra II. 29.

Kūrma-Purāṇa (also called Kaurma) I. 28-30, 171, 205-206, 213-216, 222-223, 227, 229-230, 243, 288, 351, 648, 734, 801-802, 885-886, 889-890, 892, 897, 908-909, 919-922, 1159, 1184-1185, 1212-1213, 1232, 1390-1400 ; II. 11, 14, 27, 59, 71-74, 76-77, 95, 102, 107, 120-121, 127-128, 181-182 ; III. 45-46, 371, 372.

Kṛṣṇadevācārya III. 219 ; Kecit IV. 55-56, 59 ; Kausta II. 92.

Kramadīpikā I. 15-16, 28, 71, 78, 353, 397-398, 405-406, 519-520, 723 ; IV. 5.

Kvacit I. 83, 85, 86, 380, 468, 470, 471, 1171 ; II. 187, 188 ; III. 259 ; IV. 5-6, 10, 11, 12, 32, 34.

Garuḍa-Purāṇa (also called Gāruḍa and Sauparṇa) I. 47, 169, 181, 186. 241, 294-295, 316-318, 319, 320, 336, 339-341, 489, 502, 546, 581, 583, 585, 588-590, 592, 612-614, 656, 657-658, 669-671,

673, 676, 679-680, 681, 724-725, 728, 778, 822, 850-851, 854-855, 865, 872, 876, 912, 947, 959, 970-971, 994-995, 1053, 1078-1079, 1223-1224, 1249, 1260, 1269-1270, 1289-1290 ; II. 14-15, 52, 61, 83, 84-86, 89, 91, 99-100 ; III. 16-17, 125-127, 137, 145, 228.

Gārgya I. 505-506 ; Gālava I. 505-506 ; Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa II. 133 ; Gobhila I. 296 ; II. 76, 88, 114-115.

Gautamīya I. 83-84, 330-331, 475, 703 ; III. 44, 60, 164, 285 ; IV. 21, 30, 32-33, 67, 184-185.

Gautamīya-Tantra I. 58, 192, 236, 237, 432-435, 462, 913, 1146-1150, 1208, 1344 ; II. 9-10 ; III. 4, 220-223 ; IV. 100-102.

Chāndoga-pariśiṣṭa III. 141.

Jābāli-Saṃhitā I. 1285 ; Jaimini II. 17 ; Jaimini-Saṃhitā I. 1298 ; Jñānamālā I. 642, 644-645, 655.

Tattva-sāgara I. 23, 82 ; II. 15-16, 30-32; Tattva-sāra I. 87-88, 151, 518.

Tantra I. 70, 1176-1177 ; III. 183-184 ; IV. 12 ; Tāntrikāḥ I. 92-93.

Tāpanīya-Śruti I. 47-49, 51-60, 189 ; Tejodraviṇa-pañcarātra I. 848, 1059, 1060 ; Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍala II. 116.

Trailokya-mohana-pañcarātra II. 179 ; Trailokya-saṃmohana-pañcarātra I. 297 ; Trailokya-saṃmohana-Tantra I. 60-62, 71-73 ; 377-378 ; IV. 39-40, 46-49, 58, 60.

Dakṣa I. 210, 211-212, 226-227 ; Dakṣa-Smṛti I. 209-210 ; Devala I. 275 ; II. 10-11, 18, 130-131, 138-139, 183 ; III. 360, 364.

Devī I. 639 ; Devī-Purāṇa I. 362, 725-726 ; III. 86-87 ; IV. 190-191, 193-194, 410-411, 423, 486 ; Devī-rahasya II. 49, 182 ; Devyāgama I. 30-31.

Dvārakā-māhātmya I. 503, 539-540, 559-560, 572, 574-575, 661, 675-676, 733, 761, 768-769, 777, 779, 977-978, 982, 1057-1068, 1078, 1098, 1288, 1313 ; II. 50-51, 66-68, 109-110, 219-220.

Dhruva-carita I. 860.

Nandi-Purāṇa I. 576, 578, 1269.

Narasiṃha-Purāṇa (also called Nṛsiṃha-Purāṇa and Nārasiṃha) I. 37, 199, 240, 257-258, 259, 263-264, 265, 271, 517, 529, 538-539, 541, 544-545, 572, 580-581, 585-586, 596-597, 605-606, 607 ; 608-610, 651-652, 698, 707, 736, 747-748, 757-758, 786, 791, 796, 797, 798, 817, 1019-1021, 1162, 1196-1197, 1236, 1241-1242, 1289, 1329, 1361 ; IV. 42-43, 78, 184, 417.

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2. THE SAT-KRIYĀ-SĀRA-DĪPIKĀ

It is extremely doubtful if the *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā*[1], ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, can be regarded as a genuine work of our author[2]. It is never mentioned as such, nor quoted, in the standard works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Although manuscripts are available (which fact precludes the presumption of its being an entirely modern fabrication), it had been practically unknown before it was printed in modern times. The opening passages, no doubt, mention Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author, and pay homage to Caitanya, but there is no account of the author (such as we find in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*) ; and neither its contents nor its general trend and style would support the attribution to our Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. It is a much smaller work, written mostly in prose, with occasional verse or verse-quotations and limited in its scope

1 Published, in Bengali characters, in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava journal *Sajjana-toṣaṇī* vols. xv-xvii (Calcutta 1906) by Kedar Nath Datta, and reprinted by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta 1935 in Bengali characters.

2 See above, p. 138 footnote.

to the Gṛhya rites. That it is a Bengal Vaiṣṇava work of the Caitanya Saṃpradāya is made probable by the opening passages, but it is by no means clear that it may not have been composed by one of the several Vaiṣṇava Gopāla Bhaṭṭas, apparently of the Bengal school, who are known to us[1]. The fact that the work was forgotten shows that, if it were a work of our Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, it never acquired any reputation or popularity. At any rate, the attribution must be corroborated by independent evidence before it can be accepted. But, whatever and however late its authorship may have been, it possesses some importance as a work of the Bengal school, which was meant to supplement the much larger *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa by dealing with the demestic rites and ceremonies, the Gṛhya ritual, which is omitted therein. Although it commences with a preliminary theological discussion on the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive deity, on the superiority of Vaiṣṇava practices and on the inapplicability of Smārta rules to a true Vaiṣṇava, it draws very considerably, as the opening verses also acknowledge, upon previous Smārta writers, especially upon the Bengal Smṛti-Nibandhas of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (whose order and arrangement of topics in the *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* it follows) and Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa. This fact is noteworthy as showing that Caitanyaism did not altogether break away from the orthodox Smārta tradition in its social and domestic usages. It would therefore, be interesting to note the peculiarly Vaiṣṇava features of the ceremonies as detailed in this work ; and it would not be out of place to give a brief survey of the work here.

After a salutation to Śrīkṛṣṇa, the author proposes to deal in this work, which is practically divided into two parts, with Vedic (Gṛhya) sacraments or purificatory ceremonies (Saṃskāras), with a view to preserving the religion of the Bhagavat (*bhagavad-dharma-rakṣārtham)* in its characteristic features.

1 See above, pp. 144-45.

He refers to Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Bhīma Bhaṭṭa, Govindānanda, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, Bhavadeva and the learned Drāviḍa Paṇḍits as authors of Vedic Paddhatis for the use of the Karmins ; and he adds that he has drawn upon these Paddhatis, as well as upon the Veda, Purāṇa, Dharma-śāstra, Āgama, Yāmala and other sources. We are told that the author has taken sufficient care to avoid the worship of ancestors (Pitṛs) and inferior deities so that no offence with regard to the service and name of the Bhagavat (Sevā- and Nāma-Aparādha) could be committed by the Ekantin Kṛṣṇa-worshipping householders for whom the work is specially meant. He further adds, as a true Vaiṣṇava should do, that he records his name as the author of this work, not through egotism (Ahaṃkāra), but at the command of the pious men of his own order. No such apology or declaration of modesty, however, occurs in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*.

At the outset the author offers an explanation as to why the procedure of the different sacraments, described in the body of the work is often non-Smārta, why the Viṣṇu-mantras alone are chosen, why the worship of Viṣṇu only is encouraged in the rites, and why the worship of the Pitṛs (i.e. Śrāddha, etc.) is omitted. On the strength of the testimony of such works as the *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*, he attempts to establish the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa over Brahmā, Śiva, Mahāviṣṇu (of Vaikuṇṭha) and Viṣṇu's different incarnations. He takes Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu as identical and shows, by quoting the *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*, *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāgavata* and other works, that Nārāyaṇa not only comprises the whole universe but transcends it, and that all other gods are born of him at creation, live under his protection and enter into him during Mahāpralaya. Nārāyaṇa is, therefore, the only eternal lord deserving worship even from Brahmā and others. He is identified with Brahman, but he can be realised by those who are initiated into his worship by worthy preceptors (Sad guru). Thus, the initiated Yogins, desiring Sāyujya, attain Avyaya Viṣṇu ; those desiring Sārūpya attain Parama

Viṣṇu ; those desiring Sālokya attain Pada Viṣṇu (i.e., Vaikuṇṭha) ; and those desiring Sāṃnidhya attain Para Viṣṇu (i.e. the state of his Attendants).

According to the author, the practice of the Bhagavad-dharma is much superior to the worship of inferior gods and ancestors and to the performance of all acts indispensable (Nitya), occasional (Naimittika) and optional (Kāmya), so much so that the methods followed in the Bhagavad-dharma of performing the Vedic rites is much superior to those followed by the Karmins. Thus, in case of committing one or more of the sins (Pātakas), the exclusive devotees of Kṛṣṇa (or Viṣṇu) are bound, not by the Smārta rules of expiation, but by the Sātvata practice which requires that the sinner should be re-initiated, with five purificatory rites (Saṃskāras), to the Mantra of the Bhagavat by his preceptor, or the preceptor's wife, or his son, or any of his disciples who is a class-mate of the sinner ; and thus purified, he should worship Viṣṇu and perform Vaiṣṇava festivities (Mahotsavas).

On the strength of quotations made from various Purāṇas and Vaiṣṇava texts, the author shows that neither the Vedas nor the Dharma śāstras, Āgamas, Purāṇas, Smṛtis and local customs prescribe the worship of ancestors and inferior gods for the exclusive devotees of Kṛṣṇa, because of their liability to Sevā- and Nāma-Aparādhas. Though from very birth men have their duties to gods, ancestors, sages, men and animals, the pure and selfless devotees of Kṛṣṇa are not bound by these obligations, because service to Kṛṣṇa is superior to all other acts. Moreover, even by duly and meticulously performing their duties to gods and others, men cannot escape rebirths, but attain, for a certain definite period, the respective divine regions from which return is inevitable. Hence the devotees of Kṛṣṇa should serve their fathers when living, and after the latter's death, should offer only Mahāprasāda and Pādodaka to the deceased ancestors, as well as food and drink, procured easily, to all men, especially to the Vaiṣṇavas. This explains why it is not necessary for the Vaiṣṇava to

observe the Smārta rites of Śrāddha, although the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* does not altogether prohibit regular offerings and libations to Yama and the Pitṛs, including Nāndī-śrāddha.

By quoting the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa, Śruti, Devī-purāṇa, Rudra-yāmala* and other texts, the author shows that the Karmins, who lay special stress on ritualistic acts, are required, for the perfection of their rites, to worship individually on all occasions all the innumerable gods and ancestors and to honour separately one's own friends and relatives. This is a task which is practically impossible ; and if any one of these gods, ancestors or relatives is left out or is not duly worshipped, the whole function becomes defective and fruitless. Hence, every one, whether an exclusive devotee of Kṛṣṇa or not, must worship only Hari (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), who is lord of all and who can liberate his devotees from rebirths and thus fulfil their desires. This supreme deity alone deserves absolute devotion, which requires that one must not worship, praise or censure any other god, even mentally, through ignorance or mistake, nor partake of the food offered to such gods or seek the company of their worshippers. Not to speak of the initiated Vaiṣṇavas, even those who are outside the pale of Vaiṣṇavism are said to be guilty of great offence (Mahāparādha) by worshipping gods other than Viṣṇu ! The author further shows by a series of quotations that the worship of Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) is equivalent to, and even greater than, the worship of all other gods in the universe and to the performance of all the acts prescribed by the Śāstras. By giving up all other activity prescribed by his caste, station or stage of life, a whole-hearted worshipper of Kṛṣṇa, therefore, does not incur sin thereby but attains liberation.

In connection with the requirement that the devotees of Kṛṣṇa should invariably follow the Sat, the author brings out the different meaning of this word by quoting the

Bhagavad-gīta according to which it is employed, in his opinion, to mean (*i*) Sad-bhāva, (*ii*) Sādhu-bhāva, (*iii*) Praśasta Karman and (*iv*) invariable practice of all acts concerning Yajña, Tapas and Dāna. He further explains these different meanings, and shows that they refer either to Kṛṣṇa himself, his different forms and incarnations, his abode (Vṛndāvana), his devotees, and the preceptors who initiate people into his Mantra or into all literature dealing with the Bhagavad-dharma, to all acts and services meant for him or for his devotees, and to all feasts and festivals arranged in his honour. The author, therefore, concludes that all devotees of Kṛṣṇa must worship Kṛṣṇa alone on all occasions.

In explaining a verse from the *Skanda-purāṇa*, which extols the devotees of Viṣṇu as the best of the best (Sarvottamottama) irrespective of their caste, the author enumerates eleven classes of Śūdras and twelve qualities of Brahmans, and maintains the comparative superiority of the consecutively higher castes! Of the different stages of life, he explains Saṃnyāsa as the renunciation of all acts, whether obligatory, occasional or optional (Nitya-naimittika-kāmya-karmādinyāsa).

Thus explaining the special features of the Vaiṣṇava rites, the author next proceeds to deal with the methods of performing the different Saṃskāras which are, as found in his work, fourteen in number, namely, Vivāha, Garbhādhāna, Puṃsavana, Sīmantonnayana, Śoṣyantī-homa, Jātakarman, Niṣkrāmaṇa, Nāma-karaṇa, Pauṣṭika-karman, Anna-prāśana, Mūrdhābhighrāṇa, Cūḍā-karaṇa, Upanayana and Samāvartana.

The performance of all the Sacraments should be preceded by an auspicious ceremony (Maṅgalācaraṇa), which requires the construction of a square altar of particular dimensions with a canopy on it. This is followed by salutation to the Bhagavat and uttering of his different names, citation of auspicious Vedic and Upaniṣadic Mantras glorifying Viṣṇu,

Svasti-vācana with the citation of verses from the Upaniṣad, Tantra etc., and Maṅgala-vācana by citing verses from the Purāṇas, Gītā, Tantra etc.

The details of the Vivāha or marriage ceremony, which occupy much larger space than those of other rites, consist mainly of Adhivāsa (preliminary ceremony of purification), Vāsudeva-pūjā (worship of Vāsudeva) and Vivāha-karman (actual marriage).

In the Adhivāsa, which should be performed either at dusk on the previous day or in the morning on the day fixed for marriage, the twenty-six requisites (e.g. earth, scent, stone, paddy, vermilion, conch-shell, thread, etc.) should first be used, with the citation of relevant Vedic Mantras, to consecrate Viṣṇu ; and then the bridegroom and the bride are to be touched with them separately and collectively. The use of the thread has the peculiarity that a Vaiṣṇava Brahman, should tie a piece of it ninefold round the wrist of the bridegroom ; and a Vaiṣṇava woman, whose husband is living, should do the same with respect to the bride. The bridegroom and the bride should be adored with the waving of four, five or seven lamps ; no Nāndī-śrāddha should be performed, if Nāmāparādha is to be avoided ; but for the satisfaction of the ancestors, Mahāprasāda should be offered to them, and the series of spiritual preceptors (Pūrva-gurus) should be worshipped ; gifts should be made ; and Cedi rāja, a great devotee of the Bhagavat, should be worshipped after drawing with Ghee five or seven lines (Vasu-dhārā) on the wall.

On the day of marriage, the duly initiated bridegroom—to whatever caste (Varṇa) he may belong—should bathe in the morning, perform his daily duties, and worship Viṣṇu in a Śālagrāma stone with relevant Vedic or Tāntric Mantras. He should carefully avoid the worship of the five Smārta deities (Pañcopāsanā, namely, Ganeśa, Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya and Viṣṇu), the nine planets, the Lokapālas and the sixteen Mātṛkās ; but he should, in their stead, worship the five Mahābhāgavatas (namely Viṣvaksena, Sanaka and others),

the nine Yogīndras (namely, Kavi, Havi, Antarīkṣa etc.), the best Bhāgavatas (namely, Brahmā, Śukadeva, Sadāśiva, Garuḍa, Nārada and others) and the Vaiṣṇavīs (namely, Paurṇamāsī, Lakṣmī, Antaraṅgā, Gaṅgā and others). If he is a worshipper of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa or of any of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, the attendant deities should be chosen for worship accordingly.

The actual marriage-rite consists of Jñāti-karman, Saṃpradāna, Kuśaṇḍikā, Pāṇi-grahaṇa, Uttara-vivāha, Bhojanādi-Dhṛtihoma, Caturthī-homa and Udīcya-karman.

In the Jñāti-karman, the bride's kinswomen should bathe her first with relevant Mantras and with water containing a leaf on which the name of the groom is written. Next comes the Saṃpradāna (ceremony of giving away of the bride) in which the presence of a cow is necessary ; the giver (Saṃpradātṛ) of the bride is to honour the bridegroom with Pādya, Arghya, etc., offered with the citation of relevant Mantras ; the groom is to place the right palm of the bride on that of his own ; a lucky woman, whose husband and sons are living, should tie their palms with a cord of Kuśa grass ; and the giver should give away the bride and offer a fee (Dakṣiṇā) with the citation of Mantras containing the names of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. After duly accepting the bride and the fee, the bridegroom should repeat the Vaiṣṇavī Gāyatrī and think of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, or of his own deity (Iṣṭadeva), or of the different forms of Viṣṇu. The dowry should then be handed over to the bridegroom ; the ends of the garments of the bride and the bridegroom should be tied (Granthi-bandhana) ; the cow should be let loose by a barber ; the giver should cite Mantras for the perfection of the ceremony, and bow down to Viṣṇu, the Guru (preceptor) and others for their favour.

The Saṃpradāna is to be followed by the ritual of Kuśaṇḍikā (consecration of the sacred fire), which should be performed by the bridegroom in the nuptial fire, specially named Yojaka (one who yokes or joins together). The main operations in the ceremony are the following : (*i*) Drawing

of five lines of five colours (yellow, red, black, golden and white) on a specially constructed altar and identifying them mentally with the Vaiṣṇavīs, namely, Earth, Cow, Kālindī, Śrī and Sarasvatī; (*ii*) Removal of rubbish (Utkara-nirasana); (*iii*) Sprinkling the lines with water (Rekhābhyukṣaṇa); (*iv*) Preparation of the fire (Agni-saṃskāra); (*v*) Placing of the fire (Agni-sthāpana) on the black line and invoking it as the Yojaka fire with relevant Mantras; (*vi*) Seating a Vaiṣṇava Brahman or a Brahman made of Kuśa on a seat of Kuśa grass and worshipping him as Brahmā (Brahma-sthāpana); (*vii*) Muttering of the Mantra *Oṃ parameṣṭhī viṣṇuḥ* etc. after placing the palms of the hand on the ground (Bhūmi-japa); (*viii*) Propitiating the fire for its favour (Agni-saṃmukhī-karaṇa); (*ix*) Purification of straw etc. (Tṛṇādi-śodhana); (*x*) Drawing of the Svastika sign on the Kuśa grass spread threefold (Svastika-nivedana); (*xi*) Performance of Homa with twenty pieces of Khadira, or Palāśa or Udumbara wood (Viṃśati-kāṣṭhikā-homa); (*xii*) Purification of Ghee for Homa (Ājya-saṃskāra); (*xiii*) Purification of the laddle (Sruva-saṃskāra); (*xiv*) Pouring of water round the fire (Udakāñjali-seka); (*xv*) Muttering, with the left palm of the hand placed on the right, of the Mantra *Oṃ prajāpatiḥ* etc. containing a prayer to Virūpākṣa, a devotee of the Bhagavat (Virūpākṣa-japa).

The Kuśaṇḍikā is to be followed by Pāṇi-grahaṇa (the ceremony of hand-taking) in which two of the bridegroom's friends, one with a pitcher full of water and the other with a stick (Parcanikā), should stand prepared for bathing the bride and the bridegroom. After performing Mahāvyāhṛti-hoṃa and Ājya-homa, the bridegroom should take the bride by her joined palms and make her step on a flat slab of stone furnished with another smaller piece (Saputrā Śilā). The bride should then offer to fire oblations of parched grain mixed with Ghee, and be taken round the fire by the bridegroom, who should then make oblations with Ghee and parched grain placed on a winnowing basket (Śūrpa). The

bridegroom should go seven steps with the bride (Sāptapadīna), each time placing their steps in a circle drawn beforehand ; and, with the palms of the bride in those of his own he should cite Vedic Mantras. The bride should then take her seat on the left of the bridegroom, and the latter should perform their first Gṛhya Homa.

Next comes Uttara-vivāha, which is always to be perfomed at nightfall. It consists of the performance of Homa by the bridegroom, his pointing out the Dhruva (Pole Star) and Arundhatī to the bride, the bride's salutation to the bridegroom by mentioning her father's Gotra, and so on.

In the Bhojanādi-Dhṛtihoma the bridegroom should take Mahāprasāda, give the remnants to the bride, take her home on the following day, perform Homa in the fire which is called Dhṛti, and make the bride salute the elderly relatives.

In the Caturthī-homa, which is to be performed on the fourth day of marriage, the Homa is to be performed in fire, named Śikhin, and the newly married couple is to be bathed on the north of the fire by women who have sons and husbands.

The Udīcya-karman consists of the performance of a few Homas, namely, Mahāvyāhṛti-homa, Prāyaścitta-homa, Vaiṣṇava-homa (the Vaiṣṇavas being Viṣvaksena and four others, the nine Yogīndras, Nārada and nine others, Svāyaṃbhuva and others, Śrīkṛṣṇa-caitanya,[1] Paurṇamāsī and the other beloved Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa, and so forth), Darbha-juṭikā-homa and Pūrṇa-homa. All these Homas are to be performed in the fire named Vidhu, and they are to be followed by Śānti-dāna, offer of Dakṣiṇā, recital of Mantras for the removal of impediments and perfection of the rite, Saṃkīrtana of Kṛṣṇa's name and other ceremonies.

In Garbhādhāna (ceremony of impregnation), which comes after marriage, the husband should perform his daily duties after taking a bath in the morning, worship Viṣṇu (or

1 In no ritual mentioned in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, the name of Caitanya occurs!

Nārāyaṇa) and the Vaiṣṇavas both in the morning and after dusk ; and in proper time he should approach his wife after putting on fine clothes and using flowers and perfumes

The Puṃsavana (ceremony for obtaining a male child) is generally performed on an auspicious day at the beginning of the third month of gestation and before the period of quickening. In it the husband and the wife are to bathe in the morning, and the former is to worship Viṣṇu and the series of preceptors (the worship of the preceptors being called Sāttvika-vṛddhi-śrāddha), perform Kuśaṇḍikā in a fire named Candra, perform Mahāvyahṛti-homa, Śāṭyāyana-homa etc. with his wife on his right side, and offer fee (Dakṣiṇā) to the Pañcarātra priest.

Though most of the remaining sacraments have many rites in common with Puṃsavana (namely, morning bath, worship of Viṣṇu, performance of Sāttvika-vṛddhi-śrāddha, Vyāhṛti homa, Śāṭyāyana-homa etc., ending with offer of Dakṣiṇā to the Pañcarātra priest), there are some special characteristics which deserve notice. These may be given below.

The Sīmantonnayana (ceremony of the parting of the bride's hair) is to be performed on the fourth, sixth or eighth month of first pregnancy ; and it must be preceded by Garbhādhāna and Puṃsavana ceremonies if these two have not been performed in proper time. In it the fire, named Maṅgala, is to be used, and the husband is to tie to the neck of the wife two figs having a common stalk, the footprints of Vāsudeva, barley-grains made of gold or any other metal according to the prevailing custom, and Nimba, mustard etc. for protection. He should also perform Sīmantonnayana (parting of hair) of the wife with two blades of Kuśa grass (Darbha-pijñalī), an arrow (Bāṇa), a spindle (Tarku) or the quill of a porcupine (Śalalī). Towards the end of the rite, women, who have husbands and sons, should bathe the bridegroom and the bride, and the latter should eat a dish of spiced rice and peas (Kṛsara).

In the Śoṣyantī-homa, which is meant for easy delivery, the fire used is named Maṅgala ; and in performing Homa, the coming child is to be given a name signifying that he is a servant of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-dāsa).

In the Jāta-karman (birth-ceremony), which does not require the performance of Sāttvika-vṛddhi-śrāddha, Kuśaṇḍikā and Homas, the father of the child is to salute and eulogise the preceptors (Śrī-gurūn) before worshipping Viṣṇu. Next, he should besmear the tongue of the child, first with the powder of rice and barley prepared by a Brahmacārin, a virgin girl, a pregnant woman or a Pañcarātra Vaiṣṇava versed in the Vedas, and then with Ghee mixed with gold. He should then purify himself by a bath.

The Niṣkrāmaṇa (ceremony of taking the child for the first time out of the house) should be performed on the third lunar day of the third bright fortnight after the birth of the child. It has this peculiarity that the parents should take the child to the temple of the Bhagavat and show it the image of the deity.

The Nāma-karaṇa (ceremony of naming a child after birth) should be performed, according to custom (Ācāra) on the 12th or 101st day or on the first anniversary of birth, though the Gṛhya rules require otherwise. In it the fire used is named Pārthiva and the child's name is to end in the word '*dāsa*' (servant).

The Pauṣṭika-karman (ceremony for growth or welfare) is to be performed on the Janma-tithi or Pūrṇimā-tithi of every month during the first year of the birth of the child, and it requires a fire named Balada for the performance of Homas.

In the Anna-prāśana (ceremony of putting rice for the first time into the child's mouth), which should be perfomed on the sixth or eighth month in the case of a son and on the fifth or seventh month in the case of a daughter, the Homas should be performed in a fire named Śuci, and the child should be fed five times with the food dedicated to the deity (Mahā-prasādānna).

The Putra-mūrdhābhighrāṇa (ceremony of bringing the

nose close to the son's head in caressing or as a token of affection) should be performed at a time when the child is capable of knowing the father as its father, or when the father returns after long absence from home. It may also be performed after Upanayana.

The Cūḍā-karaṇa (ceremony of tonsure) is to be performed in the first, third or fifth year according to the custom of the family. The fire required in it is named Satya. It includes the ceremonies of fetching a barber, looking at a glass, tonsuring with a razor, placing the hair on cow-dung and throwing the whole in a forest or fastening it to the branch of a bamboo, and lastly, the ceremony of piercing the ear to receive ear-rings (Karṇa-vedhana).

The ceremony of Upanayana (initiation of the boy into study, as one of the twice-born classes, by investiture with the sacred thread), which is to be performed on the 8th year from the day of impregnation or birth of the child, has been described by the author at length ; but it has very few noteworthy peculiarities. In it, the fire required is named Samudbhava, and the father or any other person appointed by him or by the boy may serve as the preceptor (Ācārya).

Besides Viṣṇu-worship and the performance of Sāttvika-vṛddhi-śrāddha and Homa in a fire named Tejas, the Samāvartana (ceremony performed on the completion of study, when the student returns home from his teacher's house) includes the following operations: (*i*) pouring by the student of water on the ground from the palm of his hands ; (*ii*) sprinkling himself with water taken in his palms ; (*iii*) looking at the image of Nārāyaṇa ; (*iv*) throwing of the staff into the fire ; (*v*) throwing away of the girdle ; (*vi*) putting on new clothes and ornaments after shaving and bathing ; (*vii*) wearing shoes and holding a long staff ; and (*viii*) starting home on a cart after satisfying the teacher with fees.

It is noteworthy that some of the sacraments are called Sāmavedīya, and in almost all of them the Tāntric, as well as Vedic, Mantras have been used profusely.

3. ETHICS OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

No account of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava faith would be complete without some idea of its ethical outlook on life. But there are difficulties in the way of a critical examination of the subject. There is nowhere in the authoritative works of the Bengal school a systematic exposition of its ethical position, although moral rules are inculcated and aberrations condemned. As we find it in the general history of Indian thought, ethics is not a subject of independent speculation ; and ethical principles, which underlie theory and practice, are expressed, in the main, only incidentally in connexion with religious and theological exposition. Morality is regarded as necessarily religious and religion as necessarily moral, so that the bearings of religious doctrine on moral life never receive independent or adequate treatment. Since ethics, in this theistic system, is regarded as a divinely inspired institution, the question of right or wrong does not seriously arise ; for it is solved in the terms of the postulate. The ethical and the devotional are inseparable ; right is right because it is divine, there is no further need for a search of its basis or sanction. This peculiar merging of religion and ethics is a feature which Bengal Vaiṣṇavism shares with the general trend of Indian religious thought ; but it renders difficult the disentangling of the strands of ethical and religious speculation.

The difficulty is increased by the fact that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism inherits and blends into its texture much of the recognised ethical and social ideas of larger Indian thought. Although evolved within the fold of orthodoxy, the Bengal faith is not strictly orthodox ; but it is not heterodox in the sense that it rejects the Veda or ignores the institution of caste or Karman. If it does not accept Vedic rites and deities, it is because they have long since been replaced by those of Purāṇic worship and mythology. But it still accepts the social prestige and divinely appointed duties of caste, although its rigidness is tempered, at least in devotional matters, by a growing sense of equality and fellowship and

by a belief in the levelling grace of divine mercy. The doctrine of Karman and rebirth also mitigates the sense of injustice in human relations ; for it is no longer regarded as a blind and mechanical dogma, but as an intrinsically ethical idea of a cosmic, but divinely directed, power of righteousness, devotion alone being regarded, theistically, as supremely capable of nullifying the inexorable fruits of action.

Although emotional and ecstatic devotion and worship are exalted over everything else in human endeavour, the necessity of morality in religious life is not denied, both for its preparation and continuance. There is, therefore, a great deal of positive moral precepts. The uuiversally accepted principles of right living and the lauded virtues are admitted without question, and long-recognised errors of conduct are deprecated. We have a fairly long list of such cardinal virtues as alms-giving, hospitality, reverence for parents and elders, gratitude, faithfulness, service, humility, kindness, non-injury, liberality, beneficence shown in public works for general good, cultivation of gentle and amiable qualities, practice of self-restraint and frugality, truthfulness, tranquillity, contentment, uprightness, resolution, purity of body and mind, and so forth. On the other hand, one should avoid the six forms of passion (anger, lust, delusion, greed, arrogance and jealousy), theft, gambling, drunkenness, murder, violence, adultery, as well as negations of the virtues mentioned above. In a well known passage Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja briefly indicates (Madhya xxii) the qualities of a true Vaiṣṇava thus[1]: "These excellences are the signs of a Vaiṣṇava ; they are indicated only, as they cannot be exhausted : compassionate, free from

[1] एइ सब गुण हय वैष्णवलक्षण । सब कहा ना याय करि दिग्‌दरशन ॥
कृपालु अकृतद्रोह सत्यसार सम । निर्दोष वदान्य मृदु शुचि अकिञ्चन ॥
सर्वोपकारक शान्त कृष्णैकशरण । अकाम निरीह स्थिर विजितषड्‌गुण ॥
मितभुक् अप्रमत्त मानद अमानी । गम्भीर करुण मैत्र कवि दक्ष मौनी ॥

For the characteristics of a Vaiṣṇava, see also Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, x, summarised above p. 480-81.

spite, being of the essence of truth, equable, faultless, generous, gentle, pure, possessing nothing, doing good to all, tranquil, wholly surrendered to Kṛṣṇa, desireless, harmless, steadfast, victorious over the six passions, eating sparingly, never unbalanced, honouring others, not desiring honour for himself, grave, tender, friendly, poetic, skilful and silent." The inspiration of the ideal is clearly the life of Caitanya as idealised by his followers. There is also a well known Sanskrit verse[1], attributed to Caitanya himself, which briefly summarises the outstanding moral excellences of a Vaiṣṇava by stating that a true devotee should be more humble than a blade of grass, forbearing like a tree, not caring for honour himself but rendering honour where honour is due. All this, no doubt, implies an exalted moral ideal and must have helped to promote some of the traditional, but great, virtues of the human mind. It is recognised that moral training is an essential requisite for purifying oneself in order to attain the supreme being, who is presupposed to possess all moral excellences and to be absolutely pure and free from moral defects. It is believed that, however imperfect, man is essentially divine, and can, by divine grace, as well as by his own exertions, mental and moral, enter into communion with the divine being. The faith is, therefore, not inconsistent with an elaborate ritualism of worship, in so far as ritualism tends to the discipline and purification of the mind and body, and becomes a step to the attainment of a higher devotional attitude which discards outward form and ceremony.

All this is in accord with the general trend of traditional piety and morality, but the theistic system brings in peculiar modifications. Morality, in this system, is recognised only as a means, and not as an end in itself. It is, therefore, not imperative nor indispensable, at least in a stage in which one attains the spirit of true devotion, necessarily involving a

1 *tṛṇād api sunīcena taror iva sahiṣṇunā/*
amāninā mānadena kīrtanīyaḥ sadā hariḥ//

moral attitude ; what is indispensable is divine grace, which no amount of morality or immorality can supersede. It is maintained that the fully emancipated cannot but be moral ; even at a lower stage, one may dispense with morality if one is blessed with divine grace, which instantaneouly brings salvation. If sin is a stain and morality is a process of cleansing, the attainment of divine grace (Prasāda) by self-surrender (Prapatti) is a much quicker process and does not necessarily presuppose moral training or purification. It should be noted in this connexion that sin being regarded as the effect of divine Māyā, human responsibility is reduced to the minimum ; it is merely a fetter or an obscuration which the motiveless divine grace alone can remove in order to manifest itself in its blissful omnipotence; human sinfulness, therefore, is hardly an ethical problem. It follows that religious deeds *per se* are more important and more potent than moral acts. This point will become clear if we consider, for instance, one of the fundamental dogmas of the Bengal school, namely, the power of the blessed name[1]. A profession of faith by a mere mention of the divine name is enough to efface all sins, somewhat in the manner of Christian death-bed absolution, even though the person affected is indifferent to morality. It is true that mere mechanical performance of ritual and observance of outward forms of morality, though acknowledged as necessary at a certain stage and up to a limit, are never taken to possess the highest efficacy, exclusive stress being laid on inward realisation of the deity in the individual consciousness ; but it is also clear that the idea of divine grace ousts, if it does not negate, the moral idea or the categorically imperative necessity of morality. In a religious system, which believes in an all-exclusive and essentially emotional devotion to the absolute power of a personal god, it cannot be otherwise. Moral earnestness, like intellectual conviction, can never have its proper place in a religious attitude of emotional

1 See above p. 289.

excess. The moral results of the devotional attitude are taken for granted, but morality is not the primary interest. It is believed that by his ecstatic devotion a man can rise above all activity and all moral obligation. All ethics becomes lost in religious rapture, and no act, except devotional act, counts.

It may by conceded that the Bengal Vaiṣṇava faith firmly believes that happiness, in the sense of earthly enjoyment, can never be the end of life, but that self-realisation, in the form of devotional joy, is alone the *summum bonum*. Not mere Vaidhī Bhakti, which derives its authority from Śāstric injunction and can therefore be transcended, but Prema-bhakti, which arises spontaneously through man's surrender and God's grace, is the exclusive object of all human activity. It may be urged that all this necessarily implies an ethical attitude, for service to divinity is as much a moral as a religious necessity. But it should not be forgotten that self-realisation, as well as happiness, is understood by Caitanyaism in a peculiar sense. It is not meant to constitute the foundation of a higher or larger ethical life, but to imply an exaltation of purely individual religious emotion as the entire goal of human existence. The highest mode of spiritual emotion undoubtedly implies purity and intensity of faith, but the Prema-bhakti resolves itself into a form of religious sentimentality, a continuous frenzy of divine madness (Divyonmāda), an all-engrossing mystic state of yearning, trance, rapture and vision, which may remain morally pure but ethically insufficient. This emotional, even sensuous, realisation may be harmless and beautiful in its mystic form, but it is entirely individual and self-centred ; and being extremely personal in ardour and concrete in expression, it tends naturally towards a devout orgy of ecstatic excess. It is not an escape from the bondage of the senses because it lands one in another kind of refined sensuousness.

For, in this attitude of devotional rapture, intellectual satisfaction is not considered essential. It is said to be an escape also from the bondage of Karman, and it takes no

interest in socialised human life. It is described as a kind of mystic intuition, not of the nature of Upaniṣadic Jñāna or Yoga, but derived essentially from detached emotional exaltation. Its feelings and ecstasies are all inward ; they live in and for themselves. But being unrelated and isolated, they lose virility, and become liable to delirious abandon and consuming excess of passionate sentimentality. Emotion in itself is not to be deprecated ; it should take its proper place in every religious system; but, to save it from morbidity, it must be related to will and intellect, to life and reality. There is enough of intellectual subtlety in Caitanyaism, but not much intellectual virility ; the fundamental motive to will and fuller living seldom vitalise its capricious and subjective joys of mystic vision. We are not concerned here with the question whether emotional elation is right or wrong in itself, or whether it can become a mystic channel of communion with the divine ; but it should be admitted that no full and rounded type of religion can be broad-based on emotionalism alone, inasmuch as it fails to satisfy the entire personality of man.

It is believed that the ultimate source of this devotional attitude of Bhakti is divine grace (Prasāda) ; but since the human self is said to have affinities with the divine, a limited freedom of will and action is not denied. But the idea of complete surrender (Prapatti) to divine will and grace, to which man is, by his very nature, taken to be predisposed, makes this freedom only nominal or illusory by divesting it of its power of fully asserting itself. Individuality is indeed acknowledged, but individuality is regarded as a limitation which should be transcended, not by intellect, or by will, in which lies the root of all evil, but by emotional susceptibility, which is inborn, but which can operate only through divine grace, incomprehensible (Acintya) in its divine sportiveness (Līlā). The divine grace, again, is not connected with any ethical purpose, or ethical conception of sin, suffering and forgiveness ; it is merely an act of divine omnipotence. It is,

therefore, clear that the idea of divine sportiveness (Līlā) and divine grace (Prasāda), as understood by the Bengal school, leaves little room for moral activity, if the term moral is taken in its wider application and not identified with the religious. There is, no doubt, the belief in the ultimate rationality of a well ordered universe, but what is conceivably well-ordered need not be morally constituted. From the ethical point of view, such an attitude of devotion is not immoral but unmoral, being essentially negative, except in its relation to the deity. It is not outright passivism, but it fails to furnish the motive for any strenuous social or individual morality. There are indeed frequent admonitions to exert oneself, to overcome evil, to engage in good works; but it is difficult to reconcile ecstasy with activity, the emotional aspiration 'to be' with the volitional effort 'to do', the doctrine of non-resistance and surrender with the exercise of personality, which is not personal, and incentive to worldly activity, which is not worldly. The injunctions to service are indeed not futile, nor in actual practice does the spontaneous spring of human sympathy ever run dry; but the trend of a doctrine of devotional exaltation of emotion, which believes that all activity except religious activity is misery, is towards an unmoral, if not positively immoral, isolation.

But the doctrine is not unmoral in the sense that it predicates an unmoral or attributeless deity. The Bengal theistic faith conceives of its personal god as possessed of divinely human qualities, and fashions its man-like god in the light of human relationships. The Bhakti, in this system, is not an austere concentration of the mind on absolute reality, but the loving contemplation of a benign and blissful personal god, who is felt to be remote, but whom the worshipper desires to bring nearer to his feeling than to his understanding. It is also an experience capable of ascending scale of emotions. From this point of view, the mystic feeling resolves itself into a series of exceedingly familiar and authentic sentiments of a human being as a parent, friend, servant or lover. But the

danger of such an attitude is also clear. If the object is the attainment of some kind of intimate relationship, whatever the nature of the relationship may be, it is a matter of great importance how the god is conceived. The problem is not merely religious but also ethical. In other words, the god should be fully ethicised, and not merely placed in a sportive surrounding of merely emotional or sensuous appeal.

It cannot be said that Kṛṣṇa, as conceived by the emotional Bengal faith, is fully ethicised in this sense. The precarious Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, on which its whole system of devotion is based, is taken not as a symbol but as a reality, not as religious myth but as religious history. A strenuous attempt is, therefore, made to explain and fit in all its details and implications ; and theological justification for it is found in the dogma that the Vṛndāvana sports are those of the supreme deity, viewed as the Śaktimat, with his own energies, viewed as the Śakti. But the detailed working out of the Vṛndāvana-līlā, both in the theological and poetical works[1] of the sect, clearly shows that it is never taken in the sense of an allegory (which modern thought would delight to find in it) but in a vivid and literal sense. These blissful, but purposeless, sports are supposed to go on eternally ; but the deity, who cannot be anything but blissful, is made entirely engrossed in them. It is a delightful devotional fancy, but it is wholly unethical. The slaying of demons in the divine Līlā indeed implies the upholding of a moral order, but it is only a diversion, which, we are told[2], is accomplished not by the deity's self but by the countless Avatāras who appear simultaneously with him. His essential erotic Mādhurya is not to be obscured by such acts of heroic Aiśvarya. The Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana alone counts ; the Kṛṣṇa of Kurukṣetra is deliberately effaced. The heroic acts, in the theory of the school, are justifiable only because they evoke softer sentiments ; for instance, they excite parental affection in Nanda and Yaśodā, friendly solicitude

1 See below, ch. vii.

2 See above p. 320.

in Kṛṣṇa's companions, and, above all, erotic feelings in Rādhā and her Sakhīs[1].

Although the devotional sentiments admit of gradation in the form of the feelings of servitude, friendship or parental affection, there can be no doubt that the erotic alone is canonised by the Bengal sect. The mystic experience of the divine sports is almost entirely governed by the erotic feeling and wholly steeped in it, the other sentiments only touching its fringe. The highest object of religious adoration and worship is conceived and moulded, after the Purāṇic legend, in a frankly erotic cast, and there is nowhere any suggestion of allegory in the circumstantial working out of its minute sensuous details. The glorification of the sex-impulse is supreme. In the gorgeous expansion of the legend, for instance, in the Kāvya, Nāṭaka and Campū of the sect, composed by its venerable teachers, there is nothing but a series of erotic situations, described with the evident relish of sensuous enjoyment, and never symbolised into spiritual truths. It is plainly and emphatically the language of the senses, even if one may make a desperate attempt to read a supersensuous meaning into it. The spiritual foundation is too flimsy for its overwhelming excess of palpable eroticism. The cult of the infant and adolescent Kṛṣṇa need not be sweepingly characterised as vulgar[2] or immoral[3], nor need the emotionalism of the Vaiṣṇava devotee be superficially deprecated as sensual delirium[4] or serenity induced by exhausted passion[5]; but such strong language of critics

1 This is the interpretation of Viśvanātha Cakravartin in his *Rāga-vartma-candrikā* (Prakaraṇa ii), but it is also implied by the treatment of the legend in Rūpa's dramas and Jīva's Campū.

2 E. Washburn Hopkins, *Ethics of India*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1924, p. 200.

3 John McKenzie, *Hindu Ethics*, Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 177, 178.

4 Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 228.

5 Melville T. Kennedy, *Chaitanya Movement*, Oxford University Press, 1925, p. 256. The phrase is actually used by Hopkins, but Kennedy speaks of "sensuality and lust."

undoubtedly implies, not without reason, that the conception and the attitude, in spite of scriptural or metaphysical justification, possess dangerous possibilities or demoralising tendencies. It may be suggested that it does not matter about the deficiency or questionable character of the means so long as it leads ultimately to the end ; but, granted the spiritual end, can it justify the sensuous means?

It is not always true that religious rapture, however erotically inclined, leads to moral default ; it is also admitted that in a mystic attitude of emotional exaltation, even of the erotic type, the senses and the spirit can meet ; but there can be little doubt that eroticism as a devotional principle is perilously liable to religious and moral excess. The erotic apotheosis of the legendary Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in a background of highly sensuous charm is given a mystic, and even an austere, significance ; and however much the mentality of such erotic emotionalists be criticised, the devout saints of Vaiṣṇavism have been, in actual life, morally irreproachable. Caitanya himself was susceptible to such emotional rapture, but personally he held to an ascetic type of morality and expressed strict views regarding sexual relationship. All this is freely admitted ; but it should also be admitted that the danger comes not so much from erotic portrayal of the divine sport, which may be (but is not) symbolically understood, as from the excess of exclusive emotional strain involved in the imaginative experience of the erotic sentiment, and from actual practice of erotic situations as a religious rite. The Bengal school of Caitanya, no doubt condemns direct erotic practice, but it encourages vicarious erotic contemplation. It emphasises the inward realisation of the divine sports in all their erotic implications as the ultimate felicitous state, and thereby promotes the abnormal satisfaction of a highly refined erotico-religious sensibility. The dogma is implicitly accepted that Kṛṣṇa is the only male in the universe, and that the highest ideal of the devotee, like that of Rādhā, is the desire of a woman eternally seeking to satisfy her lover who, frankly,

but divinely, thirsts after womanly charms of adolescence and youth. If this were only a symbol or allegory of the soul's longing for the divine lover, it would be a legitimate use of erotic imagery and erotic impulse in the service of religious symbolism. But the works of the sect make it quite clear that the erotic contemplation is not merely symbolical or figurative but, as we have said, vivid and literal. The dogma is carried further when the devout attitude becomes identical with that of Rādhā's companions[1], the highest mystic experience being in this case the detailed imaginative participation, in a vicarious mood, in the erotic sports of the deity. All this has been severely condemned by some critics as an emasculated ritual of emotional debauchery ; but without going so far, it should be admitted that the intimate subtilising of erotic details, however mystically transfigured, iş bound to be characterised as a psychological and ethical aberration rather than as a healthy ennobling religious mood.

It may be properly urged that even if the actual or implied ethical teaching of Caitanyaism is scanty and unsatisfactory, the spirit of Caitanya's life, which inspired saintly and selfless men to great devotion, stands above the body of its tenets. There is indeed a great deal of religious appeal in Caitanya's devotional personality, in his passionate and sincere adoration ; but it must be said that the excess of mystic emotionalism and the ardent pursuit of a sublime erotic fancy, which left him almost a nervous wreck in his later years, do not bear witness to great service. Nor could they have been a great ethical force, inasmuch as his practice of the devotional faith, as it is recorded, was essentially an individual, and not a social, experience. Caitanya, in these years, lived

1 Apart from actual practice, this is made clear by the important role played by Rādhā's Sakhīs in the detailed amplification of the legend in the poetical works of Rūpa, Raghunātha, Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa, as well as by elaboration of the dogma in the hagiology of the sect to the effect that the great Vaiṣṇava devotees are incarnations of various Sakhīs of the Vṛndāvana-līlā.

entirely in and for the ecstasies, trances and visions of Bhakti; they, as well as his daily worship and adoration, consumed all his energies. There is no evidence of restraint, no fear of excess, no self-criticism, no rational test, nor ethical consideration in these mystic indulgences, occurring continuously day after day and marked more and more by nervous unsteadiness and suggestibility. All this may be the consummation of the spiritual aspiration of the faith, but from the ethical point of view, Caitanya's life of 'divine madness' at Puri is singularly empty. No larger problem of the welfare of man and the world impinges upon his ecstatic consciousness ; his devotion is unworldly also in the sense that it moves in a world unconnected with all that we mean by the term ethical. Modern knowledge tells us that there is nothing mysterious or miraculous in such trances, visions and ecstasies ; they are phases of nervous sensibility, rather than of spirituality, even if induced by spiritual causes ; they are found, more or less, in all excessively emotional religious practice of all ages and climes. But even assuming their spirituality, one must face the fact that they do not satisfy the ethical demand. The experience of divinity, which is only possible in mystic trances and raptures, is of little value to mankind, however much it may spiritually stimulate the mystic himself ; and the question may be legitimately asked whether a religious attitude should entirely consist of such erotico-mystic susceptibilities.

Except to an extremely pious imagination, the records of the sect undoubtedly give the impression that neither the movement nor its leaders possessed any social vision or idealism, any other absorbing concern than emotional worship and adoration. Caitanya himself never pretended to be a moral teacher or social reformer, but he considered himself to be only a seeker after Kṛṣṇa.[1] If

1 Even a very enthusiastic modern follower of Caitanya admits this: "Lord Gauranga never posed as a teacher, but only as one among his fellows, seeking Krishna. ...His followers never preached moral doc-

Caitanyaism removed the barriers of caste in matters of worship by the free and unritualistic reciting of the divine name, and effectively utilised group-emotion by its lusty and contagious method of Saṃkīrtana, it is by no means correct to state that Caitanyaism taught or practised universal, or even democratic, brotherhood. It is true that it tried to create a new grouping of men united by a common religious impulse; it certainly gave, at least in its earlier stages, a larger place to women and outcasts by recognising their inherent religious capacity ; but it never aimed at nor attempted any dissolution or change of the established social order.[1] It did not break through conventional priestcraft, nor did it depart from orthodox social duties. In its earlier stages, it brought religious freedom and fellowship in a certain measure, but hardly social freedom and fellowship. Its social conservatism is distinctly shown in its retention of caste restriction in ritualistic worship,[2] as well as in social usages and relations ; and even in religious matters it did not show much toleration towards non-Vaiṣṇavas or Vaiṣṇavas of other sects. Hedged in by such limitations, its doctrine of good will and humility becomes merely negative, and the vision of fellowship extremely provincial. The social insufficiency of Caitanyaism may be one of its religious assets in its 'unworldliness', but it is, precisely for that reason, one of its ethical weaknesses. The fundamental conception of a world-order, viewed as the manifestation of divine sport which is essentially erotic in character, can hardly form the foundation of any healthy and free ethical endeavour. While the erotic symbolism, presented as a fact, becomes an uncomfortable creed by its direct conflict with the sober ideas of established society, there is also a self-centredness about the conception and a lack of

trines to their fellows, knowing full well that moral life must follow a religious life" (Shishir Kumar Ghosh, *Lord Gauranga*, vol. ii, App. xx, note).

1 For a reference to Caitanya's social ideas, see above pp 108 fn.

2 See above pp. 412.

moral purpose which, as we have pointed out, leave little scope for the moral struggles and aspirations of mankind. The whole literature of Caitanyaism, its elaborately composed theology, poetry and drama, is callously unmoral ignoring this aspect of humanity, with the result that the larger humanity in its turn has practically ignored it. In the literary productions there is, no doubt, a curious blend of the personal and the mystic, but we have pictures only of ordinary human emotions of the softer and more luscious kind ; of sterner virtues there is not a trace, nor is there any tremendous spectacle of the spiritual struggles of the human soul and its deeper agonies. The great precepts of deliverance, redemption or salvation become meaningless from the ethical standpoint, being emptied of their ethical content and undirected towards an ethically conceived world, man or god.

CHAPTER VII

THE LITERARY WORKS OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

1. *Their Extent and Importance*

One of the remarkable features of the Caitanya movement is its extraordinary literary activity, the power and vitality of its inspiration being evidenced by the vast literature which it produced both in the learned classical tongue and in the living language of the province. As, on the one hand, it enriched the field of Sanskrit scholarship by its more solid and laborious productions in theology, philosophy, ritualism and Rasa-śāstra, so, on the other, it poured itself out lavishly in song and story almost creating, as it did, a new literary epoch by its fruitful contributions of great diversity and charm.

The movement, thus, permanently enshrined itself in the abundant and versatile literature it produced. In its earlier stages, with which we are directly concerned here, this literature expressed itself chiefly in Sanskrit, and took various forms. The only Bengali Caitanyaite productions of this period comprise a number of Bengali songs and lyrics (Padas) and the biographical and narrative works, of which we have already given a brief account[1]. There can be no doubt that they constitute one of the most important and influential aspects of its literary energy ; for both lyric and biography are distinctly new literary *genres*, which Caitanyaism created for the first time in Middle Bengali, and through which its passionate appeal spread widely and rapidly. But even allowing that the best mediaeval Bengali biographical records belong to this period, the really creative epoch of the resplendent Bengali song and lyric, inspired by Caitanyaism, comes

1 See above ch. ii.

a little later[1]. At the same time, the purely literary efforts of Caitanyaism in Sanskrit are by no means negligible. While its attempts in biography and narrative are represented in Sanskrit by the works of Murāri-gupta and Paramānanda Kavikarṇapūra, the richer emotional and poetical sensibilities of this movement, which exalted emotion over reason and fancy over fact, are expressed in a series of mystically, but gorgeously, impassioned stories, poems, dramas, Campūs, lyrics, hymns, songs, and panegyrics composed by Kavikarṇapūra, Rāmānanda-rāya, Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa, Jīva, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and others, as well as by a host of minor poets, whose devotional verses are collected together in Rūpa's anthological survey of the *Padyāvalī*. It would seem, therefore, that the religious revival must have supplied an emotional inflatus which produced wonderful results in Bengali poetry for more than a century, but it also led to a fervent expression of devout feelings even through the more difficult, but perhaps more rich, medium of Sanskrit.

2. *Biographical Works*

We have already given[2] a brief description of the early Sanskrit biographical works of Murāri-gupta and Paramānanda Kavikarṇapūra, which became the precursors of the voluminous and exuberant Bengali biographical narratives, and indicated their value as historical documents. Apart from the fact that they are all written from the excessively zealous devotional point of view, the credulity of which is amazing, it is well known that factual or even ideal accuracy was never a *sine qua non* of this type of composition in Sanskrit[3]. There never prevailed any tradition of meticulous chronicling or critical appreciation and interpretation of historical facts as such. These writings undoubtedly contain

1 We have therefore, omitted consideration of them in this chapter.

2 See above pp. 35-45.

3 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, ch. vi, under Poems with Historical Themes, p. 345 ff.

historical material, but the extent and value of such material are immensely variable. Meant more for literary edification than for sober knowledge, they could never divest themselves of their legendary and poetic associations ; and this is seen in their complacent confusing of fact and fiction, in their general indifference to the realities of characterisation, in their intermingling of divine and human action, in their unhesitating belief in magic and miracle and in their deep faith in incalculable human destiny. Apart from an attractive philosophy or artistic setting, ordinary history or biography is, indeed, a rather prosaic idea. As a matter of research, it aims at knowledge of facts ; as an idea, it professes to bring out larger principles governing human affairs ; as a method, its leaning is towards objective accuracy. It is, thus, entirely out of harmony with the super-individual spirit of Sanskrit literature, and could not be disciplined by its formal conception of art. The writers, therefore, never felt uneasy ; because the tradition never ordained any deep or objective interest in mere fact or incident, but it even authorised unrestrained fancy or overdressed fiction. Both theory and practice established that works, which dealt with facts of experience or had a biographical and historical content, did not require any specialised form or method, but should be considered only as types of the Kāvya and be embellished with all its characteristic graces, refinements and elaborate elegancies. The fact of having an historical or biographical theme seldom makes a difference ; they are Kāvyas, poems or dramas in all essentials, and should be regarded as such. The authors, therefore, claim merit, not for historiography, but for poetry. As poets, they need not keep within the limits of ascertained or ascertainable verities, nor need they worry if the slender thread of actual history is buried under a mass of luxuriant poetry or poetical exaggeration. The incidents and characters are all lifted from the sphere of matter-of-fact knowledge to the region of fancy and fable ; and we have here, in the normal tradition of the Kāvya, the same general scheme and

method, the same descriptive digressions and the same ornate manner and diction. Even if an historical personage is taken as the central figure, the laudatory accounts poetically magnify and surround him with all the glory and glamour of a legendary hero.

This attitude becomes naturally more prominent when the point of view is devotional and the hero is a saint or is regarded as the very incarnation of the divine being. All the resources of the poetic art and imagination strive to glorify the picture ; the historical narrative becomes only the occasion, the elaborate fancy woven around it becomes alone essential. The limitations are natural and obvious, but they do not permit the poets much freedom to exercise their gift for historical narrative, which most of them undoubtedly possess, nor attain impartiality and precision with regard to incident or characterisation. The authors content themselves with the application of the traditional form and method of the Kāvya to an historical subject, in order to evolve an embellished poetical picture, rather than compile a faithful record of facts and incidents. The works produced under these conditions consequently become kinds of heightened fairy tale with just enough background of reality, and probably as such constitute gratifying homage or compliment.

The Sanskrit biographies of Caitanya share most of these general characteristics of Sanskrit biographical or historical literature ; but since they record contemporary impressions felt, witnessed or believed with intense faith, they represent, to a greater extent, a proper step towards biographical writing. The picture is, no doubt, much exaggerated and obscured by credulous legends, and luxuriously poetical descriptions are freely inserted ; but the general outline is clear and vivid. The life which they deal with is rich in inward religious passion rather than in external acts and incidents, but it affords opportunities of really impassioned and poetical treatment. With great zest, therefore, they concentrate upon the inward life of Caitanya and elaborately describe its

passionate expression in devotional ecstasies, trances, visions and frenzies.

The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*[1] of Murāri-gupta, the earliest known systematic biographical work, is offered as an extensive Kāvya of four Prakramas, seventy-eight cantos and, according to its own computation (iv. 26. 21), nineteen hundred and twenty-seven stanzas ; but its length is hardly commensurate with its literary merit or with the slenderness of its theme. The first Prakrama of sixteen cantos ends with Viśvaṃbhara's journey to Gayā, and describes the occasion of the work, the necessity of Caitanya's descent along with his disciples ; his birth, his parents (his father is described as belonging to the Vātsya-gotra) ; his elder brother Viśvarūpa who crossed the river and left home for Saṃnyāsa at the age of sixteen ; his childhood, boyhood and youth ; his studies ; death of his father ; his marriage to Lakṣmī (i. 9, 10) ; his journey to East Bengal ; death of Lakṣmī ; Śacī's lament in one whole canto (i. 12), couched in the Viyoginī metre in the approved Kāvya manner ; his second marriage to Viṣṇupriyā (i. 13, 14) ; his journey to Gayā and meeting with Īśvara Purī (i. 15, 16). The second Prakrama of eighteen cantos continues the story up to Caitanya's Saṃnyāsa. The incidents narrated are not many, for the greater part of this section is taken up with the description of Caitanya's Bhāva or devotional passion and ecstatic acts consequent upon it after his return from Gayā. It describes his Varāha-Āveśa (ii. 2) and Balabhadra-Āveśa (ii. 14), his Mahāprakāśa and Mahābhiṣeka (Great Manifestation and Consecration) as the supreme deity at the house of Śrīvāsa (ii. 12), his passionate realisation of the sports of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and his continuous rapture of dancing, singing and Kīrtana. He listens to Murāri's *Rāmāṣṭaka*, a panegyric of Rāma in eight stanzas (ii. 7. 10-18), but admonishes Murāri's leaning towards Advaita Vedānta,

1 See above, p. 35f. The bibliographical references to editions of the works, surveyed in this chapter, will be found in their proper places in ch. ii and iii above.

learnt from Advaita Ācārya, and makes him a devotee of Kṛṣṇa by deprecating the worship of all other deities. In Caitanya's first meeting with Nityānanda (ii. 8). who was at that time residing at the house of Nandana Ācārya at Navadvīpa, the theophanic forms of Caitanya as the six-armed, four-armed and two-armed Kṛṣṇa are successively revealed. A curious explanation is given of Caitanya's motive for Saṃnyāsa by the story of a curse pronounced by a Brahman (ii. 13. 18-22), who was refused admisssion into Caitanya's presence by the stupid door-keepers ; but we are also told later on that Caitanya was inspired by a dream to take to Saṃnyāsa (ii. 18. 1-2). Keśava Bhāratī, who visits Navadvīpa, eulogises Caitanya as Śuka, Prahlāda and even as the Bhagavat himself (ii. 18. 12), the Saṃnyāsa occurring immediately afterwards at Kaṇṭaka-grāma (Katwa).

The third Prakrama, also of eighteen cantos, covers all incidents up to the end of Caitanya's return to Bengal on his way to Vṛndāvana. The first two cantos continue the story of Saṃnyāsa and the next two cantos his return to Advaita's house at Santipur, where after taking farewell from his mother and assembled admirers from Navadvīpa he declares his intention to proceed directly to Puri (iii. 4. 25). His mystic emotions after his return from Gayā are described (ii. 1. 19-28) vividly by Murāri at some length:

kvacic chrutvā harer nāma gītam vā vihvalaḥ kṣitau|,
patati śruti-mātreṇa daṇḍavat kampate kvacit||
kvacid gāyati govinda kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇeti sādaram|,
sanna-kaṇṭhaḥ kvacit kampa-romāñcita-tanur bhṛśam|,

Similar description of his emotions is repeated after his Saṃnyāsa (iii 3. 16):

hasati skhalati kvāpi kampate gāyati kvacit|,
roditi vrajati kvāpi patati svapiti kṣitau||,

Such emotional state becomes from this period a constant feature of his daily life of devotion at Puri, as well as during his pilgrimages ; and several cantos are devoted in this and

the succeeding section to similar descriptions in a more detailed form. Caitanya's journey, through Yajpur and Bhuvaneśvar and arrival at Puri are then described in six cantos (iii. 5-10). At Puri he goes straight to Sārvabhauma's house; and accompanied by Sārvabhauma's younger brother, he visits the temple of Jagannātha where, his emotions overcoming him, he falls senseless and is carried back and revived. At Sārvabhauma's place the old scholar wants to teach Vedānta to the young ascetic, but Caitanya is described (iii. 12. 12-13) as expounding the true meaning of the Vedānta. No elaborate Śāstric disputation is mentioned, but Caitanya's exposition struck the great Vedāntist with so much wonder that he at once recognises Caitanya as the Bhagavat, falls at his feet, and recites two stanzas (iii. 12. 17-18), which are traditionally ascribed to Sārvabhauma[1] and which are incorporated by Murāri into his own text. The next four cantos (iii. 13-16) describe Caitanya's journey to the South up to Setubandha, his meeting with Rāmānanda Rāya, Trimalla Bhaṭṭa and his young boy Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and others, and return to Puri. The remaining two cantos deal with Caitanya's return to Bengal on his intended but frustrated journey to Vṛndāvana (in which connexion we are told that his object was *lupta-tīrthasya prākaṭyam*), his meeting with Sanātana and Rūpa at Ramakeli and return to Puri. The chief features of the last Prakrama of twenty-six cantos consist of elaborate description in eleven cantos (iv. 2-12) of the various places at Vṛndāvana and Mathurā, which Caitanya visits and which recall scenes of Kṛṣṇa's sports and awaken extraordinary emotions in Caitanya, as well as of his last years of devotional acts and emotions spent at Puri. In the course of his northern pilgrimage are described his meeting with Tapana Miśra and his son Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa at Benares (iv. 1. 15-17), with Rūpa at Prayāga and Sanātana at

1 Said to be included in Sārvabhauma's *Caitanyāṣṭaka*. See S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, i. pp. 23-24 and above p. 424, footnote.

Benares (iv. 13. 6-20),[1] with his mother (iv. 14, 4) on his way back to Bengal, with his wife Viṣṇupriyā (iv. 14. 8) who makes an image of Caitanya for worshipping,[2] and, lastly, the homage of Gajapati Pratāparudra on Caitanya's return to Puri. The last two cantos give, after the manner of Purāṇic works, a list or Anukramaṇikā of the topics dealt with and the total number of Prakramas, Sargas and Ślokas.

Although offered as Kāvya, there are many features which indicate that in its narration Murāri's work follows the method and manner of the Purāṇas. We are told at the outset that the work was undertaken at the direction of Śrīvāsa (i. 1. 9), but the general framework (which is not consistently kept up, but resumed at various points in the course of the narrative) consists of the device of a narrator (Murāri) and a listener (Dāmodara Paṇḍita) common enough in the Purāṇas. The Śloka metre predominates being used, for running narrative, exclusively in as many as thirty-seven cantos (i. 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14 ; ii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11-13, 17, 18 ; iii. 3, 7, 9, 13, 14, 18 ; iv. 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17-19, 22-26) and partially in twenty-six cantos (i. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8 ; ii. 3, 4, 7 ; iii. 4-6, 11, 15, 17 ; iv. 1, 2, 5-7, 10, 12, 14-16, 20, 21). The other metres used in the remaining fifteen cantos, for the purpose of narration or description, are generally metres of eleven or twelve syllables of the Triṣṭubh-Jagatī family, such as Sundarī or Viyoginī, Vaṃśathavila, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā or Upajāti, and Rathoddhatā. It is only sporadically that the fourteen-syllabled Vasantatilaka is employed, while longer metres like Sragdharā are found five times (i. 1. 9, 19, 20 ; ii. 7. 4 ; iv. 21. 5), Drutavilambita occurs only twice (ii. 7. 1-6 ; ii. 18. 33), and Śikhariṇī (i. 1. 25), Pṛthvī (iv. 10. 21-22) and Mandākrānta (iv. 10. 23, but the first Pāda is Śārdūlavikrīḍita!) are used only once each. No opportunity is missed[a] for introducing the usual descriptive Kāvya-topics in the approved embell-

1 But no instruction in the Śāstras is mentioned in this connexion.

2 This is perhaps the first image made of Caitanya for worship. See above p. 438, footnote.

ished manner, diction and metre (e. g. Lakṣmī's marriage in Vaṃśasthavila and Upajāti, i. 10 ; Śacī's lament on Lakṣmī's death in Viyogini, i. 12 ; men and women thronging to have a sight of the young ascetic at Kaṇṭakapurī (Katwa) in Upajāti, iii. 1, etc.) ; but the work is ostensibly modelled on the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, and its poetic pretensions are hardly of a high order. Nevertheless, Murāri possesses considerable narrative skill and metrical facility, and his simple descriptions are often vivid and picturesque. His manner is very often direct and forcible, and wisely avoids the rhetorical elaboration of the later Kāvya.

Although professing to draw its inspiration and material from Murāri's work[1], the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*[2] of Paramānanda-sena Kavikarṇapūra is an elaborate and ambitious work, which conforms more deliberately to the full-fledged mode and diction of the Kāvya. It consists of twenty cantos, and (according to the computation of its editor) of ninteen hundred and eleven stanzas, being thus of nearly the same extent as Murāri's work. After a preliminary homage to Caitanya and description of the sorrow of his disciples at his passing away in the first canto, the poem proceeds in the second canto to describe Navadvīpa and incidentally Advaita and Śrīvāsa. The rest of the canto is occupied with Caitanya's parents, loss of their eight daughters, Viśvarūpa and birth of Viśvaṃbhara, Viśvaṃbhara's infancy and manifestation of divinity which filled his parents with wonder, Viśvarūpa's Saṃnyāsa and death of Jagannātha Miśra. The third canto is taken up with Viśvaṃbhara's going to school to Viṣṇu Paṇḍita, Sudarśana[3] and the grammarian Gaṅgādāsa, his

1 *a-śaiśavaṃ prabhu-caritra-vilāsa-vijñaiḥ*
kaiścin murārir iti maṅgala-nāmadheyaiḥ/
yad yad vilāsa-lalitaṃ samalekhi taj-jñais
tad tad vilokya vililekha śiśuḥ sa eṣaḥ// (xx. 42).

2 See above, p. 43.

3 But the text says: *viṣṇu-nāmnaḥ sudarśanāt* (iii. 2), although they are different persons.

marriage to Lakṣmī (iii. 6-81), journey to East Bengal and teaching pupils there, Lakṣmī's death, and his second marriage to Viṣṇupriyā (iii. 127-144). In the fourth canto, we have the story of Viśvaṃbhara's visit to Gayā, his Mantra-dīkṣā by Īśvara Purī, his return, his manifestation of divine Āveśa, and Kīrtana from the beginning of the month of Māgha. The four cantos from the fifth to the eighth continue the description of Viśvaṃbhara's ecstatic devotional acts and fits of singing and dancing for eight months from Jyaiṣṭha to Pauṣa ; his Varāha-Āveśa at the house of Murāri (v. 16-21) and his own Abhiṣeka suggested by himself (vi 40-52) ; his meeting with Nityānanda (vi. 108-123), who is described as an Avadhūta and declared to be an incarnation of Balarāma (vii. 24), and to whom Caitanya reveals the theophanic Ṣaḍ-bhuja, Dvi-bhuja (vi. 122) and also Catur-bhuja (vii. 18) forms[1] ; his Nṛsiṃha-Āveśa (vii. 80-85) and parading the street as such ; and lastly, his Balarāma-Āveśa (viii. 19-28). His Kṛṣṇa-bhāva now begins ; it is strengthened by Śrīvāsa's elaborate description of Kṛṣṇa's Vṛndāvana-līlā in the next two cantos (ix-x), which gives the author an opportunity of indulging in a highly emotional poetical excursion. In canto xi, the thread of the story is resumed by the description of Caitanya's Saṃnyāsa at Katwa, his return to Advaita's house at Santipur, his resolve to leave for Puri (there is no allusion to his mother's request to that effect), his journey and the breaking of his staff on the way by Nityānanda. In canto xii, Caitanya reaches Sārvabhauma's house and explains Vedānta by refuting Advaita-vāda and establishing his own views about Bhakti (xii. 22-27)[2], in the course of which exposition

1 Caitanya is made to declare: *tad dvaibhujaṃ varam iti pratikīrtaya tvam* (vi. 38), while in Kavikarṇapūra's drama, Caitanya declares : *aicchikaṃ bhagavataś caturbhujatvam, svābhāvikaṃ hi dvibhujatvam eva.* and quotes the verse : *narākṛti paraṃ brahma* (Act i). The Nāma-māhātmya is said to be not mere Arthavāda (vi. 50). The Rāmāṣṭaka of Murāri is referred to in vi. 100.

2 *advaita-vādaṃ vinirasya bhakti-/*
saṃsthāpakaṃ svīya-mataṃ jagāda//.

he quotes and explains two verses from the *Bhāgavata*, each in nine different ways (xii. 81), and ultimately reveals his theophanic Caturbhuja form to Sārvabhauma. Sārvabhauma's two eulogistic verses on Caitanya[1] are quoted (xii. 86. 87), but Caitanya is said have torn to pieces the paper on which they were written (so also in Karṇapūra's drama, vi. 43-44). His Southern pilgrimage now begins. He is requested by Sārvabhauma to see Rāmānanda Rāya on his way, but on his outward journey Caitanya avoids meeting Rāmānanda. The *Vilāpa-mālā* of a Brahman, named Kūrma at whose house at Kūrmakṣetra Caitanya stayed for a few days on his way, is mentioned and quoted (xii. 113, 114). In canto xiii, the narrative of South Indian pilgrimage is continued. At Srirangam Caitanya stays and performs Cāturmāsyā at the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa (xiii. 4, 5), but there is no mention of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Caitanya's only companion Kṛṣṇadāsa is lured away by unbelievers (xiii. 23), but Caitanya later on repudiates him (xiii. 54). On his way back Caitanya meets Rāmānanda (xiii. 34f) and stays with him for four months (xiii. 60). During Rāmānanda's exposition of Bhakti, Caitanya exclaims: *bāhyātibāhyaṃ bata bāhyam etat*, until Rāmānanda comes to the essence of Bhakti. Rāmānanda's Sanskrit verse *nānopacāra-kṛta-pūjanam* (cited in the *Padyāvalī* no. 13) and his Brajabuli song *pahilahi rāga* (cited in *Pada-kalpataru* no. 576) are quoted in full[2]. After Caitanya's return to Puri, his favour to Gajapati Pratāparudra and meeting with various

1 *vairāgya-vidyā-nija-bhakti-yoga-śikṣārtham ekaḥ puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ/*
śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya-śarīradhārī kṛpāmbudhir yas tam aham prapadye//.
kālān naṣṭaṃ bhakti-yogaṃ nijaṃ yaḥ prāduṣkartuṃ kṛṣṇa-caitanya-nāma/
āvirbhūtas tasya pādāravinde gāḍhaṃ gāḍhaṃ līyatāṃ citta-bhṛṅgaḥ//.

These verses are said to belong to Sārvabhauma's *Caitanyāṣṭaka*; see above pp. 562, and 86-87 footnote.

2 See above, pp. 92, 93 footnote.

Bhaktas, including Paramānanda Purī (a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī, who is mentioned as *viṣṇu-bhakti-rasa eva śarīrī*, xiii. 111) are described in the same way as in Karṇapūra's own drama.

The remaining seven cantos, which deal with Caitanya's devotional life and ecstasies at Puri (xiv to xviii) and his visit to Vṛndāvana and return (xix-xx), possess little narrative interest, but are rich in impassioned poetical descriptions. We have vivid pictures of Snāna, Dola and Ratha festivals of Jagannātha, in which Caitanya and his followers took prominent part by their frenzied singing and dancing, as well as of Caitanya's cleaning and sweeping of the Guṇḍicā house and other devotional acts. We are told that Caitanya met the three brothers, Sanātana, Rūpa and Anupama (who are described as *rasa-sāra-sindhava iva*) at Puri (xvii. 7-24). For twenty years, on the annual visit of his followers, Caitanya is said to have danced, with Kīrtana, in front of the Car of Balarāma (xviii. 61):

iti viṃśati-hāyanaiḥ prabhur| baladevasya rathāgrato muhuḥ|, naṭanāni vidhāya kīrtanair| idam etad vyakiraj jagat-tale||.

It is curious that the description of Caitanya's visit to Vṛndāvana in canto xix is utilised as an opportunity of displaying the author's skill in various kinds of verbal tricks of the so-called Citra-kāvya, which is a characteristic of Sanskrit poems since Bhāravi's time. He employs, for instance, Ekākṣara (employment of one letter, *n* in xix. 37), Dyakṣara (i.e. employment of two letters *v* and *bh* in xix. 17, *l* and *n* in xix. 41), Asaṃdhyakṣara (employing no diphthongs, in xix. 89). Nirauṣṭhya (no labials, in xix. 55), as well as Gomutrikā-bandha (xix. 21), Muraja-bandha (xix. 29), Pratilomānuloma (xix. 45, 53), Ślokāvṛtti (repetition of the same verse twice with different meanings, xix. 49-50), Padāvṛtti (two halves of the stanza having the same succession of letters, xix. 33), various kinds of Yamaka (Antya-yamaka also in xv. 109), Anuprāsa and other verbal figures.

It will be seen at once from this brief summary of the contents of the poem that while ten cantos are devoted to the depiction of Caitanya's life before Saṃnyāsa, the remainder of his life takes up an equal number of cantos. The treatment of the two parts of the theme, therefore, is not disproportionate. Apart from the paucity of incidents which is inevitable in a life of pure religious rapture, the narrative interest is not entirely sacrificed to luxurious poetic descriptions; but Karṇapūra, in accordance with the established convention of the Kāvya, cannot resist the temptation of introducing long descriptive cantos; as, for instance, Śrīvāsa's description of Vṛndāvana-līlā in two cantos and the topic of Guṇḍicā-mārjana or of Caitanya's ecstacies, dancing and Kīrtana at various festivals at Puri in several cantos. These would seem to take up disproportionate space, but they are essential in any account of Caitanya's life of religious Bhāva, and they are not badly or prosaically depicted. For a boy in his teens, who calls himself a Śiśu, the work is indeed a notable literary achievement; but its immaturity is obvious, and cannot assign to it high poetic merit. Kavikarṇapūra possesses indeed a sufficient command of conventional poetic vocabulary, enough rhetorical and verbal skill and considerable metrical facility, and one must admit that his practice, comparatively speaking, is not altogether devoid of moderation; but of higher flights or rarer touches of poetry there is not much in his elaborate production. On the other hand, he succumbs very often, in his youthful enthusiasm, to the temptation of rhetorical display in general and of committing the verbal atrocities of Citra-bandha in particular, while his conscious employment of varied metres[1] is an aspect of the prevailing tendency of

1 With the exception of cantos xiii, xvi, xvii, which are deliberately meant to illustrate the poet's skill in a large variety of metres, each of the remaining cantos employ only one metre, although at the close of the canto the poet follows the usual convention of a break and change into other metres. The metres in each canto are analysed

his time towards laboured artificiality. Nevertheless, the poem, in spite of its length and not inexcusable enthusiasm, is simple enough to be readable ; the diction is conventional, but not heavily ornamented ; and there is not much intrusion of theological or doctrinal matter to hamper its fairly smooth and pleasant progress.

below (with the serial numbering of verses in figures), and the metre of the concluding verses are given in enclosing brackets (with number in figures): Canto I Mandākrāntā 1-24 (Śikhariṇī 5). II Vaṃśasthavila 1-119 (Viyoginī or Sundarī 3). III Indravajrā, Upendravajrā and Upajāti 1-142 (Praharṣiṇī 2). IV Drutavilambita 1-75 (Śikhariṇī 1, Vaṃśasthavila 1). V Paharṣiṇī 1-125 (Śikhariṇī 1, Śārdūlavikrīḍita 1, Drutavilambita 2). VI Vasantatilaka 1-121 (Śikharaṇī 2). VII Pramitākṣarā 1-97 (Śārdūlavikrīḍita 1, Upajāti 1. Praharṣiṇī 1, Vasantatilaka 1. Upajāti 1, Śālinī 4 and Sragdharā 1). VIII Śloka 1-60 (Śikhariṇī 1, Vasantatilaka 2). IX Svāgatā 1-93 (Praharṣiṇī 1, Mandākrāntā 1). X Svāgatā 1-73 (Mālinī 7), XI Śikhariṇī 1-86 (Mandākrāntā 3). XII Upajāti 1-132, (Mālinī 2). XIII Variety of metres: Upajāti no. 1-41, Vasantatilaka no. 42, Upajāti nos. 43-63, Svāgatā nos. 64-77, Rathoddhatā nos. 78-81, Svāgatā and Rathoddhatā nos. 82-114, Viyoginī or Sundarī nos. 115-125, Upajāti nos. 126-127, Viyoginī nos. 123-134, Upajāti no. 135-137, Viyoginī no. 138-144, Śārdūlavikrīḍita no. 145, Vasantatilaka no 146, Upajāti no. 147 and Śārdūlavikrīḍita no. 148. XIV Śloka 1-129 (Śārdūlavikrīḍita 3, Upajāti 1 and Śārdūlavikrīḍita 2). XV Puṣpitāgrā 1-104 (Sragdharā 1, Śārdūlavikrīḍita 2, Pṛthvī 1 Hariṇī 1, Mālinī 1). XVI Variety of metres : Mālinī nos. 1-3, Mandākrāntā no. 4, Mālinī no. 5, Vasantatilaka nos. 6-8, Śārdūlavikrīḍita nos. 9-11, Sragdharā nos. 12-16, Pṛthvī nos. 17-18, Hariṇī nos. 19-21, Śārdūlavikrīḍita nos. 22-23, Sragdharā no. 24, Praharṣiṇī no. 25. Śārdūlavikrīḍita nos. 26-27, Sragdharā nos. 28-30, Pṛthvī no. 31, Śārdūlavikrīḍita no. 32, Vasantatilaka nos. 33-36, Bhujaṅgaprayāta no. 37-47, Mandākrāntā no. 48, Śārdūlavikrīḍita no. 49. XVII Variety of metres: Mañjubhāṣiṇī nos. 1-14, Śloka no. 15, Mañjubhāṣiṇī nos. 16-24, Mandākinī or Prabhā nos. 25-29, Candravartman nos. 30-42, Mattamayūra nos. 43-44, Kalahaṃsa no. 45, Bhramaravilasita no. 46, Dodhaka no. 47, Śālinī nos. 48-49, Upajāti no. 50, Rathoddhatā no. 51-52, Vasantatilaka no. 53, Śaśikalā no. 54, Unidentified metre no. 55, Līlākhela no. 56, Lolā no. 57-62, Śārdūlavikrīḍita nos. 63-66. XVIII Viyoginī or Sundarī 1-62 (Śārdūlavikrīḍita 1). XIX Śloka 1-99 (Mandākrāntā 1). XX Śālinī 1-36 (Śārdūlavikrīḍita 1, Mandākrāntā 2, Śikhariṇī 1, Śālinī 1, Vasantatilaka 4, Mālinī 1, Śārdūlavikrīḍita 1, Mandākrāntā 1, Vasantatilaka 1).

With regard to Kavikarṇapūra's much better known and much better composed drama in ten acts, entitled *Caitanya-candrodaya*,[1] one need not be wholly apologetic. It is a regular dramatised account of the chief incidents of Caitanya's life which are set forth more elaborately in his poem, the first five acts (like the first eleven cantos of the poem) bringing the story down to Caitanya's Saṃnyāsa and departure for Puri, and the last five acts dealing with the latter part of Caitanya's life spent chiefly there. In the Prologue the Sūtradhāra informs us that the *Caitanya-candrodaya* was composed by Paramānanda-dāsa, son of Śivānanda-sena and pupil of Śrīnātha[2] and staged at the command of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa at the Car festival (*guṇḍicā-yātrāyām*) of Jagannātha at Puri. In the first Act, Kali and Adharma appear and gloat over the triumph of unrighteousness in the world ; but Kali speaks of the advent and activity of Caitanya which imperil their power. From their conversation we learn of his birth, his elder brother Viśvarūpa, his marriages to Lakṣmī and Viṣṇupriyā, his Dīkṣā by Īśvara Purī at Gayā, his chief associates at Navadvīpa and the festival of his grand consecration (Mahābhiṣeka-mahotsava), which is being celebrated. Viśvaṃbhara enters with Advaita, Śrīvāsa, Śacī and others, and a theological discourse ensues on Bhakti-rasa and the superiority of the humanised Dvi-bhuja form of Kṛṣṇa[3]. All those who are present, including Śacī, recognise the divinity of Caitanya, which he himself graciously relishes and acknowledges ; and, addressing Advaita, he speaks of his descent from Goloka by the force of Advaita's prayer and appeal (*golokād avatārito'smi bhavatā*). The Act is appropriately entitled Svānandāveśa. In the second Act,

1 See above, p. 44-45.

2 The name of the poet's Guru occurs also in his *Ānanda-vṛndāvana* Campū, as well as in the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* ascribed to him.

3 There is an incidental reference to Murāri's belief in Advaita-vāda and Yoga-vāsiṣṭha, which Caitanya is made to deprecate. Cf. Murāri ii. 4. 22 f.

which is called Sarvāvatāra-darśana, we have a long conversation between Virāga and Bhakti, in which Virāga laments over the desperate condition of the country infested by Bauddhas, Tāntrikas, Māyāvādins, Jainas, Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas, as well as by the followers of Kanāda, Kapila, Patañjali and Jaimini; but personified Bhakti, who has recently descended at Navadvīpa, enters and brings the good tidings of the advent of Caitanya as the Bhaktāvatāra (*bhaavadā avadāro kido bhatta-veseṇa*)[1]. This is followed by a description by Bhakti of Caitanya's ecstatic emotions, his Saṃkaraṣaṇa-Āveśa at Murāri's courtyard, Dvi-bhuja, Ṣaḍ-bhuja and Catur-bhuja appearance to Nityānanda, and other acts of devotion and miracle. Caitanya himself, who now enters with Advaita and other followers, gracefully deprecates all this, and modestly describes his own condition as Unmāda-daśā, but Śrīvāsa replies that madness of other people is a disease, while Caitanya's madness, for the listener and spectator, eradicates all disease (*anyonmādas tu vyādhir eva, ayaṃ tu tavonmādo draṣṭṛ-śrotṛṇām api vyādhi-nirmūlakaḥ*)!

The third Act, entitled Dāna-vinoda from the theme of the inset play, is characterised by the interesting device of a play within a play (Garbhāṅka), Maitrī and Prema-bhakti enter and indicate that a short play[2] is going to be enacted, at the suggestion of Nārada, on the Dāna-līlā (iii. 23) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in which Haridāsa will act as Sūtradhāra, Mukunda as Pāripārśvaka, Śrīvāsa as Nārada, Nityānanda in feminine rôle as Yogamāyā, and so forth. With some variation the theme is the same as that of the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*[3] and *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi* of Rūpa and Raghunātha-dāsa respec-

1 In Act iii, Prema-bhakti says: *ayaṃ kṛṣṇa evāvatīrṇaḥ*.

2 It is described as a Bhāṇa or Vyāyoga, but techically it is not so. Possibly Rūpa's work on a similar theme, which is a Bhāṇikā, suggested the description that it was a Bhāṇa!

3 The expression Dāna-kaumudī is used in iii. 20 (prose); probably Kavikarṇapūra knew this work of Rūpa.

tively. Rādhā, with her companions and an old woman, comes to pluck flowers to worship Gopīśvara Śiva, but Kṛṣṇa and his companions demand a price for the flowers plucked from their forest. A playful dispute, with erotic repartee, ensues ; but as Kṛṣṇa boldly goes up to exact his dues forcibly from Rādhā, the play abruptly ends[1] by the old woman, who is none other than Yogamāyā, concealing Rādhā and revealing herself, to the surprise of all, bodily as Nityānanda himself! In Kavikarṇapūra's Kāvya, we have a long description, extending over nearly two cantos, of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, given by Śrīvāsa ; the present brief episode in the drama is apparently meant to be a counterpart suggested also by Śrīvāsa, who takes up the rôle of Nārada. The fourth Act is named Saṃnyāsa-parigraha. We learn from the sorrowing devotees that Viśvaṃbhara has gone to Keśava Bhāratī at Katwa (*kāṭoyā-nāmānaṃ grāmam āsādya keśava-bhāratīm upasedivān*) for being initiated into Saṃnyāsa, an account of which is given by Candraśekhara Ācāryaratna, who returns from the journey and invites them all to Advaita's house at Santipur, where Caitanya has gone with Nityānanda. The next Act, called Advaitapura-vilāsa, describes how Caitanya wanted to go straight to Vṛndāvana but was directed by Nityānanda to Advaita's house at Santipur, where Caitanya meets his followers, stays for three days and takes a pathetic farewell from his mother.

The sixth Act (Sārvabhaumānugraha) begins with a narration, by Ratnākara (the ocean) and his spouse, the river Gaṅgā, of Caitanya's journey to Puri,[2] and proceeds with

1 The contrivance of a play within a play is not new, having been already employed by Bhavabhūti, Harṣa and Rājaśekhara. The sudden interruption, as in *Hamlet*, is a part of the device, and is represented as being brought on by its vivid realism.

2 We are told that the journey, on account of war hetween king Gajapati of Orissa and the Muslim ruler of Gauḍa was not safe (*idānīṃ gauḍādhipater yavana-bhūpālasya gajapatinā saha virodhe gamanā-gamanam eva na vartate*).

the theme of Caitanya's meeting with the Vedāntist Sārvabhauma, who recognises his divinity and accepts his views about Bhakti and worship of Kṛṣṇa. In the seventh Act (called Tīrthāṭana), Caitanya is represented as having already set out on his South Indian pilgrimage. He meets Rāmānanda, and the entire Bhaki-catechism, of which Rāmānanda gives an exposition in the course of their conversation, is given thus in two dialogue verses (vii. 8. 10):

kā vidyā hari-bhaktir eva, na punar vedādi-niṣṇātatā,
kīrtiḥ kā bhagavat-paro'yam iti yā, khyātir na dānādijā/
kā śrīs tat-priyatā, na vā dhana-jana-grāmādi-bhūyiṣṭhatā,
kiṃ duḥkhaṃ bhagavat-priyasya viraho, no hṛd-vraṇādi-vyathā//
kiṃ geyaṃ vraja keli-karma, kim iha śreyaḥ satāṃ saṃgatiḥ,
kiṃ smartavyam aghāri-nāma, kim anudhyeṃ murāreḥ padam/
kva stheyaṃ vraja eva, kiṃ śravaṇayor ānandi vṛndāvana-krīḍaikā, kim upāsyam atra mahasī śrī-kṛṣṇa-rādhābhidhe//.[1]

Caitanya on his return, in the eighth Act, recounts in a few words his impression of devotion in Southern India by saying that the few Vaiṣṇavas that he found were devotees of Nārāyaṇa; the rest were Tattva-vādins, whose views were not above reproach; but there were also Śaivas and a large number of very powerful Pāṣaṇḍas (atheists); the only views he liked were those of Rāmānanda.[2] Caitanya meets at Puri

1 These verses are quoted in Karṇapūra's own rhetorical work, *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*.

2 Elsewhere (vii, *ad* 2, p. 125) we learn from Sārvabhauma that Rāmānanda was a Sahaja Vaiṣṇava. If a reference is meant to the Sahaja or Sahajiyā cult, it is unfortunate that we possess little information regarding its prevalence before or during Caitanya's time. But it is probable that other, but similar, erotico-religious tendencies must have existed before the Śrīmad-bhāgavata emotionalism was firmly established by Caitanya; and poets like Jayadeva and Vidyāpati, with

his friends and followers and some devotees ; but the main theme of this Act (which is entitled Pratāparudrānugraha) is his grace towards Pratāparudra, who falls at his feet during the Ratha-yātrā festival. In the ninth Act (Mathurā-gamana), we hear of Caitanya's visit to Mathurā, first from a Kiṃnara couple and then from Gajapati and Sārvabhauma, to whom a messenger brings news. The poet takes care to inform us that Caitanya visited the house of the poet's own father Śivānanda on his way. At Prayāga Caitanya met Rūpa[1] and Anupama, while at Benares Sanātana came to him, but no instruction in the Śāstras is mentioned. At Benares, we are told that some of the great Saṃnyāsins did not, out of jealousy, see Caitanya or come to him.[2] The tenth and last Act, called Mahāmahotsava, describes Caitanya's devotional acts and ecstasies, in company with his followers, during his remaining years at Puri at the Snāna, Dola, Ratha and Guṇḍicā-mārjana ceremonies, which are depicted in greater detail in Kavikarṇapūra's Kāvya. There is one interesting passage in which Śivānanda is represented as bringing his own son, apparently the poet himself, before Caitanya (x. 7) and exclaiming in adoration in a Mandākrāntā stanza:

paśya paśya, ayam ayam
vidyud-dāma-dyutir atiśayotkaṇṭha-kaṇṭhī-ravendra-
krīḍā-gāmī kanaka-parigha-drāghimoddāma-bāhuḥ|
siṃha-grīvo nava-dinakara-dyota-vidyoti-vāsāḥ
śrī-gaurāṅgaḥ sphurati purato vandytāṃ vandyatāṃ
bhoḥ||

whose works Rāmānanda was undoubtedly familiar, derive their inspiration from such traditions (see above pp. 9-12). It is noteworthy that the Post-Caitanya Sahajiyā sect of Bengal regards Jayadeva as its Ādi-guru and one of its nine Rasikas.

1 Of Rūpa we are told in high terms:
priya-svarūpe dayita-svarūpe|prema-svarūpe sahajābhirūpe|
nijānurūpe prabhur ekarūpe|tatāna rūpe sva-vilāsa-rūpe||.

2 *matsaraiḥ katipayair yati-mukhyair| eva tatra na gataṃ na sa dṛṣṭaḥ*, ix. 32.

It is said that a child as he was at that time, the poet himself was inspired to utter this verse, but there is no indication here of the legend of infant precociousness.[1]

Although it calls itself a drama, it will be seen that the *Caitanya-candrodaya* merely presents the chief incidents and episodes of Caitanya's religious life and experience in the dramatic form without an attempt to convert the whole into a real drama. There is incredibly little action, and not much convincing characterisation, in a work which presents itself as a drama; and most of the incidents are reported instead of being represented. The treatment does not indeed lack vividness and coherencc, inasmuch as much of what is described was actually felt and was still within living memory; but its dramatic inadequacy is obvious. The work, no doubt, constitutes a departure in not selecting the time-worn legendary themes, but the theme it selects, being devoid of action, presents few dramatic possibilities. There were perhaps more possibilities on the poetic side, but it cannot be said that Kavikarṇapūra was more than a mediocre poet. In fairness it must be said that in everything he writes he is facile and never ungraceful; he possesses considerable literary skill and a decided ability to handle sonorous metres; but here the praise should end. Kavikarṇapūra writes for purely literary effect with a consciously affected, but conventional, diction, and is often indifferent to the realities of life or drama; while his religious ardour is not passionate enough nor his poetic fancy enchanting enough to invest his drama with a higher poetic naturalness. The religious sentiment is real, but the usual paraphernalia of theology makes its presentation often too stagey. Obviously composed in the interest of a sect, the dogmas and doctrines often intrude, and we have long theological discourses, for instance, between Caitanya and his followers in Act i and ii, between Premabhakti and Maitrī in Act iii and Sārvabhauma's elaborate

1 See above, p. 42.

exposition of dualistic Vedānta, fortified by the citation of sectarian texts, in Act vi. While these do not adequately bring out the deeper spiritual significance of Caitanya's life, they are not a gain from the literary or dramatic point of view; they certainly interrupt and impede the smooth progress of the narrative. The device of a play within a play is an interesting feature, but the inset play is not presented as an integral part of the action, while its sudden interruption is not conceived as dramatically as it is, in a different situation, in Harṣa's *Priyadarśikā* or Rājaśekhara's *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. Even if Kavikarṇapūra introduces allegorical and mythical characters, and names his drama after Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodha-candrodaya*, it would not be correct to regard it as an allegorical play ; for the action does not hinge upon the allegorical element. The allegorical figures are rather doctrinal formulas than living entities, rather abstract ideas with neat labels than actual beings of flesh and blood. They do not affect the character of the drama, but they merely furnish the concrete historical figures with a surrounding of abstract personifications. The dramatic or poetical merit of Kavikarṇapūra's work, therefore, need not be unduly magnified ; and even if it is more mature and better composed than his Kāvya, it is not a real drama but a narrative in the dramatic form, giving us merely a string of insufficiently motivated incidents and episodes, which do not grow out of one another nor create any dramatic situation. Nevertheless, Kavikarṇapūra can write elegant verse and clear prose, and his presentation of the life of Caitanya is vivid and eminently readable. Notwithstanding its deficiencies, the *Caitanya-candrodaya* is by no means an insignificant work, but it is difficult to agree with the appreciation of Sylvain Lévi that it is an "original and powerful drama."[1]

1 Foreword to Dinesh Chandra Sen's *Chaitanya and his Age* (Calcutta University, 1922), p. xii.

3. DRAMATIC WRITINGS

The *Caitanya-candrodaya* of Kavikarṇapūra makes our transition easy to the dramatic writings of Rāmānanda Rāya and Rūpa, which, however, deal exclusively with Kṛṣṇa-līlā, and not with Caitanya-līlā, with legendary and not with historical themes. With the exception of Rāmānanda's small operatic sketch, the other works are elaborate compositions, meant deliberately to convey religious edification or to glorify sectarian theology. They do not fail entirely on the literary side but as specimens of dramatic writing they reveal little sense of what a drama really is.

The *Jagannātha-vallabha*[1] of Rāmānanda begins with Namaskriyā to Kṛṣṇa but contains no reference to Caitanya or to the peculiar tenets of Caitanyaism. It is not known whether it was composed before or after Rāmānanda met Caitanya, and it is difficult to say if it really belongs to the body of works composed for the Caitanya sect. The play is not quoted in the *Padyāvalī*, but two quotations are given in the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* of Rūpa, and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja distinctly refers to it as the Nāṭaka-gīti of Rāmānanda Rāya, which Caitanya relished greatly, as he relished also the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* and the *Gīta-govinda*, as a means of his ecstatic devotional emotions. The Prologue to the work calls it *Jagannātha-vallabha*, and describes it as a Saṃgīta-nāṭaka of Rāmānanda-rāya, son of Pṛthvīśvara Bhavānanda-rāya, composed and staged at the direction of Gajapati Pratāparudra, who is eulogised in one stanza (I. 10) as the conqueror of Sekandhara, of the Kalavarga chiefs and of the kings of Gurjara and Gauda.

The *Jagannātha-vallabha* deals, in five Acts, with an episode of Kṛṣṇa-līlā, in which are described the first love and union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in the groves of Vṛndāvana. The theme is simple, and the Acts are short. The first Acts (Pūrva-rāga) depicts the first meeting of Kṛṣṇa, accompained by his

1 See above, p. 92-93.

jester friend Ratikandala[1], and Rādhā entering with her companion Madanikā. They fall in love at first sight, and in Act II (Bhāva-parīkṣā) Rādhā's companion Śaśimukhī approaches Kṛṣṇa with a billet-doux (Anaṅga-lekha) from Rādhā, containing only one Prakrit verse on her lovelorn condition:

suiraṃ vijjhasi hiaaṃ lambhai maaṇo kkhu dujjasaṃ baliaṃ|
dīsasi saala-disāsu tumaṃ dīsai maaṇo ṇa kuttāvi||

But Kṛṣṇa, to test her love, playfully pretends to be shocked and indifferent to the solicitation, and rudely advises Śaśimukhī to dissuade Rādhā from such improper sentiment. In Act III we find Rādhā in Viraha, filled with love and longing; and when Śaśimukhī delivers her message Rādhā, distracted by feelings of love, shame, self-pity and despair, resolves to die. But another companion Mādhavī enters with a tablet for painting (Citra-phalaka), on which is inscribed a Sanskrit verse containing Kṛṣṇa's apology and declaration of love. The Act IV (Rādhābhisāra), in its turn, describes Kṛṣṇa in Viraha love-sick and penitent in the Bakula-bower, where Madanikā comes and, on his confession of love, goes to fetch Rādhā; and they unite in the bower during the night. Next morning, in Act V (Rādhā-saṃgama), Madanikā and Śaśimukhī approach the bower and talk among themselves of what they have seen of the sports of the young couple at night! Kṛṣṇa enters with the shame-faced Rādhā, but the advent of the bull-demon Ariṣṭa breaks up the party. Kṛṣṇa rushes forward, kills the demon with much bravado behind the scene and comes back in triumph. The Act ends with the reunion of the lovers.

In the Prologue, the author claims that his play is entirely novel (*abhinava-kṛti*) and original (*anya-cchāyayā no nibaddham*), but it is clear that neither the theme nor its treatment displays much variety or originality. It is a pretty

1 And not Madhumaṅgala of Rūpa's dramas and Jīva's Campū.

little amourette, modelled obviously on the Nāṭikā type of Sanskrit plays. But perhaps in these idyllic and romantic little plays, which aim at nothing more than picturing the pretty sentiment in a pretty environment, elegance was more expected than originality, and poverty of invention need hardly be regarded as a defect. The work employs the familiar motifs and devices common to such erotic playlet (the romantic commonplaces, for instance, of love at first sight, pangs and sentimental longings of separated lovers, love-letter, dream-vision, painting-tablet, minute portraiture of the personal beauty of the lovers, and their ultimate union effected by the effort of their companions), and makes use of conventional words and imageries to depict them. Here is, for instance, pure rhetoric in Kṛṣṇa's description of Rādhā's lovely face:

yad api na kamalaṃ niśākaro vā
bhavati mukha-pratimo mṛgekṣaṇāyaḥ|
racayati na tathāpi jātu tābhyām
upamitir anya-pade padaṃ yad asya||.

Similarly conventional but elegant is the description of Rādhā's Viraha:

yadā nāsau doṣaṃ gaṇayati gurūṇāṃ ku-vacane
na vā toṣaṃ dhatte sarasa-vacane narma-suhṛdām|
viṣābhaṃ śrīkhaṇḍaṃ kalayati vidhuṃ pāvaka-samaṃ
tad asyās tad-vṛttaṃ tvayi gaditum atrāham agamam||.

Kṛṣṇa's Viraha and his lamentations are also in the same approved manner and style of the conventional hero of the sentimental type. But, at the same time, it cannot be said that the little play is not fluent and graceful. The situations are trite and stale, but they are not over-embellished ; and in the emotional or descriptive comments, their poetical stanzas are neither tediously profuse nor inappropriate. Perhaps the play was meant as a musical and spectacular entertainment, its characteristic feature being the introduction of Padāvalīs or songs, set to different tunes, after the manner

of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*. It invests the play with a delightful operatic atmosphere, and justifies the description that it is essentially a small Saṃgīta-nāṭaka. The number of such songs is twenty-one, there being four in each Act, excepting five in Act IV ; and each song contains the author's *bhaṇitā* and the name of his patron Gajapati Pratāparudra. We give here one of the songs, which describes the youthful Kṛṣṇa, as a specimen (Act 1):

(*Kedāra-rāgeṇa*)

mṛdutara-māruta-vellita-pallava-vallī-valita-śikhaṇḍam/
tilaka-viḍambita-marakata-maṇi-tala-bimbita-śaśadhara-
khaṇḍam//
yuvati-manohara-veṣam/
kalaya kalā-nidhim iva dharaṇīm anu pariṇata-rūpa-
viśeṣam//

(*Dhruva*)

khelā-dolāyita-maṇi-kuṇḍala-ruci-rucirānana-śobham/
helā-taralita-madhura-vilocana-janita-vadhūjana-lobham//
gajapatirudra-narādhipa-cetasi janayatu mudam anuvāram/
rāmānanda-rāya-kavi-bhaṇitaṃ madhuripu-rūpam udāram//.

One should recognise that this is not a mean imitation of Jayadeva's music and manner.

The dramatic works of Rūpa Gosvāmin are more serious compositions of an entirely different character, although all of them deal with certain aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā and its mystic-erotic possibilities. The old Kṛṣṇa-legend is daringly modified in details, in the light of the peculiar dogmas of Bengal school ; and the works are deliberately composed in conformity with its Rasa-śāstra, in order that they may illustrate the hundred niceties of its elaborate scheme of devotional sentiments. It is natural, therefore, that profuse quotations are given from these works in the two Rasa-treatises of Rūpa himself by way of illustration. The works are rightly held in high esteem by the devotees of the faith, and are marked by considerable and careful literary effort ; but there is no

high merit in them as dramatic pieces, nor are they remarkably brilliant on the poetic side. Nominally dramas, they are a peculiar type of composition in which the Vidagdha and the Vidvat combine with the Rasika and the Bhakta.

Of the three dramatic works of the Rūpa Gosvāmin, the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*,[1] which calls itself a Bhaṇikā,[2] of the Uparūpaka class, is the shortest, being in one Act. The theme is slight, but the working out is elaborate. Vasudeva is performing a sacrifice. Rādhā, with the Gopīs, is carrying fresh Ghee in pitchers to the sacrificial ground near the Govinda-kuṇḍa ; but Kṛṣṇa with his companions is up to his usual youthful pranks, obstructs the way and playfully demands his toll (Śulka), as he is the lord of the forest through which they pass. There is a dispute regarding the right of demand, amount and method of payment and offer of ransom, until the elderly go-between Paurṇamāsī intervenes and settles the lively dispute by the equally lively offer of Rādhā herself as the most handsome and appropriate Śulka to Kṛṣṇa. The advocates on Rādhā's side are her companions Lalitā and Viśākhā (to whom also Kṛṣṇa's audacities extend !),

1 See above, p. 153.

2 Rūpa Gosvāmin wrote his dramaturgic work, *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, chiefly to explain and illustrate the various features and elements of his own dramatic works, from which a large number of illustrative quotations are given ; but he does not define Bhāṇikā. Viśvanātha explains its characteristics as an Uparūpaka in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, vi. 308-12, to which, however, Rūpa's play does not strictly conform. On the other hand, it agrees more with the definition of Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśana* (ed. Gaekwad's Orient. Series, Baroda 1930) p. 262, in having Hari-carita as its subject-matter, the erotic as the chief sentiment in a small theme, song and dance as its elements, and creating excitement by clever turns of speech (see D. R. Mankad, *Types of Sanskrit Drama*, Karachi 1936, pp. 107-8).—The *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, however, is a work notable for the enthusiasm with which its author grafts on a compilation of commonplace definitions a long series of fervent erotic verses on Kṛṣṇa-līlā, as he also does in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*.

while Kṛṣṇa's case is put by his friend Subala and the jester Madhumaṅgala. There is no action, no dramatic situation, nor any diversion of song and dance, but there is only a series—rather a tiresomely lengthy series—of erotic dialogues in prose and verse, with clever, but audacious, innuendoes and punning repartees. Some of the verses are fine, but most of them are laboured and employ conventional expressions, imageries and conceits. The opening Maṅgala-verse in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre :

antaḥ-smeratayojjvalā jala-kaṇā-vyākīrṇa-pakṣmāṅkurā
kiṃcit-pāṭalitāñcalā rasikatotsiktā puraḥ kuñcatī|
ruddhāyāḥ pathi mādhavena madhura-vyābhugna-tārottarā
rādhāyāḥ kilakiñcita-stavakinī dṛṣṭiḥ śriyaṃ vaḥ kriyāt||

is, in spite of its laboured ingenuity, a typical instance of Rūpa's gracefully refined composition. It describes the loving glance of Rādhā, when Kṛṣṇa bars her way, by an implied comparison to a full-blown flower (*stavakinī*), with its lovely bunch of seven conflicting emotional expressions (as a result of feminine pride, desire, jealousy, fear and anger, accompanied by smile and tears), which complex combination of erotic gestures is defined in rhetorical works as Kilakiñcita.[1]

The *Vidagdha-mādhava*[2] is a more extensive work. It is a regular Nāṭaka in seven Acts, which is meant to present in a dramatic form the entire Vṛndāvana-līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, beginning with Pūrva-rāga and ending with Saṃkṣipta

1 This is in accordance with Rūpa's own definition (*Ujjvala°*, p. 255) *garvābhilāṣa-rudita-smitāsūyā-bhaya-krudhām| saṃkarīkaraṇaṃ harṣād ucyate kilakiñcitam*, where the present verse of his own is quoted as an illustration. But it is defined thus in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (III. 101): *smita-śuṣkarudita-hasita-trāsa - krodha - śrāmadīnam| sāṃkaryaṃ kilakiñcitam abhīṣṭatama-saṅgādijād harṣāt*, and the *Daśa-rūpaka* states briefly: *krodhāśru-harṣa-bhītyādeḥ saṃkaraḥ kilakiñcitam* (ii. 37a), which is paraphrased as: *śoka-roṣāśru-harṣadeḥ saṃkaraḥ kilakiñcitam* in *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*.

2 See above, p. 153.

Saṃkīrṇa Saṃbhoga,[1] from first love to first union, as defined and described in Rūpa's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*. In a sense, the theme is the same as that of Rāmānanda's little play, but it is more elaborately worked out. It pays homage to Caitanya as Śacī-nandana (1. 2) in a famous verse ;[2] and we are told that Rūpa was inspired in a dream by Śaṃkara-deva (the Gopīśvara Śiva of the temple at Brahmakuṇḍa, as the commentator Viśvanātha Cakravartin explains) to compose the drama. It is noteworthy that the Pāripārśvaka, in the Prologue, ascribes the work to the Sūtradhāra, with the obvious implication that Rūpa himself must have taken the rôle of the stage-director in the enacting of the play at Vṛndāvana.

In Act I we learn that Rādhā, with Lalitā and Viśākhā, is going to worship the sun-god Sūrya, while Candrāvalī, with Padmā and Śaivyā, is preparing to go to Gaurī-tīrtha to worship Caṇḍikā there ; but the elderly, resourceful and kind-hearted Paurṇamāsī, who intends to promote their love-affairs, is scheming to effect the secret union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. From her Kṛṣṇa hears of Rādhā, united already by a semblance of marriage to Abhimanyu ; while the sweet and enchanting music of his flute, from which the Act itself is called Veṇu-nāda-vilāsa, as well as a picture of Kṛṣṇa shown by Viśākhā, fills Rādhā with the longings of Pūrva-rāga. In Act II, we have the wails of love and separation of Rādhā, as well as of Kṛṣṇa in the approved Kāvya manner. Paurṇamāsī suggests to Rādhā the composition of a love-letter to Kṛṣṇa (from which central incident the Act is entitled Anaṅga-lekha) with the petals of Karṇikāra flowers. The letter, as well as a garland of black-and-red berries of Guñjā (Abrus precatorious), is delivered by Lalitā ; but Kṛṣṇa pretends to

1 *yatra saṃkīryamāṇāḥ syur vyalīka-smaraṇādibhīḥ /*
upacāraḥ sa saṃkīrṇaḥ kiṃcit taptekṣu-peśalaḥ //.
(*Ujjvala°*, p. 468).

2 Quoted above p. 431, footnote 1.

spurn them and displays mock-righteousness, although in the end he gives in return a garland of Rañjana flowers to Lalitā. Kṛṣṇa's show of indifference makes Rādhā desperate, and she wants to throw herself into the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa overhears all this, and makes his appearance on the scene, but the chance of a pleasant meeting is spoiled by the old duenna Jaṭilā (Rādhā's mother-in-law), who suddenly arrives and breaks up the party. The third Act, called Rādhā-saṃgama, describes the union of the lovers through the contrivance of Paurṇamāsī, aided by Lalitā and Viśākhā. The fourth Act introduces the motif of jealousy by describing the Pūrva-rāga of Rādhā's rival Candrāvalī ; and we have a series of picture of Rādhā's moods and situations as Abhisārikā, Vāsakasajjā, Utkaṇṭhitā, Vipralabdhā and Khaṇḍitā heroine, depicted in accordance with the prescriptions of Rasa-śāstra. But the main theme of the Act, which is called Veṇu-haraṇa, is the playful stealing of Kṛṣṇa's mischievous flute by Rādhā, a feat which, we are told, no other Gopī could perform. This completes the morning sports after union overnight. The fifth Act proceeds to describe the midday sports and to depict Rādhā as a Kalahāntaritā heroine, separated by a love-quarrel, her Māna and propitiation by Kṛṣṇa, and the erotic sports in the forest involving the Prema-vaicittya Bhāva (loving apprehension of separation) of Rādhā[1]. The sixth Act, as its title indicates, is concerned with the Śārada-vihāra, not as the commentary explains, with the entire autumnal Rāsa-līlā described in the *Bhāgavata*, but only with a part of the sports at night, chiefly with Rādhā. The seventh and last Act, entitled Gaurī-tīrtha-vihāra, deals with the secret meeting with Candrāvalī who had gone, with her companions Padmā and Śaivyā, to Gaurī-tīrtha ostensibly to worship Caṇḍikā ; but the meeting is frustrated by Paurṇamāsī who sends Rādhā there with Lalitā. Candrāvalī is forced to retreat by the

1 *priyasya saṃnikarṣe'pi premotkarṣa-svabhāvaḥ/*
yā viśleṣa-dhiyārtis tat prema-vaicittyam ucyate//
(*Ujjvala°*, p. 449). See above, p. 218.

intervention of the old duenna Karālikā, Candrāvalī's grandmother, while Kṛṣṇa disguises himself as the goddess Gaurī, deceives Rādhā's chaperon, the old Jaṭilā, and ultimately unites with his beloved Rādhā.

The *Lalita-mādhava*,[1] a more extensive drama in ten Acts, is more complicated in theme and plot, although it is, like the other works, more narrative than dramatic in conception and execution, there being a great deal of talk but little incident. This work was also inspired in a dream by Gopīśvara Śiva, and was enacted to entertain an assembly of Vaiṣṇava devotees, gathered at the temple of Mādhavī-mādhava on the Rādhā-kuṇḍa at Vṛndāvana, on the occasion of the worship of the Govardhana hill during the Dīpāvalī festival. There are Namaskriyās to Caitanya as Śacī-suta, and to Sanātana as the incarnation of the mythical sage of the same name.

The commentary, which is anonymous, explains that the object of the drama is to illustrate the main features and characteristics of Samṛddhimat Saṃbhoga defined by Rūpa in his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* ;[2] but the Vipralambha aspect of the erotic Rasa is as prominent in it as the Saṃbhoga is in the *Vidagdha-mādhava*. It describes not merely the episode of Kṛṣṇa's erotic sports at Vṛndāvana (Acts I-III), but also comprehends Kṛṣṇa's erotic career at Mathurā (Acts IV) and Dvārakā (Acts VI-X). But since the theology of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava school regards the moments of the Vṛndāvana-līlā and Kṛṣṇa's sports with the Gopīs to be of supreme importance, a complicated scheme is ingeniously evolved, by a daring modification of the old legends and by the employment of the familiar Kathā-device of rebirth and change of personality, to prove that Candrāvalī, Rādhā and other Gopīs of Vṛndāvana were no other than Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and

1 See above, p. 153.

2 *durlabhālokayor yūnoḥ pāratantryād viyuktayoḥ/*
upabhogātireko yaḥ kīrtyate sa samṛddhimān// (p. 472).
The *Lalita-mādhava* is cited in illustration. See above, p. 219.

other princesses, whom Kṛṣṇa abducted and made his queens at Dvārakā.

In Act I, we have a preliminary scene in which Paurṇamāsī, mother of the sage Saṃdīpani and disciple of Nārada, reveals the mythical origin of Candrāvalī and Rādhā who, as two daughters of the Vindhya mountain, are related as sisters, a fact of which they were themselves unaware. The infant Candrāvalī having been stolen by the demoness Pūtanā, an emissary of Kaṃsa, fell from her hands into a stream and became the daughter of Bhīṣmaka, king of Vidarbha, being recovered as Rukmiṇī ! Rādhā's story is related later on. Of the sixteen thousand and one hundred Gopīs, who worshipped the goddess Kātyāyanī and Kāmākhyā of Kāmarūpa and received the boon of obtaining Kṛṣṇa as their husband, we are told (iv. 7) that the five chief Gopīs, Padmā or Nāgnajitī (daughter of king Nagnajit), Bhadrā or Lakṣaṇā (daughter of the king of Kekaya), Śaivyā (daughter of the king Śaivya), Śyāmalā or Mādrī (daughter of the king of Madra), as well as Lalitā, were all originally princesses, while Viśākhā was the incarnated river Yamunā, daughter of the sun-god ! We are also told that there was regular marriage of Candrāvalī and Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa ; their being the wives respectively of the Gopas, Govardhana and Abhimanyu, is described as the effect of Māyā (Māyā-vivarta). This is also true in the case of the other Gopīs, whom their so-called husbands, the Gopas, could never look upon as their wives[1] ! The object of the Act, however, which is entitled Sāyam-utsava (evening festival), is to describe Pūrva-rāga, chiefly with reference to Candrāvalī and Rādhā. It depicts the return home of Kṛṣṇa in the evening after tending cows all day, and his meetings, separately, with Candrāvalī and Rādhā ; but both the meetings are interrupted by the vigilance of their respective mothers-in-law, Bhāruṇḍā and Jaṭilā. The next morning opens, in Act II,

1 *patiṃmanyānāṃ ballavānāṃ mamatā-mātrāvaśeṣā kumārīṣu dāratā yad eṣāṃ prekṣaṇam api tābhir ati-durghaṭam.*

with a reference to Kṛṣṇa's nocturnal sports with the Gopīs, and gives the poet an opportunity of presenting Padmā and Śyāmalā, the two companions of Candrāvalī, as Vipralabdhā and Svādhīna-bhartṛkā heroines respectively. In the meantime, the demon Śaṅkhacūḍa is sent by Kaṃsa to carry away Rādhā, who is reported to have been married to Kṛṣṇa, and who is enthroned as the chief of the Gopīs. She goes to worship the sun-god ; Kṛṣṇa, in disguise, appears as a Brahman priest to officiate at the ceremony ; but the little comedy is upset by the reported arrival of Śaṅkhacūḍa whom Kṛṣṇa duly kills behind the scene. This is the only demon-killing in the play, and the Act is called Śaṅkhacūḍa-vadha from this incident. In Act III, Akrūra comes to fetch Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to Mathurā, and the sorrows of the various Gopīs at their departure are described ; but the main theme of the Act, which is called Unmatta-rādhika, consists of Rādhā's wailing and mad search after Kṛṣṇa, somewhat after the manner of Purūravas's demented search after Urvasī, Rādhā's condition being described in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra as Divyonmādamayī Udghūrṇā Daśā[1]. She jumps into the river Yamunā and becomes lost with Viśākhā, but a voice in the air reveals that she has gone to the other world by passing through the orb of the sun. Lalitā, her other companion, also jumps from the top of a hill to kill herself.

The fourth Act changes the scene from the joyless Vṛndā-vana to Mathurā, and reveals the corresponding sorrow of Kṛṣṇa at being separated from Candrāvalī, Rādhā and his beloved Gopīs. In the meantime Candrāvalī, who is really Rukmiṇī, has been carried away by her brother Rukmin, who is ashamed of her being brought up at Vṛndāvana, in order that she, a princess, should be suitably married to Śiśupāla, king of the Cedis. The sixteen thousand one hundred Gopīs were also forcibly abducted by the demon Naraka, so that one must imagine that Vṛndāvana was by this time desolated.

1 See above p. 216.

In order to entertain the sorrowing Kṛṣṇa, Paurṇamāsī arranges the enacting of a play which Kṛṣṇa witnesses, the theme of the inset play (Garbhāṅka) justifying the naming of the Act as Rādhābhisāra ; but the device of a play within a play is not very effective here. It describes an episode of Kṛṣṇa-līlā at Vṛndāvana, in which Kṛṣṇa manages to deceive Jaṭilā by assuming the disguise of Abhimanyu, her son and Rādhā's husband, and obtains her permission to sport with Rādhā ! The Act V (Candrāvalī-lābha) gives a new version of the abduction of Rukmiṇī (=Candrāvalī) at Kuṇḍina-nagara, contrived by the scheming Paurṇamāsī. Kṛṣṇa, accompanied by Garuḍa, enters the palace in the disguise of an actor, and abducts Rukmiṇī with the connivance of her father but against the opposition of her brother.

The sixth Act is entitled Lalitopalabdhi (the winning of Lalitā, who is reborn as Jāmbavatī, daughter of Jāmbavat), but it is concerned chiefly with a new version of the winning of Satyabhāmā, daughter of Satrājit, and recovery of the Syamantaka jewel. Satyabhāmā, we are told, is transformed Rādhā, who, along with the Syamantaka jewel, was given by the sun-god as a reward of devotion to Satrājit. Viśvakarman, father of the sun-god's wife Saṃjñā, builds a Nava-vṛndāvana at Dvārakā, where Rukmiṇī-Candrāvalī is installed as the queen, and Satyabhāmā-Rādhā is left in her protection in the manner of Vāsavadattā left to the care of Padmāvatī. The idea of a token or Abhijñāna is also introduced, for Satyabhāmā would not be recognised as Rādhā until Kṛṣṇa presents her with the Syamantaka jewel recovered from Jāmbavat, along with his daughter Jāmbavatī (=Lalitā). The seventh Act (Nava-vṛndā-vana-saṃgama) describes, after the familiar plot-device of the Nāṭikā, the secret meeting of Satyabhāmā-Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa, who shows her a speaking image of Rādhā constructed by Viśvakarman, but Rukmiṇī-Candrāvalī, of course, comes upon the scene and interrupts the meeting. The eighth (Nava-vṛndāvana-vihāra) and the ninth (Citra-darśana) Acts continue the love-affairs at Dvārakā in a new atmosphere. The

eighth Act arranges a little comedy of errors, based upon Rukmiṇī-Candrāvalī's jealousy of Satyabhāmā-Rādhā, by the exchange of two caskets of ornaments made by Viśvakarman for the two ladies. Incidentally is related the rescue of Viśākhā, reborn as a woman ascetic, by Kṛṣṇa who brings her to Dvārakā. The ninth Act reports similar rescue of Padmā, Bhadrā and Śyāmala, as well as of the sixteen thousand one hundred Gopīs ; but its principal theme is the depiction of reminiscent love (after the manner of Bhavabhūti's Citra-darśana scene) by Kṛṣṇa's showing to Satyabhāmā-Rādhā a series of cave-frescoes, made by Viśvakarman, bearing on the Vṛndāvana-līlā. The tenth and last Act (Pūrṇa-manoratha) describes the dénouement with an all-round happy ending. The Syamantaka jewel at last arrives, sent by Satrājit. Kṛṣṇa enters in the disguise of one of the maids sent by the king with the jewel, but the trick is discovered. This brings about Candrāvalī's recognition of Rādhā and graceful acceptance of the situation, in the approved style of similar situations of the Nāṭikā. The play ends with reunion effected with Nanda, Yaśodā and others who come to Dvārakā, which is now converted into a really new Vṛndāvana.

In spite of an elaborate effort to bring about variety by bold and ingenious modification of the simplicity of the original legend, it will be seen that the construction of the drama, complicated as it is, reveals little originality or invention ; for most of the motifs and devices, though cleverly applied, are literary commonplaces clearly borrowed from the Nāṭikā and the Kathā. Rūpa Gosvāmin certainly possesses considerable literary skill, and is always elegant, often picturesque, and sometimes touching ; but the general artificiality of his style and treatment cannot be mistaken. The central idea of the superiority of the Vṛndāvana-līlā, no doubt, supplies a dramatic motive ; but, in spite of the unity of action which it imparts, the works are really a series of narrative episodes loosely strung together by a semblance of dramatic form. Here, as elsewhere, most of the important incidents are report-

ed instead of being represented. In a narrative we are told what occurs, in a drama we see the actual occurrence ; in Rūpa's so-called dramas, comparatively little happens, though much is said. The poverty of action and weakness of characterisation are characteristics common enough in the later decadent Sanskrit drama, but Rūpa Gosvāmin, out of respect for texts and traditions, writes more for literary and theological, than really dramatic, effect. Even if he is a poor dramatists, he adheres laboriously and conscientiously to the prescriptions of Nāṭya-śāstra and Rasa-śāstra ; but Śāstra is, of course, neither drama nor poetry.

There can be no doubt, however, that if he is not a real dramatist, Rūpa Gosvāmin is certainly a poet, and not a mere pedant ; a devotee, and not a mere dogmatist. But deliberate pedantry and dogma very often get the upper hand and impair the value of his poetry. Witness, for instance, Kṛṣṇa's flattering witticism to Rādhā (*Vidagdha-mādhava*, iii, p. 234):

muktānām upalabhyam eva kucayoḥ sālokyam ālokya te
hitvā saṅgam ahaṃ samasta-suhṛdāṃ kaivalyam āsedivān/
vaiṣamyaṃ tilam apyanāśritavatoḥ sāndrāmṛta-syandibhir
mām pūrṇaṃ kuru tanvi tūrṇam anayoḥ sāyujya-dānotsavaiḥ//

which, in its Śleṣa on the words *muktānām*, *sālokyam*, *kaivalyam* and *sāyujyam*, is witty indeed, but the wit consists of a theological conceit ! Or, take, for instance, Kṛṣṇa's clever compliment, where the conceit of the ten incarnations is ingeniously employed (iv, p. 299):

rādhe, tavādhīno nāham eva kevalo'smi
tu me daśāvatārāś ca, tathā hi :
cañcan-mīna-viloṣanāsi, kamaṭhotkṛṣṭa-stanī, saṃgatā
kroḍena sphuratā, tavāyam adharaḥ prahlāda-saṃvardhanaḥ/
madhyo'sau bali-bandhano, mukha-rucā rāmās tvayā nirjitā
lebhe śrī-ghanatādya mānini manasyaṅgīkṛtā kalkitā//

to which Rādhā makes an equally clever retort by a variation of the same idea in a verse which is perhaps more recondite:

vanyāntar guru-cāpalaṃ kaṭhinatā go-saṃgatiḥ pāṇija-
krauryaṃ dambha-ruci su-caṇḍima-dhurālaṅkeśa-
vidhvaṃsanam/
aśrāntonmada-laulyam iṣṭa-kadaṃ nistriṃśa-līlonnatir
mīnedrādyavatārataḥ sphuṭam amī bhrājanti bhāgas
tvayi//

To Śiśupāla's suit, again, in his metrical epistle (*Lalita-mādhava*, v, pp. 256-257):

praṇayo damaghoṣa-nandane śiśupāle tava yauvanāñcite/
naradeva-vare śrutaśravo-hṛdayānandi-guṇe vijṛmbhatām//

Similar ingenuity is shown by Rukmiṇī's reply, which consists of the change of a few syllables in the verse:

praṇayo mama ghoṣa-nandane paśupāle nava-yauvanāñcite/
para-deva-vare druta-śravo-hṛdayānandi-guṇe vijṛmbhatām//;

but such facetious witticism hardly befits a lady in distress!

Even when Rūpa Gosvāmin rises above his literary and theological prepossessions, he is seldom natural, but produces verses of the usual artificial kind. Here is a purely rhetorical description of Rādhā's lovely face by means of a well-worn[1] conceit (*Lalita-mādhava*, i, p. 68):

samīkṣya tava rādhike vadana-bimbam udbhāsuraṃ
trapā-bhara-parīta-dhiḥ śrayitum asya tulya-śriyam/
śaśī kila kṛśībhavan suradhunī-taraṅgokṣitas
tapasyati kapardinaḥ sphuṭa-jaṭāṭavīm āśritaḥ//.

The same remark applies to Rādhā's wailing as an Utkaṇṭhitā

1 Cf. *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya*, ed. F. W. Thomas, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1912, no. 208.

heroine by means of Anyāpadeśa (*Vidagdha mādhava*, iii, p. 176):

nālīkinīṃ niśi ghanotkalikām aśaṅkaṃ
kṣiptvāvṛtīr atanu-vanyagajaḥ kṣuṇatti/
atrānurāgiṇi cirād udite'pi bhānau
hā hanta kiṃ sakhi sukhaṃ bhavitā varākyāḥ//.

It is not very often that Rūpa Gosvāmin divests himself of conscious rhetoric and rant and writes simply and finely as follows (*Vidagdha-mādhava*, iv, p. 313):

mudrāṃ dhairyamayīṃ kṣaṇaṃ vitanute tāruṇya-lakṣmīṃ kṣaṇaṃ
sopekṣāḥ kṣaṇam ātanoti bhaṇitīr autsukya-bhājaḥ kṣaṇam/
śuddhāṃ dṛṣṭim itaḥ kṣaṇaṃ praṇayati preṅkhat-kaṭākṣaṃ kṣaṇam
roṣeṇa praṇayena cākulita-dhī rādhā dvidhā bhidyate//.

It is needless to multiply examples, for the poet has verses enough for anything. The verses have often the fascination of sonorous sound and sentimental sense, but their frequency and extravagance become undramatic and tiresome. Sometimes they have resonance but no melody; and being industriously multiplied with set phrases and conceits, they have, when they are not deliberately recondite, little originality in idea and expression. The prose and the dialogue contain much smart repartees and witty erotic suggestions, but they have hardly any dramatic quality, for the simple reason that everything of importance, according to the established dramaturgic tradition, is expressed in verse. In the leisurely progress of the elaborate verse and diligently witty prose, the action and the plot, for which the themes do not afford much scope, are left to take care of themselves; dramatic motive or unity is of little concern; a panorama of painstaking pictures or a loosely connected series of narrative incidents is supposed to be sufficient. The

devotees of the faith think highly of these productions of Rūpa Gosvāmin ; that is perhaps not for their dramatic or poetic excellence, but chiefly because they are deliberate scholarly attempts to illustrate the doctrinal nuances of the emotional Bhakti in terms of the freshly and ingeniously interpreted Kṛṣṇa-legend. The works undoubtedly constitute a departure, and are inspired by a strange combination of acute scholastic learning, literary dexterity and great devotional fervour of a refined erotico-religious character ; but their real interest is other than literary, and they have little pretension either to the dramatic or the poetic in the proper sense.

4. KĀVYAS AND CAMPŪS

If the dramatic writings of Caitanyaism deserve such measured praise, its elaborate poetical productions, in spite of their stylistic elegancies and sentimental subtleties, cannot be rated at a much higher value. All of them select Kṛṣṇa-līlā, especially the Vṛndāvana-līlā, as their theme, and present different aspects of it in a background of highly sensuous charm ; but whatever may be their devotional value, they are laborious products of artificial and erudite fancy, rather than poetic creations of spontaneous inspiration. In their highly impassioned treatment of an erotic-mystic theme, these devotional poems pass through the whole gamut of erotic motif, imagery and expression, and no one can deny the exquisite verbal melody and pictorial fancy which they often attain ; but, apart from the fact that they are composed with a deliberate doctrinarian purpose, they do not escape the taint of artificiality which, with the general subsidence of the creative impulse, characterises the entire Sanskrit poetry of decadence. The vivid exuberance of the erotic-mystic fancy and the emotional inflatus which the legendary and romantic theme supplies, no doubt, afford great poetic possibilities and make these works stand apart ; but it is unfortunate that they seek and receive applause more by a meretricious display of rhetorical and emotional contrivances in the conventional form

heroine by means of Anyāpadeśa (*Vidagdha mādhava*, iii, p. 176):

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devotees of the faith think highly of these productions of Rūpa Gosvāmin ; that is perhaps not for their dramatic or poetic excellence, but chiefly because they are deliberate scholarly attempts to illustrate the doctrinal nuances of the emotional Bhakti in terms of the freshly and ingeniously interpreted Kṛṣṇa-legend. The works undoubtedly constitute a departure, and are inspired by a strange combination of acute scholastic learning, literary dexterity and great devotional fervour of a refined erotico-religious character ; but their real interest is other than literary, and they have little pretension either to the dramatic or the poetic in the proper sense.

4. KĀVYAS AND CAMPŪS

If the dramatic writings of Caitanyaism deserve such measured praise, its elaborate poetical productions, in spite of their stylistic elegancies and sentimental subtleties, cannot be rated at a much higher value. All of them select Kṛṣṇa-līlā, especially the Vṛndāvana-līlā, as their theme, and present different aspects of it in a background of highly sensuous charm ; but whatever may be their devotional value, they are laborious products of artificial and erudite fancy, rather than poetic creations of spontaneous inspiration. In their highly impassioned treatment of an erotic-mystic theme, these devotional poems pass through the whole gamut of erotic motif, imagery and expression, and no one can deny the exquisite verbal melody and pictorial fancy which they often attain ; but, apart from the fact that they are composed with a deliberate doctrinarian purpose, they do not escape the taint of artificiality which, with the general subsidence of the creative impulse, characterises the entire Sanskrit poetry of decadence. The vivid exuberance of the erotic-mystic fancy and the emotional inflatus which the legendary and romantic theme supplies, no doubt, afford great poetic possibilities and make these works stand apart ; but it is unfortunate that they seek and receive applause more by a meretricious display of rhetorical and emotional contrivances in the conventional form

and diction, than by genuinely emotional and poetic quality of an independent and original character.

We have already noted that these devotional poems, dramas and Campūs of Caitanyaism give expression to a phase of the mediaeval Bhakti movement which was essentially emotional, and base the religious sentiment, mystically, upon the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of transfigured sex-passion. There can be no doubt that such an attitude brings about a new development in Sanskrit religious poetry, which had hitherto confined itself to a more staid and sober kind of speculative emotion, and relate it very closely to erotic poetry. This is done to such an extent that poems like Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* would appear, from different aspects, both as a religious and an erotic work. The new standpoint vivified religion, as well as its poetry, with a human element by lifting one of the most powerful impulses of the human mind into a means of glorious exaltation. It involved an assertion of the emotional and aesthetic in human nature against the hard intellectuality of dry dogmas and doctrines. But we have also seen that the new movement, in its turn, created its own dogmas and doctrines; and if its ecstatic emotional inclination precluded intellectual virility, it was certainly marked by great intellectual subtlety, which was characteristic of the scholastic age. Along with its philosophy and theology, the sectarian devotionalism elaborated its appropriate system of emotional analysis, its refinements of psychology and poetics, its subtleties of phraseology, imagery and conceits. As the sentiment of Bhakti or religious devotion is approximated to the sentiment of literary relish,[1] called Rasa, the whole apparatus of Alaṃkāra, as well as of Kāma-śāstra, and their technicalities are ingeniously utilised and exalted. The new application becomes novel, intimate and inspiring; and the erotic sensibility in its devotional ecstacy often rises above the formalism of its rhetorical

1 See above p. 166 f.

and psychological banalities, of its metaphysical and theological niceties. But this is more true of the detached poems and Stotras, of which we shall speak presently and which perhaps afford greater scope for personal feeling, than of the artificially sustained Kāvya works, with which we are at present concerned, and which conform deliberately not only to their own mass of newly created conventionalities, but also to the entire literary resources of the older traditional Kāvya-technique in their method, manner, form and diction.

The spirit and outlook were changed, but the new movement, even with the accession of romantic, emotional and legendary material, failed to break away from the extreme and affected classicality of the decadent Sanskrit Kāvya and evolve its own independent and appropriate form of expression. The attempt was obviously discouraged by the older recognised Kāvya tradition, which had its established modes and models, laws and means; and it was certainly not assisted by the creation of a fresh series of rhetorical and psychological formulas and dogmatic theological shibboleths. There was, therefore, no freedom of conception and treatment, but a methodical practice of conventional art and artifice, as well as conformity to an elaborate system of sectarian commonplaces and conceits. Suckled in a poetic creed outworn, as well as in a theological creed newborn, the writers seldom create new poetic forms, which would admit of beautiful expression of memorable poetic thought and feeling. With inherited affluence and considerable talent for elaborate composition, they are assiduous, erudite and conscientious ; but the greatest of them is scarcely a poet ; he is a consummate versifier who sums up all the tradition of poetic art that can be learnt by a clever and industrious artisan. They suggest craftsmanship rather than creation, facility rather than freedom, immense and varied learning rather than vigour and versatility of spontaneous inspiration.

It would seem, therefore, that, apart from a certain dubious gain in emotional content, the Vaiṣṇava devotional

Kāvya, from the point of view of literary form and expression does not mark any striking departure from the time-honoured tradition of the literary Kāvya. Its treatment, therefore, of the new theme and shaping of the new emotion are narrowly conditioned by inherited ideas of pseudo-classicism, for the deadly weaknesses of which the romantic subject and sentiment could hardly prove a solvent. The passion in these poems is genuine, but is too often artistic, rather than personal; the pictures possess delicacy of feeling and gracefulness of touch, but the reality and richness of the emotion is too often obscured by a deliberate load of bad pedantry and worse rhetoric, and the elegance is too often the product of mechanical adroitness. There are, no doubt, abundance and variety of talent and effort, but there is also a strange combination of elaborate pains and insufficint accomplishment, of interminable ingenuity and endless dreariness. With ready-made words and ideas, forms and themes, it is not difficult to acquire impressive facility and respectable wormanship; but, being fashioned after a standardised pattern, the productions are too much alike, the subjects have too little variety, the treatment is glaringly similar, and the style and diction employ the same system of decorative devices, the same commonplaces of words, ideas, epithets and conceits. It cannot be denied, however, that in the extraordinary command of a rich and recondite vocabulary, in the grace and fluency of phrasing, in the elaborate adjustment of sound and sense, in ingenious and incessant rhetorical ornamentation, in the skilled use of difficult and diverse metres, in the elegant wielding of a weighty, embellished and complex diction, the Vaiṣṇava Kāvya, like the average Sanskrit Kāvya, reveals a degree of massively and mechanically finished efficiency, which is indeed astonishing. But its method and manner are too favourable to literary pedantry not to be perilous to limpid poetry.

That the Kāvya of this period, devotional or otherwise, is the product of high cultivation, meant for a highly

cultivated audience, is, as we have already said, a natural corollary of the fact that it flourished in an age in which the scholastic cultivation of learning was almost universal. The really creative age in every sphere of knowledge or of art was over ; it was now a stage of critical elaboration, of fertile but fruitless erudition, of prolix but uncreative subtleties, and of endless but wearisome acumen for trivial niceties. All these learned and laborious tendencies reflected themselves in the literary works of the period. At no stage of its history, indeed, the Sanskrit Kāvya was a spontaneous product of poetic inspiration ; much culture and practice, and not inborn gift alone, went into its making ; it was wholly dominated by a self-conscious idea of art and method and was not meant for undisciplined enjoyment ; its supernormal or super-individual character is recognised both by theory and practice, which rule out personal interest and emphasise purely artistic emotion. But the assiduous cultivation of the cult of style, which believes that nothing great can be achieved in the ordinary way, becomes naturally concomitant of a scholastic age, in which industry was reckoned higher than inspiration, and in which a normative doctrine of technique replaced free exercise of the poetic imagination, a respect for literary convention ousted individuality of poetic treatment. The result, on the one hand, was a severe restriction of poetic imaginaion and expression by a ponderous establishment of its unalterable norm and mechanism ; on the other hand, there was a correspondingly high proficiency in the attainment of mechanical excellence. There is, therefore, much excellent writing in this period, but not much excellent poetry. The works will perhaps never lack their fit readers, though few, but they will never possess a wider appeal nor attain more than a limited currency.

In spite of its romantic charm and lyric affluence, the general theme of the devotional poetry of Caitanyaism lacks variety and strikingness of inventive thought. The general poetic spirit of a newborn religious enthusiasm may be

admitted, but the exaggerated consciousness of art and the monotonous sameness of characteristics inevitably suggest a sense of artificiality. There are indeed some variations in the detailed working out of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa and Radhā, but the form and expression are not sufficiently varied. We meet over and over again with the same set of situations and descriptions, the same subtleties and refinements, the same tricks of expression, the same strings of nouns and adjectives, the same group of conceits and the same system of emotional analysis. Two aspects of the Vṛndāvana-līlā, however, are generally distinguished, namely the perpetual or Nitya and the occasional or Naimittika sports ; and the two aspects of the erotic sentiment, namely, the Saṃbhoga or love in union and the Vipralambha or love in separation, find expression in the Nitya sports, the Saṃbhoga alone being prominent in the Naimittika. The theme of the Nitya sports is generally concerned with what is called the Aṣṭa-kālikā-Līlā, or sports and pastimes during the different parts of the day, beginning from the morning to the end of the night. The eight parts of the day, according to the Vaiṣṇava theology, are: Prātar (morning), Pūrvāhṇa (forepart of the day), Madhyāhna (midday), Aparāhṇa (afternoon), Sāyāhna (evening), Pradoṣa (first part of the night), Madhya-rātra (midnight) and Niśānta (end of the night). The Naimittaka sports, on the other hand, comprises such occasional or detached erotic episodes as Dāna-līlā or Puṣpa-haraṇa.

The Nitya-līlā of the Aṣṭa-kālika type forms the subject-matter of the *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī* of Kavikarṇapūra and the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, as also of the much later *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin. We have seen[1] that the uninterrupted recollection (Smaraṇa) and contemplation (Bhāvanā) of Kṛṣṇa's erotic sports with his beloved Gopīs form the essence of the Rāgānugā Bhakti ; the

1 See above, pp. 176-177.

present works intend to supply the basis of such recollection and contemplation by a minute portraiture of the sports occurring interruptedly for the whole day and night. A brief outline of the Aṣṭakālika- or Naityaka-Līlā is given in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa*[1]. But it was the *Smaraṇa-maṅgala* of Rūpa Gosvāmin which, in eleven verses,[2] formed the rubric developed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his extensive Kāvya in twenty-three cantos. It is, however, not known if Kavikarṇapūra, who for the first time appears to have composed a regular Kāvya on the subject, was aware of this hint supplied by Rūpa Gosvāmin.

The *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī*[3] of Kavikarṇapūra is a comparatively short Kāvya in six Prakāśas and 705 rhymed stanzas. The first Prakāśa, in depicting the Niśānta-līlā, describes the awakening of Rādhā (st. 1-16) and Kṛṣṇa (17-29) by talking parrots (sent by Vṛndā), who for that purpose recite twenty-one luscious verses; Rādhā's *déshabillé* appearance after the nocturnal sports, her indolent erotic gestures (Rasālasa) and leaving of the bed (30-37), which bears evidence of their sports (38-39); their leaving of the grove in which they lie and return to their respective houses (40-45). The entire canto, which is, however, the shortest in the poem, is composed in the Mālinī metre, and each stanza attempts Pada-madhyāntānuprāsa, in which the middle and end of each foot rhyme together, thus:

rajani carama-yāme stoka-tārābhirāme
kim api kim api vṛndādeśa-jātābhinandā|
vitatir akṛta rādhā-kṛṣṇayoḥ svāpa-bādhā-
mati-mṛdu-vacanānāṃ sārikāṇāṃ śukānām||

1 Ed. Ānandāśrama, Poona 1894, Pt. ii, Pātāla-khaṇḍa ch. 83, pp. 624-626.

2 See above, p. 155. If it really contained eleven verses, as the *Bhakti-ratnākara* states, then it cannot be identified with Haraprasad Sastri's MS which is said to contain thirty-five verses, but the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad MS (*Catalogue*, p. 235, no. 103/1116) contains exactly eleven verses. For the text of this unpublished work, edited from the latter MS, see below, under Additions and Corrections.

3 See above, p. 46, footnote.

The second Prakāśa is written in Vasantatilaka metre (with a concluding Puṣpitāgrā verse) composed with end-rhyme[1]. It is devoted to the Prātar-līlā, in which Yaśodā awakens the boy Kṛṣṇa, who has slyly crept from the grove into his own bed at home (1-6); maid-servants attend upon him during his washing of face and other morning ceremonies (7-19); then we have Kṛṣṇa's milking of cows (Go-dohana) and mock-fight (Malla-yuddha) with his boy-friends, bath, dress and breakfast (20-46). Similar descriptions follow regarding Rādhā's morning activities, which are assisted by her companions, involving a somewhat heightened, but interesting, account of the lady's dress, ornament and decoration (47-79). Rādhā, summoned by Yaśodā, goes to Nanda's house; she assists (80-85) Rohiṇī, like a dutiful daughter-in-law, to cook the morning meal consisting of a large number of delicious dishes, which are described in detail with great relish (86-118). It is curious that in the long list of the various vegetables, we find the familiar modern dialectical names of *ālu*, *kacu*, *paṭola*, *mocā*, *diṇḍīsa* (डेँड़श), *karkarola* (काँकरोल) and *varavaṭī* (वर्वटी), as well as the words *tarkārī* (vegetable), *kharcura* (खैचुर) and *dadhi-ghola-vaḍā*! The third Prakāśa, composed in the long and sonorous, but end-rhyming, Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, completes the Pūrvāhṇa-līlā, and just commences the Madhyāhna-līlā. The Pūrvāhṇa-līlā comprises the topic of serving of the morning meal to Kṛṣṇa and his companions, after which Rādhā and others eat (1-1), and Kṛṣṇa's going out with his friends to tend the cows, followed by a description of their dress and various sports (15-36). The Madhyāhna-līlā begins with a description of the bewitching

1 As for instance (ii. 70):

maulau babandha katamā sumaṇī-pravekaṃ
san-mālatī-kusuma-garbhaka-kānti-sekam/
dhammillam ullasita-lohita-paṭṭa-dāmnā
lamba-pralamba-yugalena maṇīdra-dhāmnā//.

Rūpa Gosvāmin uses middle-rhyme in his *Mukunda-muktāvalī* Stotra (see below).

sweetness of Kṛṣṇa's flute and of the beauty of the forest (including a pedantic list of the names of trees in five verses!) in the six seasons (37-56) and ends with the topic of sylvan sports (57-73).

The fourth Prakāśa, in which the Svāgatā metre is employed with end-rhyme, continues the topic of the Madhyāhna-līlā in 298 stanzas. It is the longest canto in the poem, which depicts in detail and with great zest Kṛṣṇa's midday erotic sports with Rādhā and the Gopīs. It describes Kṛṣṇa's youthful beauty of limbs (4-34), the Abhisāra of Rādhā accompanied by the Gopīs and their witty erotic raillery (35-70), Kṛṣṇa's playing on his flute which brings on sentimental helplessness (Bhāva-vaikalya) in the Gopīs (71-82). Kṛṣṇa's pleasantries and sportive dispute regarding the ownership of the forest, ending with dalliance on land and in water (83-200), dressing after bath (201-212), picnic with a detailed description, again, of the food taken (213-238), and dice-play with erotic jests and wagers (239-298). The fifth Prakāśa, in which we have Puṣpitāgrā metre with end-rhyme, describes the Aparāhna and Sāyāhna-līlās. It depicts Kṛṣṇa's return home in the afternoon with his herd of cows (1-14) and the consequent sorrow, poetically exaggerated, of all animate and inanimate things of the forest at parting from him (15-23), as well as Kṛṣṇa's appearance as he returns (24-43), and his milking of cows (44-47). In the Sāyāhna-līlā, we have Kṛṣṇa's change of dress, massage of limbs, bath and rest, assisted by attendants (48-62), taking of the evening meal (63-73), going to the cow-shed (74-87) and retiring to his bed-room (88-97). The six and last canto, in Mandākrāntā metre (also with end-rhyme), begins with the Pradoṣa-līlā, in which Kṛṣṇa in bed is tended by his mother Yaśodā, as well as by attendants (1-11), and which is followed by the Abhisāra of the Gopīs (12-20) and union with Rādhā (21-31). In the Naiśa-līlā the love-sports in the grove (32-37) begin with the drinking of light and sweet wine made from the honey of flowers (Madhupāna, 38-65), playful stealing of Kṛṣṇa's Syamantaka jewel

(66-69), with just a brief concluding reference to amorous dalliance (70-71), which in the reticent opinion of the poet[1], is incapable of proper description, and which, therefore, makes him hush and bless himself with silence[2]!

Such is the luxuriously sentimental picture of Vṛndāvana, a veritable paradise of unalloyed sports, pastimes and pleasantries—and of gorgeous feeding! In depicting it, Kavikarṇapūra displays considerable literary skill, but his mediocre poetic powers do not improve by the selection of a fanciful and romantic theme, nor by the strenuous application of all the resources of traditional technique. He is not entirely graceless in bringing out the succulent possibilities of his highly erotic subject, but they are obscured by a prodigious amount of pedantry and rhetorical refinement. A pleasing variation is introduced by the employment of middle and end-rhyme[3] in the verses, obviously through the influence of vernacular poetry; the stanzas undoubtedly possess swing, smoothness and melody; but the interminable and wearisome use of such rhyming device becomes singsong. Kavikarṇapūra possesses a considerable vacabulary of fine words; he is a clever artisan in the employment of conventional imageries, expressions, ideas, and conceits; he is a talented master of verbal and metrical contrivance; but in verse after verse his constant straining after purely rhetorical

1 It is not that the poet is always reticent; witness, for instance, the fulsome description of erotic acts, gestures and jest in cantos i, iv, and vi! Or, as a particular instance, Rādhā's joke in iv. 47, for which even the editor feels that some apology is necessary!

2 There are three concluding verses, two in Śloka and one in Śārdūlavikrīḍita, in which the author gives a brief account of himself. The last verse states:

śrī-gaurāṅga-kṛpāmayo'vani-tale śrīmac-chivānandakaḥ
seno'mbaṣṭha-kulodbhavaḥ sukṛtibhiḥ sārdhaṃ sadā gauradṛk/
tat-putraḥ kavikarṇapūra-rasikācāryāgraṇīr nītitaṇ
śrī-kṛṣṇahnika-kaumudīti viditaṃ kāvyaṃ su-kāvyaṃ vyadhāt//

3 The end-rhyme, as well as middle-rhyme, is extensively used by Rūpa Gosvāmin in many of his well-known Stotras e.g. *Mukunda-muktāvalī*, *Svayam-utprekṣita-līla*, *Kuñjavihāri-stava*, etc.

effect[1] gives us a prodigality of literary ingenuity instead of a profusion of poetic beauty.[2]

1 We must not forget that Kavikarṇapūra was also the author of an elaborate rhetorical work, entitled *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*, which deals, not with Bhakti-rasa, but with Kāvya-rasa. It is curious, however, that in his illustrations he does not quote his own Kāvyas, although two verses of his drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya* (cited by us above) are quoted anonymously (ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1898, pp. 630-631).

2 It is doubtful if the *Camatkāra-candrikā*, which is sometimes ascribed to Kavikarṇapūra (see above, p. 46, footnote), really belongs to him. There is no proof of authorship to be found in the body of the work ; and the name of the author is missing in the colophon of the printed text as well as of the India Office (Eggeling, vii, no. 3882/1177e), Tübingen (Roth, p. 9), Bengal Asiatic Society (H. P. Sastri, vii, no. 5200), Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad (C. H. Chakravarti, p. 186) MSS, although it appears as Kavikarṇapūra in that of the single MS of R. L. Mitra (vi, no. 2150). The testimony of the five Dacca University MSS, which we consulted, is conflicting ; three of them (nos. 2412, 2465, 2770) contain no name of the author ; the colophon of one (no. 2387), which is a modern MS (dated Śaka 1740=1818 A.D.) ascribes the work to Kavikarṇapūra-gosvāmin ; while that of another (no. 2657) definitely names Viśvanātha as the author. The printed text, according to tradition, ascribes it to Viśvanātha Cakravartin ; and this is more likely. It is, however, a small and simple Kāvya of little importance on some curious love-intrigues of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, divided into four Kutūhalas (of 37, 33, 101 and 55 verses respectively=226 verses in total), the verses being composed in each canto (except canto iii, which is entirely in Upajāti) in a variety of metres. In the first Kutūhala, Kṛṣṇa stealthily gets into a box of clothes and ornaments, which Yaśodā wants to send to Rādhā, and which Rādhā's husband, Abhimanyu, not knowing, carries on Yaśodā's request to Rādhā's bedroom to the great amusement of Rādhā and her companions ; the second Kutūhala describes how Kṛṣṇa, in the disguise of Abhimanyu, succeeds in deceiving Jaṭilā, Rādhā's mother-in-law, and obtains her permission to sport with Rādhā in her own house ; in the third Kutūhala, Rādhā pretends snake-bite, Kṛṣṇa arrives in the disguise of Vidyāvalī, daughter of the sage Garga, who is supposed to be a snake-doctor, and manages to spend the night with Rādhā in the art of curing her ; in the fourth Kutūhala, Kṛṣṇa, failing in the disguise of a girl to propitiate Rādhā, deceives Jaṭilā into the belief that he is a girl-cousin, and at her direction Rādhā is obliged

The *Govinda-līlāmṛta*[1] of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja contains a more extensive treatment of the same theme. It is a long and laborious production of a subtle pedant, rather than of a sound or even sophisticated poet. Whatever may be its value to the devotee of the faith, the stupendous work is not a poem but a poetical curiosity of Śāstric knowledge, legendary lore, salacious fancy, technical facility and uninspired ingenuity. It is the longest Bengal Vaiṣṇava Kāvya in verse the number of cantos being 23 and of verses 2488.[2] It falls, according to the accepted scheme of day-and-night sports and pastimes of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, into the following divisions:[3] Prātar-līlā i-iv ; Pūrvāhṇa-līlā v-viii ; Madhyāhna-līlā ix-xviii ; Apa-rāhṇa-, Sāyaṃ-, and Pūrva-niśā-līlā xix-xxi, including Rāsa-līlā xxii ; and Rajanī-līlā xxiii. We have already noted that the work was composed, as the author himself tells us (xxiii. 94), on a hint supplied by Rūpa Gosvāmin in a work, entitled *Smaraṇa-maṅgala*;[4] but it is not clear if Kṛṣṇadāsa also knew Kavikarṇapūra's *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī*. Probably he knew it ; for he certainly utilised Kavikarṇapūra's biographical poem and drama in his Bengali biography of Caitanya. The present work was avowedly intended as a *vade mecum* for those

to accept his companionship for the night. It is a work of little poetic merit or theological pretension, and the somewhat trite stories are not very amusingly told.

1 See above, p. 54, footnote 1

2 The figure does not include 23 colophon-verses, repeated with some variations at the end of each canto. These would make the total 2511. In the India Office MS of the work, the number slightly varies in each canto as well as in the total.

3 The actual title of each canto, with the respective number of verses, is as follows: I Kuñja-niśānta-keli-racana 116 ; II-III Kalya-vilāsa-varṇana 105 and 113 ; IV Prātar-bhojana-līlā 77 ; V-VIII Pūrvāhṇa-līlā 80, 86, 132 and 115 ; IX-X Madhyāhna-līlā 106 and 149 ; XI Rādhā-tanu-varṇana 146 ; XII-XVIII Madhyāhna-līlā (continued) 105, 114, 112, 146, 110, 68 and 98 ; XIX Aparāhṇa-keli 109 ; XX Sāyaṃ-keli 77 ; XXI Pūrva-niśā-vilāsa 127 ; XXII Rāsa-līlā 101 ; XXIII Rajanī-vilāsa 96.

4 For this work see below, under Additions and Corrections.

who want to practise Rāgānugā Bhakti (*rāgādhva-sādhaka*); the descriptions are, therefore, made deliberately detailed and circumstantial, in conformity with the dictates of Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra.[1] But the work was also meant for the conscious display of the author's extraordinary learning and skill in grammar, rhetoric, prosody, erotics, music, poetics and theology !

It is not necessary to summarise the details of the openly erotic sports, which are elaborately and lusciously depicted, Kṛṣṇadāsa being not at all squeamish or observing the greater reticence of Rūpa, Jīva and Karṇapūra ; but some interesting features may be briefly indicated. The Niśānta- and Prātar-līlās, in the first two cantos, include description of the awakening of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā from sleep by speaking parrots sent by Vṛndā, the raillery of Rādhā's companions, Kṛṣṇa's pretended sleep after Rādhā leaves and formal awakening by Yaśodā, his going out with his companions and milking of cows, and Rādhā's morning ablution, dress and decoration. The third and fourth cantos on Pūrvāhṇa-līlā continue the last topic but they also describe the cooking of food by Rādhā and her companions at Yaśodā's direction,[2]

1 A reverential mention is made of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, namely, Rūpa, Jīva, Raghunātha-dāsa and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, whose works the author follows. As Sanātana is not directly mentioned, it is probable that he was dead at the time of the composition of the work (see above, p. 55, footnote 2).

2 The ingredients of the food, as well as the delicious dishes prepared, are elaborately mentioned in iii. 4-5, 39-54, 58-59 and 87-108. We know from *C-C* that Kṛṣṇadāsa never misses an opportunity of giving, with great relish, long lists of gorgeous delicacies: see, for instance, Caitanya's taking meals at Advaita's house after Saṃnyāsa, Madhya iii. 43-55 ; Jagannātha's Prasāda sent by Pratāparudra, Madhya xiv, 25-34 ; Caitanya's meals at Sārvabhauma's house at Purī, Madhya xv, 207-218 etc. It is interesting to note that on the last occasion, Sārvabhauma's son-in-law, Amogha, is said to have commented upon the amount of food taken by the ascetic Caitanya: एइ अन्ने तृप्त हय दश वार जन । एकेला संन्यासी करे एतेक भोजन ॥ The scoffer, we are told, was conse-

Kṛṣṇa's bath, dress and partaking of the food and going out again with his boy-friends, after which Rādhā and others take their meals. The fifth and sixth cantos describe Kṛṣṇa's Goṣṭha-līlā or tending of cows and incidental erotic adventures. At Jaṭilā's direction Rādhā prepares to go to worship the sun (Sūrya-pūjā), but she is full of love and longing for Kṛṣṇa, makes garlands and betels for him and sends her companion, Tulasī, with them. After partaking of food again, brought by Dhaniṣṭhā, Kṛṣṇa finds Tulasī and sends a message to Rādhā to meet at the Rādhā-kuṇḍa. In the meantime Śaivyā brings a message from Candrāvalī, whom also Kṛṣṇa arranges to meet at Gaurī-tīrtha (this theme, however, the author does not develop later on !). The seventh canto concludes the Pūrvāhṇa-līlā by describing Kṛṣṇa's visit to the Rādhā-kuṇḍa, where he waits expectantly for Rādhā ; and the poet takes the opportunity to describe the Rādhā-kuṇḍa, as well as the Śyāma-kuṇḍa nearby, and the adjoining grove, which contains an arbour with a swing in it.

The Madhyāhna-līlā, which describes the lovers' meeting and their various sports, naturally takes larger space for elaborate erotic descriptions. The eighth, ninth and tenth cantos depict Rādhā's visit, on the pretext of Sūrya-pūjā, accompanied by Vṛndā and her companions, her meeting with Kṛṣṇa, her erotic feelings and gestures, and the witty but always erotic jests, innuendos, fun and merriment with Kundalatā and other Sakhīs, including the playful stealing of Kṛṣṇa's flute ; which last incident gives Kṛṣṇa an opportunity, on the pretext of a search for his lost flute, to touch and embrace the Sakhīs individually and ultimately come to Rādhā in the arbour for a brief sexual enjoyment. A part of the ninth canto appears to be intended for a minute and systematic illustration, by a series of verses bearing on Rādhā, of

quently afflicted with cholera! These, as well as the exceedingly salacious erotic passages from the ascetic Gosvāmins, will perhaps afford an interesting study of inhibitions to the modern psychologist!

the generous set of graces, qualities and excellences of the conventional Nāyikā prescribed by the Rasa-śāstra.[1] There is also a brief inventory (ix. 35-38), in the form of a comparison of Rādhā to the forest, of the detailed beauty of her limbs,[2] made by Kṛṣṇa himself ! We have a repetition of the familiar motif of the sportive dispute with regard to the sovereignty of the forest, but the author also makes fun of the Smārta Pañcopāsanā (i e. worship of the five deities, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Durgā) and the Nava-graha-pūjā (worship of the nine planets) by an unwarranted erotic application in viii. 11 f and 82 f. In the eleventh canto, Kṛṣṇa, after enjoyment, replaces Rādhā's displaced clothes and ornaments and decorates her afresh, while the curious Sakhīs peep with evident pleasure ! We have also an elaborate and luscious description, which omits nothing, of the beauty of Rādhā's youthful limbs. But the canto is also meant to illustrate serially the various poetic figures of word and sense, as well as the various metres, as defined by rhetoricians[3] and prosodists,[4] the object being to astonish us with incredible

1 The author not only illustrates the characteristics, but scholastically mentions them in three verses (ix 3-5), namely, the eight Sāttvikas, the Udbhāsvaras, the seven effortless (Ayatnaja) graces, the ten natural (Svabhāvaja) and three physical (Aṅgaja) excellences, and twenty-two Bhāvas or expressions of feelings!

2 In this, as in everything else, Kṛṣṇadāsa is not original, for a similar descriptive simile of the physical charms of Rādhā will be found in Raghunātha-dāsa's *Kṛṣṇojjvala-kusuma-keli* Stotra (*Stavāvalī* pp. 12-22) and in *Muktā-caritra*, pp. 166-172.

3 It is difficult to say what rhetorical treatise Kṛṣṇadāsa follows. The commentator, named Vṛndāvana Cakravartin, who describes himself as a pupil of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma, informs us (on xi. 13) that the Alaṃkāras are illustrated in accordance with Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*, but he refers also to the interpretation of his own Guru, Kṛṣṇadeva.

4 Practically the whole of the *Chando-mañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa is illustrated, beginning from metres of two (*strīṣu śreṣṭhā/ citrā cakhyau*), three (*nārīṇāṃ mūrdhanyā/ śrī-jyeṣṭhā sāvādīt*), four (*bhānoḥ kanyāṃ dhanyām etām/ sā paśyantī vāsantyākhyat*), five (*hāsa-vikāsa-śrī-rada-*

feats of verbal and metrical jugglery. In the twelfth canto we have renewed dispute about the theft of the flute and description of the grove by Vṛndā ; in the thirteenth, we find Kṛṣṇa's description of the six seasons, the play of the talking parrots, and Kṛṣṇa's erotic repartee with Rādhā ; in the fourteenth, the topics are Rādhā's Prema-vaicittya, the sport of throwing fragrant and coloured water, the game of the swing (Hindolārohaṇa), drinking of sweet wine (Madhu-pāna)[1] and lying down in the grove ; while the fifteenth proceeds to the natural climax of Saṃbhoga, or unalloyed sexual enjoyment, in the course of which Kṛṣṇa, at Rādhā's request, assumes multiple forms and enjoys all her companions simultaneously! This is followed by sports in water, picnic of fruits and herbs, and midday sleep. The sixteenth and seventeeth cantos describes the awakening of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā from sleep, in which the motif of parrots singing their praise is repeated. The wise parrots, like the learned author, appear to be well versed in Alaṃkāra-śāstra, and illustrate in each verse of two extensive cantos the different poetic figures! They are also adepts in the art of composing devotional Stotras and recite a Kṛṣṇāṣṭaka and a Rādhāṣṭaka! The eighteenth canto illustrates what is known as Bhāṣā-sama (in which a verse would read the same in Sanskrit and Prakrit) and all kinds of verbal trick (Dyakṣara, Samaka, etc.) and Prahelikā (Kriyā-gupta, Saṃbandha-gupta, etc.) ; but it concludes the Madhyā-

paṅktiḥ/ kṛṣṇa-mude sā prāha viśākhā) and six *sabhāṃ prīṇayantī sakhīṃ lajjayantī/ sva-vāṇyā kavīśā'vadat tuṅgavidyā*) syllables, which are not commonly used, and ending with every variety of metre, common or uncommon, defined by metrists! Not only in this canto ; but a general feature of the work is that the same metre is not employed throughout any canto. There is another series of short-syllable metres exemplified in xiii. 73-103.

1 Rādhā's intoxicated stuttering is imitated in xv. 5 in Druta-vilambita metre: *ma ma mā pi pi pi spṛśa māṃ hare, ki ki kiṃ vidhātum ihecchasi/ śa śayituṃ da da dehī mama kṣaṇam, ka kalitākṣi-yugāsmi ghu ghūrṇayā//*. But this is, again, not original ; cf. *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī* vi. 62 and *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya*, no. 39.

hna-līlā by describing dice-play with its attendant pleasantries and erotic wagers. The inevitable spoil-sport Jaṭilā appears on the scene ; Rādhā pretends to be engaged in sun-worship ; Kṛṣṇa deceives Jaṭilā by entering in the disguise of a priest, and later on of a sooth-sayer versed in palmistry ; and the whole comedy ends by Kṛṣṇa's boy-friends plundering the offerings to the sun-god!

The Aparāhṇa-līlā takes up the nineteenth and twentieth cantos, in which Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā return to their respective homes and engage in their usual duties. Rādhā again prepares various kinds of delicacies, of which a minute list is given (xix. 50-58), and sends them to Kṛṣṇa for feeding. But the author cannot divest himself of his scholastic pedantry. We are told, for instance, that Kṛṣṇa, in his boyish conversation, becomes engaged with boy-friends in Ālāpa, Anulāpa, Pralāpa, Vipralāpa, Saṃlāpa, Supralāpa, Vilāpa, and Apalāpa[1], as well as in the employment of words which are Grasta, Avispaṣṭa, Nirasta, Avajña, Vitatha, Saṃgata, Sopālambha, Sotprāsa, Vyāja-stuti-garbha and Narmāñcita-gūḍha, or characterised by Citra-kāvya and Samasyā-dāna-pūraṇa—an elaborate summary of conversational attributes! The twenty-first canto is devoted to Pradoṣa-līlā. There is an evening assembly of dancing and singing in Nanda's place, which Kṛṣṇa attends, and soon pretends to retire to sleep ; but he really slips away and unites with Rādhā, who has gone in the approved style of an Abhisārikā to a grove on the banks of the Yamuna. This, of course, gives an opportunity to the author to describe the river and its surrounding scenery in the conventional manner, and furnish lists of trees and shrubs (xxi. 30-36, 50-53), birds (xxi. 66-67, 89 water-birds) and animals (xxi. 90) ! One would expect that the twenty-second and twenty-third cantos, which are concerned with Rāsa-līlā at night, would make the author shed his pedantry and give evidence of poetry ; but much of the two

1 Cf. *Amara-kośa* i. 6. 15-16 and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* pp. 264-267.

cantos is taken up with a dry display of the author's knowledge of Saṃgīta- and Nāṭya-śāstra, in the course of which he mentions 22 Śrutis, 59 Tānas, 21 Mūrchanās, and 15 Gamakas (xxii. 79-81) ! A discourse on music follows, in which we have a list of Rāgas or melodies (xxii. 85-87), of musical instruments (xxii. 88-90), gestures and Mudrās (xxii. 91-92), and Tālas (xxii. 97-101 ; xxiii. 7-14), as well as of Mārga and Deśī class of songs. Here is a specimen of the dancing Tāla versified:

dhāṃ dhāṃ dṛk dṛk caṅa caṅa niṅām naṃ niṅāṃ naṃ
niṅāṃ naṃ
tuk tuk tuṃ tuṃ guḍu guḍu guḍu drāṃ drāṃ guḍu drāṃ
guḍu drāṃ/
dhek dhek dho dho kiriṭi kiriṭi dho drāṃ drimi drāṃ
drimi drāṃ
āgatyaivaṃ muhur iha mudā śrīmad-īśā nanarta//.

After the dancing and singing, feeding follows with a list again of various delicacies, the whole being rounded off with Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā retiring to bed ; which last theme, Kṛṣṇadāsa, like Kavikarṇapūra, does not, demurely enough, work up any further. The end of a perfect day and night !

The extremely artificial and learned character of this astonishing literary atrocity is obvious. When a scholastic mind writes verse, we can expect nothing better ; and further comment is needless. The effort is stupendous, but puerile. The frank object is not narrative, nor poetry, but direct illustration of technical niceties, highly erotic refinements, and rhetorical and metrical ingenuities. The imposing magnitude, sheer erudition and profusion of elaborate skill are admitted, but the work also illustrates a curious combination of the laboured volubility of a bad poet with the clever prolixity of a subtle pedant. While it is highly artistic in the extremely narrow sense, and perhaps esoteric and devotional, the work is remarkably sensuous in spirit and treatment, and suggests nothing but erotic interest. We are

assured that despite apparent sensuousness, the theme is spiritual. But the glorification of the sex-impulse, which occurs from page to page, is frank, supreme and all-absorbing. This remark applies not merely to the present work, which perhaps deserves it more than any other, but to almost all the literary productions of Caitanyaism. The glowing description of erotic acts, feelings, gestures and repartees, and evident relish in them, make it difficult to interpret them as mere symbol or allegory. Apart from the usual portraiture of lovers' dalliance, which is an established convention in the Kāvya, the unveiled succulence of the ubiquitous and interminable series of erotic passages cannot be taken as mere practical illustration of the knowledge of Kāma-śāstra and Rasa-śāstra. Notwithstanding the grace of a complex diction, the passages are too often graceless. One may make a desperate attempt to read a supersensuous meaning, but what we have here is plainly and emphatically the language of the senses. To justify it in any other way would be futile ; for the whole Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend in these work is treated more as a literal fact than as an elevating allegory. There is no suggestion in the works themselves that they are allegories ; they are manifestly presented as religious history. If one says that all this is, therefore, more than literature, criticism ends there ; but if there is any spiritual foundation, one must say it is too insecure for the excessive load of sexual passion. If this extreme sensuousness be not an acquisition to religion, it may be urged that it is a gain to literature ; but even from the literary standpoint, the frank naturalism of physical passion cannot be the only interest or inspiration in literary works, nor can it possess more than a limited appeal.

The *Saṃkalpa-kalpadruma*[1] of Jīva deals with the Nitya-līlā (Prakaṭa and Aprakaṭa) at Vṛndāvana, but it is not so much a poem as a versified theological summary of the author's conception of the Nitya-līlā, expressed in his much

1 See above, p. 157.

more extensive *Gopāla-campū*, both parts of which were composed some time before the present work (i. 264).[1] Kṛṣṇa is the Kalpadruma or the heavenly tree fabled to fulfil all desires ; the roots are his Līlās like birth etc. (Janmādi-līlā) ; the stem or trunk is his eternal sports (Nitya-līlā) ; the branches are the verses which describe the sports at different seasons (Tat-tad-ṛtu-śloka) ; and the fruit is the attainment of divine love.[2] The work is accordingly divided into four parts ; Janmādi-līlā, Nitya-līlā, Sarvartu-līlā and Phala-niṣpatti.

The first part, consisting of 275 verses (of which 264 are in Śloka), makes a devout enumeration of the incidents of birth and allied topics in the form of praise (Stuti), the account being rounded off with eleven stanzas in Puṣpitāgrā metre. The account is practically a theological résumé of the entire career of Kṛṣṇa, but it emphasises the Vṛndāvana-līlā, to which Kṛṣṇa is said to return after his Dvārakā-līlā in accordance with his promise made to the Gopīs. The second part, in which the Puṣpitāgrā metre continues, is concerned with the eternal sports with the people of Vraja (Nitya-līlā), which are said to occur in a non-manifest (Aprakaṭa) form in the manifest (Prakaṭa) Vṛndāvana. The Vṛndāvana described is a divinely sublimated replica of the actual or ideal Vraja with its cow, cowherd and cowherdess (Go-gopa-gopī), as well as with the friends, relatives and associates of Kṛṣṇa. Here Rādhā is the foremost beloved (*prathamatamā khalu tāsu saiva saiva*, ii. 33), with whom Kṛṣṇa sported alone for a long time during the Rāsa-līlā. We are told at the beginning of the work that Kṛṣṇa is indeed the husband of the Gopīs from time eternal (*anādi-*

1 Jīva Gosvāmin must have been well advanced in years when this work was written, for he says (i. 4):

vṛndāraṇye jarañ jīvaḥ kaścit prāha manaḥ prati/
mriyate'sāṃprataṃ mūḍha guḍhām etāṃ sudhāṃ piba//.

2 *mūlaṃ janmādi-līlāsya skandhaḥ syān nitya-līlatā/*
śākhā tat-tad-ṛtu-ślokāḥ phalaṃ premamayī sthitiḥ//

janma-siddhānāṃ gopīnāṃ patir eva saḥ, i. 2). The erotic acts and feelings of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are described, as well as parental affection (Vātsalya) of Nanda and Yaśodā and friendship (Sakhya) of the Gopas. The various sports with the Gopīs, tending and milking of cows, bath, meals[1], evening entertainments and union with Rādhā and the Gopīs are also briefly described. The total number of verses in this largest section is 315. The third part of the work, also in Puṣpitāgrā metre (131 stanzas), relates a conversation between Rādhā Kṛṣṇa on the effects of the various seasons and describes their entertainments with the Gopīs. The fourth and last section on Phala-niṣpatti, consists of ten verses in Sragdharā and two in Śārdūlavikrīḍita, which constitute a Stuti or panegyric of the united form (Yugala-mūrti) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa ; for Jīva has already inculcated (ii. 206) this united, and not separate, worship:

śṛṇu hṛdaya diśāmi rādhikāyāṃ|
harim abhisāraya tatra tāṃ kadāpi|
dvayam idam anu pūjanaṃ tad eva|
dvayam anu yat puruṣa-toṣa-poṣa-kāri||.

The section is concluded with seven more verses which pay homage of the author to his two uncles (*pitṛvya-yugalam*). The work is written in a much more simple style and diction than what is usual with its learned author, and its devotional

1 The question of the number of meals taken by Kṛṣṇa appears to have worried the dogmatists, inasmuch as somewhat divergent accounts are found in different works! Jīva Gosvāmin lays down (ii. 172 f) that Kṛṣṇa took four meals in all ; morning meal served by his mother, the second meal in the forenoon with his companions, the third meal at midday with his beloved Gopīs, and the fourth meal after dusk with his elderly relatives! Even such minute details appear to be of importance ! Jīva gives a list of the food brought by the ladies (ii. 190, 195), but it lacks the variety and richness of Kṛṣṇadāsa's description. —Regarding differences in the description of details in the day-and-night sports, see the remarks of the editor of the *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī*, pp. iv-v, where he points out several discrepancies in the various accounts of Kavikarṇapūra, Kṛṣṇadāsa and Viśvanātha Cakravartin.

attitude is unmistakable ; but it would be proper to regard it as a metrical doctrinarian treatise rather than as a poem in the real sense.

The general topic of Kṛṣṇa's sports with Rādhā in the Vṛndāvana-līlā also forms the theme of the *Saṃgīta-mādhava*[1] of Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī. The inspiration, however, does not come directly from the theology of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, but proceeds from the poetry of Jayadeva, upon whose *Gīta-govinda* Prabodhānanda deliberately models his lyrical poem. It is, therefore, a relief to turn from the literary lucubrations of Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa to this more lively composition. The work certainly belongs to the Caitanya sect, for the author pays a concluding homage to Caitanya in a graceful stanza.[2] As against Jayadeva's twelve cantos, Prabodhānanda has fifteen ; the theme however, as in Jayadeva's work, is, slight. But, while Jayadeva develops his meagre theme through poetical situations and motifs of separation, sorrow, longing, jealousy, penitence and joy of reunion, and invests it with unparallelled pictorial richness, verbal harmony and lyrical splendour of finely interwoven narrative, dialogue, song and description, Prabodhānanda is only an ingenious imitator and a poor poet. Even the framework of his poem is flimsy and unconvincing. Some Sakhī (presumably the author himself in his Sakhī-bhāva !), singing, in the first canto, the praises of Vṛndāvana and of the sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa which occurred therein, is filled with longing, and addresses, in the second canto, some more experienced companion to relate them to her in detail. This starts the poem ; but the episodes, described in song and verse, are really detached, and include such topics as Rādhā-dāsya or

1 See above, p. 131. The *Rādhā-rasa-sudhānidhi* is wrongly ascribed to Prabodhānanda, see above, p. 132, footnote 3.

2 *asraughair makaranda-bindu-nivahaṃ nisyandibhiḥ sundaraṃ*
ṇetrendīvaram ādadhat su-pulakotkampaṃ ca bibhrat vapuḥ/
vācaś cāpi sagadgadā hari-harītyānandinīr udgiran
premānanda-rasotsavaṃ diśatu vo devaḥ śacī-nandanaḥ//.

Kṛṣṇa's becoming a humble servant of Rādhā (iii) ; Mithodarśana or first sight of each other (iv) ; Sakhyanunaya or entreaty of the Sakhīs (v) ; Rādhā's clever repartee (vi) ; the various amatory-conditions of Kṛṣṇa, love-sick (Mugdha, vii), impetuous Rasoddhata, viii), pleased (Mudita, ix), excited (Uttarala, x) and afflicted (Vihvala, xi) ; as well as the joy of perfect union and Rāsa-vilāsa (xii-xiv), with a concluding expression of the author's own ecstasy over the beatific sports. The number of songs (in musical modes) introduced,[1] in the manner of Jayadeva's Padāvalīs, is twenty-eight, which to a certain extent relieve the monotony of the stereotyped erotic scheme ; but they are closely imitative, even if melodious, and some of them are exuberantly lengthy. The work is readable, and perhaps enjoyable, in spite of its somewhat cloying and langourous eroticism ; but it is the besetting weakness of an unoriginal epoch to produce literary counterfeits which seldom become current coins of poetry.

Of the Naimittika or occasional Līlās of Kṛṣṇa, the theme which appears to be highly favoured is the Dāna-līlā or pastime of gift, which forms the subject-matter of the inset-play in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya*,[2] of Rūpa's short play *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*,[3] Raghunātha-dāsa's short poem *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi*[4] and, in a sense, of his Campū, *Muktā-caritra*, of which we shall speak presently. The incident is slight and the theme slender in such compositions,

1 Their length forbids extensive quotation here, but the few opening lines from a song, openly imitative of one of the famous songs of Jayadeva (x. 1-8), will suffice as specimen:

tava lalita-kuṇḍalaṃ vidhuta-vidhu-maṇḍalaṃ cāru-mukham
amṛta-nidhi-sāram/
smarati mama mānasaṃ kim api rati-lālasaṃ syandi-mṛdu-hasita-
madhu-dhāram/

priye kvāsi rādhe, dehi mayi kim api śubha-dṛṣṭim/
tava nimeṣa - kautuke kirati mayi dāruṇo viṣama-viṣa-śara-
vṛṣṭim/ (Dhruva), etc.

2 See above, pp. 570 f.

3 See above, p. 581.

4 See above p. 124.

but the most interesting feature—in fact, the only feature—is the lively picture of Keli-kalaha or pretended love-quarrel between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, involving good-humoured pleasantry, light repartee, and youthful teasing and banter. The ready wit and smartness of the chaffing dialogues and speeches are often enjoyable, but invariably the jests are flagrantly charged with erotic words, ideas, imageries and suggestions, sometimes too vivacious to be strictly decent. There is, no doubt, delicacy of feeling and expression, but there is hardly any sense of squeamishness in the fulsome acts, gestures, words and innuendos.[1]

As borne out also by tradition, there can be doubt that Raghunātha-dāsa's *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi* was directly inspired by Rūpa's *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*. It keeps to the same general scheme and incident, the only notable variation being the slight introductory framework of making Kundalatā, wife of Nanda's nephew and Upananda's son Subhadra, the curious enquirer and her Sakhī, Sumukhī, the narrator of the erotic episode. Bhāguri is performing a sacrifice on behalf of Vasudeva ; Rādhā, with the Gopīs, is carrying fresh ghee in pitchers to the sacrificial ground ; and Kṛṣṇa, with his array of Gopas, form an octroi (Ghaṭṭīpaṭṭa) on the top of Govardhana hill for the levy of toll for passage.[2] The usual

1 With due deference to Vaiṣṇava sentiment, one must say that some of the dubious acts and jests, which are frank expressions of physical passion, appear out of place in what is supposed to be the witty repartee of a polished and cultured society. However esoteric the sense may be, they are presented as literal facts, of which sex, and sex alone, supplies the incentive ; but there is no point in going beyond the limits of natural modesty. It is extraordinary that such things should come from the highly pious Gosvāmins. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who must have known Raghunātha-dāsa quite intimately at Vṛndāvana, speaks of the severely ascetic days and nights the Gosvāmin spent in study and meditation, his dressing himself in rags, avoiding rich food, and spending not even three or four hours in sleep or rest.

2 We are told (verse 162) that the Kuṇḍa near the Govardhana hill where this Dāna-līlā took place is still called Dāna-līlā-nirvartana

dispute follows regarding the right of demand, nature, amount and mode of payment, and the usual erotic railleries in which Kṛṣṇa describes the physical charms of the youthful limbs, not only of Rādhā, but also of her Sakhīs, and expects payment in terms of lively enjoyment. The Gopīs reply with equal zest, pretend helpless anger and sit down at the foot of the hill. The elderly Nāndīmukhī appears on the scene; and through her arbitration, the dispute is settled satisfactorily by the arrangement of a meeting next day for gratifying payment in a grove near the Mānasagaṅgā. Raghunātha-dāsa can write facile and elegant verses of the erotic kind, and his metrical skill is considerable;[1] the dialogues and speeches are lively and witty with erotic suggestions; the small poem is not too much loaded with literary[2] or theological pedantry;

Kuṇḍa! Cf. the poet's Dāna-līlā-nirvartana-kuṇḍāṣṭaka Stotra in his *Stavāvalī*, pp. 455-59.

1 There are altogether 175 stanzas in the poem in which a variety of metres is employed. A metrical analysis, with the serial number of the stanzas, is as follows: Śārdūlavikrīḍita 1, 19, 21, 24, 27, 35, 37, 45, 57, 65, 78, 79, 103, 121, 144; Vasantatilaka 2, 16, 23, 31, 33, 34, 49-56, 58-60, 62-65, 67-69, 72, 73, 80-90, 92-97, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107-17, 119, 120, 128-131, 150-157, 164, 167, 171, 173; Mandākrāntā 3-15, 29, 36, 74, 75, 106, 122, 123, 125, 126, 136-139, 141; Upajāti (mixed Indravajrā and Upendravajrā) 38, 91, 100, 162-163, 165, 166, 168, 170; Śloka 18, 21, 30, 127, 132-135, 140, 169, 174, 175; Indravajrā 161; Mālinī 20, 61, 70, 76, 77, 145, 172; Pṛthvī 98, 124, 146-149, 158-160; Śikhariṇī 28, 32, 66; Rathoddhatā 48, 71, 143; Sundarī or Viyoginī 118. The Vasantatilaka forms the staple of the poem, much of the running narrative being carried on in this, as well as in the Śloka metre.

2 And yet he is not above the use of such conceits as in verse 115:

tūrṇaṃ hiraṇyakaśipuṃ bhagavan nṛsiṃha
candrāvalī-kaṭu-kucaṃ nakharair vidārya/
prahlādam ullasitam āśu kuru tvam ityā
karṇyaiṣa valgu lalitā-lapitaṃ jahāsa//

Or, the employment of conundrums in the description of Rādhā's beauty as in verse 144:

yeyaṃ bhrāmyati padminī phala-yugaṃ raktaṃ catuṣpañkajīm
bandhūke bhramarau vidhūṃś ca dadhatī sārdha-trayoviṃśatim/
śyāmendoḥ para-puṃsa āvakalanāt phullībhavet sā sadā
svīya-svāmi-raver vilokana-bharān mlānā sphuṭaṃ tāmyati//.

but, even admitting all this, one must say that the ideas are often commonplace, the diction conventional, the narrative inadequate and unoriginal, and there is little of the enthusiasm and imaginativeness of fine poetry to make amends for these deficiencies.

The *Mādhava-mahotsava*[1] of Jīva Gosvāmin deals with an entirely different episode, namely, the Abhiṣeka or consecration of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa as the queen of Vṛndāvana (Vṛndāvaneśvarī). The theme is not new, having been referred to by Raghunātha-dāsa in his *Vraja-vilāsa-stava* (verse 61) and *Vilāpa-kusumāñjali* (verse 87), and described by him in his *Muktā-caritra* (pp. 134-138); but no one before Jīva made it the theme of an extensive Kāvya of nine cantos and 1164 verses. The work is undoubtedly a laboured and artificial composition, but it has more poetical pretension and less theological prepossession than any other literary work of Jīva.

The names of the different cantos, which are framed after those of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, are meant as rubrics for indicating their subject-matter, although they do not give an idea of the gorgeous wealth of detail which the erudite fancy of Jīva supplies with its marvellous verbal proficiency. The first canto (Utsuka-rādhika) describes Rādhā's longing at receiving the hint of an assignation to meet Kṛṣṇa; the second canto (Unmanyu-rādhika) depicts her resentment (Māna) on hearing that her rival Candrāvalī is destined for dominion over Vṛndāvana; in the third canto (Utphulla-rādhika) we find that, through the efforts of Vṛndā, aided by those of Viśākhā and Paurṇamāsī, Rādhā becomes joyful when Kṛṣṇa's real love for her is revealed; in the fourth canto (Uddyota-rādhika), proof of Kṛṣṇa's love is found in the preliminary preparation (Adhivāsa) of the regal consecration which is on foot; the fifth canto (Udita-rādhika) describes completion of the arrangements and Rādhā's appearance in the newly erected pavilion (Maṇḍapa); the sixth canto (Unnata-rādhika)

1 See above, p. 157.

is devoted to a detailed description of the beauty of the groves of Vṛndāvana, the appearance of the various gods to witness the ceremony and the beauty of Rādhā's eyes; with the seventh canto (Utsikta-rādhika) we have the beginning of the Abhiṣeka (with eight kinds of successive consecration), songs of Gandharva maidens, sprinkling of sacred water from consecrated pitchers and lavish description of the beauty of the youthful limbs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; the eighth canto (Ujjvala-rādhika) is concerned with the details of Rādhā's toilet for the occasion; and in the last and ninth canto (Unmada-rādhika), Rādhā ascends the throne and sits with Kṛṣṇa, in the midst of great festivity, elaborate ceremonial worship and singing of praise.

Jīva Gosvāmin is undoubtedly an adept in the adroit manufacturing of standardised poetry; and marvellous erudition goes hand in hand with marvellous adorning of trivialities. Like most of his learned and laborious compeers, he reveals himself in this poem as a talented master of diction and metre,[1] and his workmanship is massively impressive in

1 Like Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, but not to the same extent, Jīva wants to make a display of metrical variety in this work. In the following analysis, the respective metres with the number of verses, in each canto are given, along with the metre of the concluding verses in enclosing brackets (also with number in figures). Canto I Rathoddhatā 1-139 (Mālinī 3). II Indravajrā (but also occasionally Upendravajrā and Upajāti) 1-103 (Mālinī 3). III Vasantatilaka 1-116 (Mālinī 3). IV Praharṣiṇī 1-108 (Mālinī 3). V Indravaṃśā 1-94 (Mālinī 3). VI Drutavilambita 1-144 (Mālinī 3). VII Mālinī 1-162 (Sārdūla-vikrīḍita 2, Sragdharā 1, (Mālinī 3). VIII Śloka 1-160 (Śikhariṇī 9, Mālinī 3). IX Variety of metres (the figures refer to serial number of verses): Śālinī 1; Pramāṇikā 2; Mṛgendramukha 3; Dodhaka (1st half) and Svāgatā (2nd half) 4; Svagatā 5; Rathoddhatā 6; Sundarī or Viyoginī 7; Drutabilambita 8; Prabhāvatī 9; Udgatā 10; Puṣpitāgrā 11; Priyaṃvadā 12; Kalahaṃsa 13; Śuddha-Virāj 14; Lalitā 15; Unidentified 16; Sundarī 17; Aupacchandasika 18; Āryā 19; Pajjhaṭikā (with rhyme) 20; Cāruhāsinī 21; Gāthā 22; Śloka 23; Rathoddhatā 24; Vaṃśasthavila 25; Vasantatilaka 26; Praharṣiṇī 27; Mālinī 28; Vasantatilaka 29; Sragdharā 30; Vātormi 31; Hariṇī 32; Śloka 33; Sarasī 34; Indra-

its employment of the varied and subtle resources of traditional technique ; but all the richness and ingenuity of his art and erudition can hardly compensate the lack of true poetic inspiration, as well as of originality and independence of treatment. The incessant exertion after literary effect spoils freshness and spontaneity of feeling ; there is grace, but it is almost synonymous with strained and strange refinements. Over and over again these authors traverse the same ground, almost in the same manner, with the result that monotony becomes inevitable. In spite of considerable literary ability and emotional inflatus, much of this literature is doomed to mediocrity, because of the restriction imposed upon the poetic talent by the very nature of its theme, which is confined to the Kṛṣṇa-legend in general and limited to certain episodes and aspects of the legend in particular, as well as by the imposition of a rigid literary and emotional convention. The subject, scheme, motifs, sentiments, ideas, imageries and expression are all prescribed ; the language, the very metaphors, similes and other figures of speech, are all stereotyped ; even the nuances of the erotic feeling, which is the almost exclusive topic of description, are minutely fixed and classified, with

vaṃśā 35 ; Mattamayūrā 36 ; Āryā 37 ; Mālatī 38 ; Pañcacāmara 39 ; Vaiśvadevī 40 ; Śikhariṇī 41 ; Mandākinī 42 ; Vaṃśasthavila and Indravaṃśā, in two halves 43 ; Aparavaktra 44 ; Mālinī 45 ; Āryā 46 ; Śloka 47 ; Āryā-gīti 48 ; Candralekhā 49 ; Vasantatilaka 50 ; Udgatā 51 ; Nārāca 52; Tūṇaka 53 ; Lolā 54 ; Nāndīmukhī 55 ; Lolā 56 ; Vaṃśasthavila 57 ; Sragdharā 58 ; Śloka 59 ; Vasantatilaka 60 ; Bhujaṅgaprayāta 61 ; Śloka 62 ; Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 63 ; Śikhariṇī 64 ; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 65 ; Mattamātaṅga-līlā-kara (27 syllables) 66 ; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 67 ; Śālinī 68 ; Rathoddhatā 69 ; Drutavilambita 70 ; Nandana 71 ; Indravaṃśā and Vaṃśasthavila, in two halves 72 ; Naradaṭaka 73 ; Phulladāman 74 ; Sragviṇī 75 ; Indravaṃśā 76 ; Bhārākrāntā 77 ; Indravaṃśā 78 ; Unidentified 79 ; Citrā 80 ; Caṇḍī 81 ; Pṛthvī 82 ; Mandākrāntā 83 ; Citralekhā 84 ; Mandākrāntā 85 ; Chāyā 86 ; Sragdharā 87 ; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 88 ; Mandākrāntā 89 ; Sragdharā 90 ; Mandākrāntā 91 ; Unidentified 92 ; Mandākrāntā 93 ; Sragdharā 94-97 ; Śobhā 98 ; and Mālinī 99-102. It will be seen that Jīva uses several rare metres.

infinite scholastic relish, into nearly three hundred and sixty varieties in its Rasa-śāstra. The poets, finding no escape, naturally fall back upon assiduous, but wearisome, elaboration and embellishment of minutiae ; and there is always a tendency towards unnecessary profusion, display and expenditure of energy. There is, therefore, no temperance in the depths of passion, nor perspicuity and inevitableness in its expression. All poetry is strangled by the inexorable tentacles of the Śāstra, whether it be devotional or literary.

The three Campūs of Caitanyaism reveal, more or less, the same theme, treatment and characteristics, having been composed by the same set of authors with the same literary and theological prepossessions ; but perhaps the uncertain literary form of the Campū leads to a fresh accession of mannerisms peculiar to itself. As a type of literature, the Campū is a species of the Kāvya in mixed prose and verse, and, as such, exhibits no characteristics of matter and manner which are not already familiar to us, in their best and worst forms, from the regularly composed prose and metrical Kāvya. But the mosaic is bizarre and hardly of an attractive pattern. The Campū is essentially a prose composition, but since the relative proportion of prose and verse is undetermined, the desire to diversify prose freely by verse as an additional ornament naturally leads to a formlessness or disregard of strict form in its indiscriminate and mutually disproportionate use of prose and verse. The form, no doubt affords scope for versatility ; but the Campū writer, as a rule, merely seeks to copy, on the one hand, the traditional pomp and brocaded stateliness of Sanskrit literary prose, and reproduce, on the other, the conventional ornateness and artificiality of the metrical Kāvya. In the hands of later practitioners of the type, there was a praiseworthy attempt to divert the Campū from its narrow groove of stock poetic subjects, but traditional rhetoric proved too much for the assertion of a natural vein. The literary form came also to

be applied to purposes other than purely literary[1]; occasional description, philosophical exposition and religious propaganda naturally became some of its non-literary objectives. Like the Jaina writers of the West who made it a means of their religious end, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas readily availed themselves of the convenient literary form of the Campū for the expression of their creed and faith in the Kṛṣṇa-legend, not only by presenting erotico-religious pictures of great sensuous charm, but also by making it the vehicle of their elaborate theology.

The *Muktā-caritra*[2] Campū of Raghunātha-dāsa is a comparatively small work, which deals with one of the occasional or Naimittika Līlās of Kṛṣṇa and Rādha by telling a fanciful tale of a particular erotic episode. It is essentially a variation of the familiar story of the Dāna-līlā, but the motif is somewhat different. The theme[3] is simple, although it is worked out with the usual paraphernalia of erotic words, ideas and imageries. Satyabhāmā enquires, with a somewhat naïve curiosity, if pearls grow on trees, and Kṛṣṇa gives an account of his strange experience of having once grown pearl-creepers, which bore pearl-fruits, at Vṛndāvana, and relates in unblushing details his youthful erotic exploit, connected therewith, in relation to Rādhā and the Gopīs. During the Dīpālikā festival on the Govardhana hill, Kṣṛṇa jestingly requests Rādhā and the Gopīs to give him some pearls from their ornaments so that he may decorate his two cows. As they refuse to do so and laugh at him, he gets some pearls from his mother and sows them in the field carefully enclosed and guarded. The pearl-creepers grow and bear fruit to the wonder of all and to the jealousy of the Gopīs. The Gopīs make a similar attempt but fail, not because the rich and heavenly soil of Vṛndāvana would not grow them, but because

1 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, ch. vi, under Campū, p. 438 f.

2 See above, p. 123.

3 For a brief résumé of the theme, see above, *loc. cit.*

Kṛṣṇa and his boy-friends secretly remove the pearl-plants which the Gopīs grow, and replace them with a crop of thorny creepers. In desperate straits for having spoiled their own ornaments, in the foolish attempt, by divesting them of pearls, they offer to buy Kṛṣṇa's pearls with gold, but Kṛṣṇa wants payment in kind from each of them. A long and laughing dispute ensues, with the usual dialogues, witty repartees, erotic jests, acts, and gestures, till Nāndīmukhī intervenes and settles the love-quarrel by standing security for satisfactory payment. Thus, the entire motif of Keli-kalaha of the Dāna-līlā theme is reproduced in lavish detail. But the work is not merely a *réchauffé* of the usual theme ; it is also a recital of reminiscent love, meant to show the superiority of the first and free adolescent love for Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, for which Kṛṣṇa secretly longs and languishes, even though he is happy in wedded love with Satyabhāmā at Dvārakā[1].

In spite of inevitable monotony in working out a well worn theme in accordance with a fixed scheme and stereotyped motifs, ideas and expressions, the story, comparatively speaking, is simply and amusingly told. Even though the work is an artificially sustained effort, Raghunātha's manner is not impossibly weighted and ornamented, nor wholly devoid of interest in the matter. The work is written almost entirely in prose, but the author wisely avoids the complexities of superflously embellished and enormously prolonged sentences, although occasionally (as, for instance, in the gorgeous description of Rādhābhiṣeka, pp. 134-138), he succumbs to the temptation of a florid attempt at the extended scale of luxuriant description. But the rhetorical effect which Raghunātha often attains is not always tedious, nor his use of words

1 Perhaps, in accordance with Rūpa's exposition in the *Lalita-mādhava*, Kṛṣṇa, overcome with emotion at the end of the recital, declares to Satyabhāmā that she is Rādhā herself (*tvam eva jīvātu-rūpā rādhāsi*) ; but immediately afterwards we are told that Satyabhāmā, greatly impressed by the story, wants to set out for Vṛndāvana with her husband to meet Rādhā and fetch her !

glaringly atrocious. There are recondite puns in the smart repartees and innuendos, but there are no endless strings of complex puns ; nor is there any inordinate love for disporportionate compounds, nor strained search after interminable conceits, epithets and similes, nor weakness for constant jingling of meaningless sounds. Making allowance for the usual artificiality and error of taste, the highly flavoured dialogues and speeches are often witty and animated, and the expression is reasonably subdued and elegantly articulated. There are only two lengthy stretches of verse, one of which, consisting of thirteen melodious Śikhariṇī stanzas, describes (after his own *Kṛṣṇojjvala-kusuma-keli* Stotra)[1] Rādhā as the very personification of the Vṛndāvana forest, and the other is a bodily insertion of the thirteen Śloka stanza in praise of Rādhā from his own *Premāmbhoja-makaranda* Stotra.[2]

In his *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū*,[3] on the other hand, Kavikarṇapūra adopts a different manner and method ; for he appears to believe in the construction of spacious sentences, in the wearisome display of verbal complexities, in the clothing of his prose in a gorgeous, but heavy, garment of embroidered heap of phrases. As the name of the work implies, it is concerned with the Nitya-līlā or the entire life of Kṛṣṇa at blissful Vṛndāvana. It is a very extensive Campū in twenty-two Stavakas, written mostly in prose, the interspersed verses being limited in number ; and unlike Kavikarṇapūra's other works, it affects a stilted and impossibly mannered diction, modelled after those of Bāṇa and Subandhu. It must have been composed leisurely in the poet's advanced old age, for in one of the opening verses he laments not only the passing

1 *Stavāvali*, pp. 12-20.

2 *op. cit.*, pp. 268-275.

3 As we have noted above, the *Muktā-caritra* is quoted in Rūpa's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* (p. 261), but it is curious that Rādhā's Sakhī Campakalatā, in the *Muktā-caritra* quotes by name Rūpa's work, to which she gives the designation of a Saṃhitā. Which work then was written earlier ?

away of Caitanya but also of his great associates and followers, who might have appreciated the learned skill (Vaidagdhyī) and mode of erotic sentiment (Praṇaya-rasa-rīti) which his elaborate poem is meant to depict[1].

It is not necessary to summarise here the mass of descriptive details with which this Campū portrays the familiar Vṛndāvana career of Kṛṣṇa. The first Stavaka, entitled Bhagavat-sthāna-tattva-vallī-vistāra, describes, with lavish fancy and laboured diction, Vṛndāvana, its surroundings, its charms and its inmates. Here is a short specimen of the difficult punning style in which it proceeds:

nirantarāla-virājamāna-jyotiś-cakram api avikartanam aniśeṣam abhaumaṃ vibudhaṃ ajīvam akavi-gamyam amandaṃ viketu vitamo nistārakam, sva-tejasā tu subhāsvat su-pīyūṣa-kiraṇaṃ su-maṅgalaṃ su-budhaṃ sujīvaṃ su-kavigamyaṃ su-bhānavaṃ su-ketu su-tamaḥ sutārakam, bhūviśeṣakam api na bhū-viśeṣakam, sadā sakṣaṇam api kṣaṇa-rahitam, vyāpakam api navyāpakam kiṃcana nikhila-guṇa-vṛndāvanaṃ vṛndāvanaṃ nāma vanam.

And the Gopa-maidens:

tāḥ kanyāḥ su-kavitā iva sukumāra-pādāḥ, manovṛttaya iva nirupama-jaṅghālatāḥ, vanavāsa-pravṛtta-rāma-rājyaśriya iva sva-varajānugata-sakala-saubhāgyāḥ, utsavabhūmaya iva ghanoru-rambhā-stambhāropāḥ, durūhagrantha-vṛttaya iva prakaṭitaṭīkāḥ, bandhu-jana-cirakālāsaṃgataya iva bandhurodarāḥ, bhagavan-nāma-kīrtaya iva sadāvartanābīkāḥ, bhagavat-kṛpā iva dīnāvalagnāḥ, varṣaśriya iva nava-payodharāḥ, hemanta-śriya iva su-valitāyatadoṣāḥ, abhiṣeka-vasana-śiraḥ-śriya iva kambu-kandharāḥ, nārāyaṇa-karaśākhā iva mārjita-kamalānanāḥ, vasantaśriya iva tila-kusuma-gandhavāhāḥ,

1 *gate sva-svābhīṣṭaṃ padam ahaha caitanya-bhagavat-*
parīvāre paścād gatavati ca yasmin nija-padam/
viluptā vaidagdhyī praṇaya-rasa-rītir vigalitā
nirālambo jātaḥ su-kavi-kavitāyāḥ parimalaḥ//

and so forth, progression *ad libitum* of volleys of pun, simile, antithesis, alliteration and other verbal tricks, with interminable heaping of phrases, epithets and conceits in enormously long sentences,—all of which the extraordinary resources of Sanskrit permit, but which in their phantasmagoric far-fetchedness go to the verge of ludicrous fancy and involve unusual torturing of the language. These methods of verbal dexterity are well known to students of Sanskrit Prose Kathā, but the unwearied assiduity of the author in weaving them in almost every line of an extensive production is amazing. He is constantly on the watch for unexpected analogies and ingenious turns of expression ; he cultivates astoundingly clever manipulation of words and produces marvellous sound-effects by alliterative jingle and chiming of syllables ; there are multifarious ways of splitting up a word or a compound for diversity of meaning ; the most recondite conceits are discovered ; and the most obscure recesses of learned allusions are ransacked. All this is rhetorical cunning, but not poetical brilliance ; like the conjurer's trick, it is astonishing but puerile. A verbal edifice of magnificence is conscientiously and laboriously built up but scholarly ingenuity masquerades in it under the name of polished poetry and reduces it to magnificence of futility.

For, these hyperbolic mannerisms pervade the entire work, in which the manner gets the upper hand of matter. The Stavakas ii-vii, entitled Bālya-līla-latā-vistāra, deal with the childhood of Kṛṣṇa and embrace the incidents of his birth (*ii*), killing of Pūtanā, lament of Yaśodā and Nanda's return from Mathurā (*iii*), breaking of the Cart (Śakaṭa-bhañjana) and allaying of Tṛṇāvarta (*iv*), Kṛṣṇa's childish pranks, his Nāmakaraṇa and theophanic appearance to Yośodā (*v*), various exploits of Dāma-bandhana, Yamalārjuna-mocana (*vi*), the killing of Vatsa-demon, picnic and the humbling of Brahmā's pride (*vii*). The remaining Stavakas viii-xxii, entitled Kaiśora-līlā-latā-vistāra, are devoted to a detailed account of the adolescence and early youth of Kṛṣṇa. We have description

of the Pūrva-rāga of the Gopīs, their Kanduka-krīḍā and the slaying of the Dhenuka-demon (*viii*) ; Kṛṣṇa's dancing on the hood of the Kāliya serpent (*ix*) ; Rādhā's invitation to meet her, and her cooking and serving of food (*x*) ; the beauty of the summer season, the slaying of Pralamba, charm of autumn, playing on the flute and Kṛṣṇa's sport with Rādhā (*xi*) ; the stealing of the garments (Vastra-haraṇa) of the Gopīs (*xii*) ; Kṛṣṇa's favour to the wives of the Brahman sacrificers (*xiii*) ; vernal festivities (*xiv*) ; lifting of the Govardhana hill (*xv*) ; witnessing of the Brahma-loka (*xvi*) ; the Rāsa-sports (*xvii-xx*) ; the stealing of Kṛṣṇa's flute (*xxi*) ; and the Dola-festival (*xxii*).

It will be seen that Kavikarṇapūra includes in his work almost all the important details of Kṛṣṇa's early days at Vṛndāvana, and does not confine himself merely to the erotic episodes or the daily sports. But it is a pity that he chooses a style of expression which lacks ease and naturalness, and thinks of nothing else but reproducing the hard and enamelled brilliance of rhetorical display. In his scattered verses which, however, are not too numerous, he often attains simple and graceful effect, and stanzas like the following, which describes the infant Kṛṣṇa, are by no means rare:

ehyehi vatsa pitar ehi mamāṅka-mūlam
ityukta eva janakena sa mātur aṅkāt|
āgatya kaṇṭham avalambya jugupsate māṃ
mātā kathaṃ bata mṛṣeti kalaṃ jagāda||

As his *Caitanya-candrodaya* shows, Kavikarṇapūra could undoubtedly write simple and vigorous prose, but in this work he seeks to copy the eccentricities and extravagance of the interminably descriptive, ingeniously recondite and gorgeously ornamented prose of the Sanskrit Kathā. It must be admitted that he has a decided talent for such verbal juggleries, but the element of mere trick impairs whatever literary value his prose possesses. Even as an imitation the work is not impressive, and does not repay the exertion of wading through

the tedious length of its brilliant, but hardly illuminating, elaboration of rhetorical magnificence It is a triumph of poetic artifice, but not a poetic creation.

To the Bengal Vaiṣṇava authors, the Vṛndāvana life of Kṛṣṇa constitutes the essentially Nitya-līlā, and the infant and adolescent Kṛṣṇa is the supreme object of adoration. There is a departure to Mathurā and Dvārakā, but this happens only apparently in the Manifest Sport (Prakaṭa-līlā), the real Unmanifest Sport (Aprakaṭa-līlā), to which he is made to return ultimately even in his Manifest Sport, goes on eternally at Vṛndāvana. The Epic Kṛṣṇa of Kurukṣetra, therefore, is deliberately excluded ; the entire Purāṇic life of Kṛṣṇa, as depicted in the *Hari-vaṃśa* and *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, is alone accepted in all its tender and erotic implications. It is for this reason that most of the Vaiṣṇava poets concentrate upon the Vṛndāvana-līlā, either in its entirety or in its detached erotic episodes, in conformity with the erotic-mystic character of the faith.

In his *Gopāla-campū*,[1] however, Jīva Gosvāmin ambitiously comprehends (as Rūpa does in his *Lalita-mādhava*) not only the Vṛndāvana-līlā, but also Mathurā- and Dvārakā-līlās of Kṛṣṇa, the first part or Pūrvārdha (in 33 Pūraṇas or chapters) being co-extensive with Kavikarṇapūra's Campū and dealing with Bālya and Kaiśora, the second part or Uttarārdha (in 37 Pūrāṇas) being devoted to Kṛṣṇa's career at Mathurā and Dvārakā. The bulk of the work of seventy chapters, in prose, verse and song (covering in the printed edition 3940 pages !) is frightening, but its hard crust of learning is also depressing and its scholastic pedantry unsurpassable. The opening verse (which is elaborately explained by the author himself lest his readers should not appreciate!) pays homage simultaneously to Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, and mentions, by means of puns, Sanātana, Rūpa, Gopāla (Bhaṭṭa), Raghunātha and the author's father

1 See above, p. 157.

Vallabha. Jīva informs us that the nectar of dogma (Siddhāntāmṛta), which he has collected in his *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, is now presented in the relishable form of a Kāvya. It is true that he envisages the entire life of Kṛṣṇa, as Bengal Vaiṣṇavism understands it, but the legend is freely modified or interpreted in accordance with its theology. The work is, therefore, not only a prolix amplification of the Bhāgavata legend of Kṛṣṇa, but also a learned Siddhānta-grantha, which is held in high esteem by the sect. There are quotations and systematic comments on sectarian and Purāṇa texts, as well as theological discussion and exposition. If it is an extensive poetic endeavour of conscientious effort, massive craftsmanship and high pretensions, in the ornate and difficult Kāvya manner, it is also a stupendous work of endless divagation, description, argumentation and eroticism. It is, in fact, a nondescript production, consisting of a curiously laborious umble of poetry and theology, scholasticism and romance, eroticism and devotion, reason and credulity.

It is not possible within the limits of space at our disposal, to give anything more than a rapid survey of this enormous work ; but it is not necessary for us to do so, for apart from its devotional or doctrinal value, its purely literary importance need not be exaggerated. The work opens with the usual lavish description of Vṛndāvana, along with its surrounding sceneries and appurtenances, like the Govardhana hill, the Śyāma-kuṇḍa, the Rādhā-kuṇḍa, the river Yamunā, the Bhāṇḍīra-vana, the palace of Nanda and the abode of cows and cowherds. It is the actual, as well as the ideal, Vṛndāvana, in which Kṛṣṇa eternally sports and which is identical with Goloka, the Vaiṣṇava paradise, and with the Śvetadvīpa mentioned in the Epic and Purāṇas, the significance of which names, as well as their essential features as the abode of Kṛṣṇa's own Go, Gopa and Gopī, is also discussed. The description is produced by the romantic fancy of a theologian ; and we are told (p. 21) that the eternal sports at Vṛndāvana are witnessed even today by devout minds. The

second Pūraṇa introduces the subject ; and, after describing a whole day-and-night sports at Vṛndāvana, it brings in two Sūta boys, who are twins, named Madhukaṇṭha and Snigdha-kaṇṭha. trained by Nārada and sent by him to Nanda's court. The scheme is conceived by the author of putting the entire narrative in the form of recital (Kathakatā) by these two young professional rhapsodists ; and we are told in the Uttarārdha (p. 17) that they are deliberately modelled on the example of Lava and Kuśa appearing at the court of Rāma. The recital begins in the third Pūraṇa with a highly metaphysical description, fortified by plenty of quotations from the *Bhāgavata* and other texts, of the mystery of Kṛṣṇa's birth as the son, not of Vasudeva and Devakī, but of Nanda and Yaśodā, followed by a depiction of the beauty of the new-born divine baby. After this we have the ceremonies and festivities attending upon the birth (*iv*), Pūtanā-vadha (*v*), Śakaṭa-bhañjana and other infant exploits. Nāma-karaṇa with a theological discussion of the adequacy and significance of the name and astrological interpretation of the stellar conjunction presiding over the birth of Kṛṣṇa (*vi*), Tṛṇāvarta-nivartana, Mṛd-bhakṣaṇa (*vii*), Dāma-bandhana, Yamalārjuna-mocana (*viii*), the boyish sports of tending cows (Go-pālana) (*ix*), Vatsāsura-vadha (*x*), Brahma-mohana, Aghāsura-vadha (*xi*), and Go-cāraṇa (*xii*). All this, we are told, occurs up to the fifth year of age, and Kaumāra-daśā (infancy) then ends with the commencement of Pauganḍa (boyhood), The chief exploits in Pauganḍa period are the humbling of the Kāliya serpent (Kāliya-damana), the quenching of the forest-fire (*xiii*) and the slaying of the donkey-demon (Gardabhāsura) (*xiv*). The author rhetorically asks (p. 694)—if the truthful Śukadeva and other sages had not described all these, who would have believed them to be true ?[1] With regard to the forest-fire, Jīva says that Kṛṣṇa put it out with his divine

1 With reference to the unbelievers, Jīva says elsewhere (xxxii, p. 1168) : *aho kali-preveśa-deśasya deśa-rūpam idam* !

breath, but adds that the sages fancy that he drank it up ! This ends the Bālya-līlā.

Now begins the Kaiśora-līlā, which opens with Pūrvānurāga or first love of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs. We are told that Kṛṣṇa has just passed the sixth year of his age and the Gopīs were only a year younger—which according to our author, is the period of their Nava Kaiśora or first adolescence ! But the descriptions show that it is certainly more than calf-love. The love really began with the heroic adventure with the Kāliya serpent ; but it has its fruition now through the contrivance of Paurṇamāsī and Vṛndā, and Kṛṣṇa goes to meet Rādhā in her bower. We are assured that Rādhā is already established as the consort of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bṛhad-gautamīya* Tantra and their union is the highest consummation of divine love. The arguments of the *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*[1] are repeated here (pp. 750-61) to repudiate the view that Kṛṣṇa was the paramour, and not the husband, of the Gopīs,[2] and to show (in accordance with *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* x. 33. 37) that the Gopas were deluded by Yogamāyā into thinking that the Gopīs were their married partners, although in reality they were Kṛṣṇa's wives.[3] This anxiety to maintain conjugal decorum is expressed in the course of a lengthy theological discussion between the learned Paurṇamāsī and the inquisitive Vṛndā, in which they cite, like expert scholastics, not only the Vaiṣṇava scriptures, but also the *Gīta-govinda*, *Yamunā-stotra* ascribed to Śaṃkara, *Lalita-mādhava* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* of Rūpa[4] and *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* of Śrīdhara ! There is also an elaborate description

1 See above, pp. 339-40.

2 *aupapatyam asya nopapattyarham, kiṃ tu parama-vyomādhipa-lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa-vad dāmpatyam eva*, p. 761.

3 The question is discussed again in connexion with Rāsa-līlā, p. 1223 f, 1310 f and in the Uttarārdha, pp. 1581 f and 1986 f.

4 But then the celestial Nārada, later on, refers (prophetically) to the two dramas and the two Rasa-śāstra treatises of Rūpa, as well as to an incident of Caitanya's life!

of the beauty, erotic feelings and gestures of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, but the passages give the impression of a subtle scholastic mind indulging in systematic flights of laboured prose and verse. We have then Pralamba-vadha by Balarāma and Dāvānala-pāna by Kṛṣṇa (*xvi*) ; Kṛṣṇa's propitiation of the Gopīs with the device of teaching them to play on his flute, which gives the opportunity of a rather lengthy description of the spell of Kṛṣṇa's flute and its far-reaching effect, not only on the people of Vṛndāvana, but on the whole universe, animate and inanimate (*xvii*). Then come the heroic feats of breaking up the sacrifice to Indra (Indra-makha-bhaṅga) and the lifting of the Govardhana hill (Govardhana-māna-vardhana) for seven days and nights to protect Vṛndāvana from the fierce rain and storm sent by the enraged Indra. All this leads to a long theological discussion, again between Nanda and Kṛṣṇa, on the value of Vedic sacrifice, as well as description of the festival of Govardhana Pūjā (described already by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*)[1] enlivened by the songs of the Gopīs[2] (*xviii*). The topic is continued in the next chapter (*xix*), with Bṛhaspati's rebuke to Indra, who goes, extremely

1 See above, p. 503.

2 viii, p. 935. There are numerous songs after Jayadeva's model, as well as rhythmic prose-and-verse Biruda pieces (see below, under Stotra), inserted throughout the work, mostly to deversify descriptions of festive occasions ; e.g. in the Pūrvārdha song on the birth of Kṛṣṇa, iv, p. 271 ; on the infant Kṛṣṇa vi, p. 387 ; on Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma tending the cows vii, p. 434-435, also xvii, p. 873 ; musical dialogue between Yaśodā and the Gopīs on the mischief-making boy vii, pp 440-442 ; on infant Kṛṣṇa at Yaśodā's Dadhi-mathana viii, p. 450 ; song describing how Kṛṣṇa appeared to the Yajñapatnīs xxiii, p. 1174-1176 ; on Yaśodā's tending the young Kṛṣṇa xiv, p. 722 ; on Vastra-haraṇa xxi, pp. 1077-1083, 1146-1147 ; on Rāsa xxiv, pp. 1270, 1381-89, xxix, pp. 1488, 1492, 1494 ; on Ariṣṭa-vadha xxxi, pp. 1577 and 1581. Also in the Uttarārdha: on Kaṃsa-vadha v. pp. 247-252 ; on Naraka-vadha xviii, pp. 909-912 ; on the praise of Vraja xxviii, p. 1347 ; Maṅgala-song at Adhivāsa xxxii, pp. 1644-1648 ; several concluding panegyrics xxxvii, pp. 1990-2002, 2003-2016, 2046-2072 (mostly Biruda pieces), etc.

penitent, to Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana with the offer of the divine cow Surabhi, makes Daṇḍavat obeisance in the right Vaiṣṇava style and weeps at his feet. All the gods, headed by Indra, now perform the Abhiṣeka of Kṛṣṇa as Govinda or Protector of Cows. The next chapter (*xx*) describes an unexpected and involuntary visit of Nanda to the abode of Varuṇa and Goloka. He commits a breach of propriety by an untimely bath in the river Yamunā after the Ekādaśī fasting and gets drowned. He is carried by the spies of Varuṇa to Varuṇaloka, but he is rescued by Kṛṣṇa, to whom Varuṇa also makes Daṇḍavat obeisance. As Nanda is admiring the magnificence of the abode of Varuṇa Kṛṣṇa shows him the Goloka, the highest paradise of the Vaiṣṇava, the object being to convince him not only of its superiority but also of the fact that it is an exact replica of Vṛndāvana ; for, we are informed, the Gopas exist in Goloka and the Goloka exists in them.[1] In the next chapter (*xxi*), we have the episode of the Kātyāyanī-vrata of the Gopīs and the playful stealing of their discarded garment by Kṛṣṇa while they bathe in the state of nature in the river Yamunā. In this connexion the Gāndharva form of marriage between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs is suggested and union is promised to occur soon. There is a song here describing how the bridegroom Kṛṣṇa will arrive and marry them ; and in it we have a reference to the abusive song of women (*gāli-prāyaṃ gānam*) which is sung is front of the bridegroom ! After an account (*xxii*) of the episode of Kṛṣṇa's begging food from the wives of Brahmans who were engaged in a sacrifice (Yajñapatnī), described, we are told, in accordance with the *Bhāgavata*, we have the episode of the Rāsa-līlā which occupies practically the rest of the Pūrvārdha till Kṛṣṇa's departure for Mathurā.

The Rāsa-līlā, which occurs in fulfilment of the Kātyāyanī-vrata and Kṛṣṇa's promise at the time of Vastra-haraṇa, begins (*xxiii*) with a description of the autumnal full-moon night and the erotic feelings, acts and gestures of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs.

1 *adhi-goloke gopāḥ svayam adhi-gopeṣu golokaḥ.*

At first Kṛṣṇa pretends to dissuade them, but they declare their love for him. Jīva Gosvāmin utters the warning, in accordance with *Bhāgavata* i. 6. 27 and x. 33. 39, that what he is describing is a great secret (*ati-rahasya*) and, being esoteric, should be revealed only to suitable persons. At every step the theologian in him appears to feel uneasy and obliged to find scriptural and theological justification for the apparently dubious acts of his deity. He launches again into a discussion tending to prove that the Gopīs were Kṛṣṇa's wives and not mistresses ; and a large part of the chapter consists of a string of quotations of *Bhāgavata* verses on the Rāsa-līlā and systematic commentary and expansion of them. After a while in the next chapter (*xxiv*), Kṛṣṇa disappears with Rādhā who is therefore, described as the greatest and luckiest favourite, and the other Gopīs are left to lament and search after him until he reappears. In our author's opinion, the ordinary lovers can never envisage the complexities and endless aspects of the amatory feeling which one finds analysed in the Rasa-śāstra ; in its entirety they appear in Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs. We have in these chapters much fine erotic description, but unfortunately it is often marred by the ubiquitous intrusion of the theological apology. The theme of the next chapter (*xxv*) is the brief separation from Kṛṣṇa, which increases the longings of the Gopīs and becomes the means of attainment (*vipralambhāt kṛṣṇa-prāptiḥ*). The nineteen stanzas of the Gopī-gītā (*Bhāgavata* x. 31. 1-19) are elaborately imitated and expanded by the author into twenty-six, with the frequent employment of lines and phrases of the original[1]. This is followed by a digressive discussion of some enigmatical questions on Bhakti-rasa asked by the Gopīs and

1 Jīva gives a list of the names of the chief Gopīs, who are unnamed in the *Bhāgavata*, in accordance with the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* on *Bh.* x. 32. 7, where they are said to be taken (as Jīva also professes to take them) from the Malla-dvādaśī episode of the *Bhaviṣyottara* and the Prahlāda-saṃhitā of the *Skanda*. The chief Gopīs, as identified by Jīva, are Bhadrā, Candrāvalī, Padmā, Śaivyā, Śyāmalā, Lalitā, Viśākhā and Rādhā.

Kṛṣṇa's casuistic replies to them. In the next chapter (*xxvi*) Kṛṣṇa reappears, and the Gopīs burst into a song of joy (p. 1381-86):

jaya jaya sad-guṇa-sāra/
jagati viśiṣṭaṃ kalayitum iṣṭaṃ gokula-lasad-avatāra/ /,

and celebrate the occasion with dance and sports. After the Rāsa, each of the Gopīs disappear simultaneously with Kṛṣṇa in the groves. In the following chapter (*xxvii*), we have the end of the Rāsa with sports in the water and wandering in the forest.

The next chapter (*xxviii*) describes how Kṛṣṇa with Nanda and Yaśodā visits Ambikā-vana, in his ninth year, on the Śiva-rātri day and releases the Vidyādhara, named Sudarśana, from a curse which transformed him into an Ajagara (boa constrictor) serpent. This is followed by a chapter (*xxix*), entitled Rahaḥ-kutūhala-vaha-vahala-krīḍā, which is devoted to Kṛṣṇa's secret sports with the Gopīs at night by practising various kinds of disguise and deception on the old women of Vṛndāvana ; and we have conventional metrical pictures of the amorous condition of the Gopīs as Nāyikās of the Proṣita-bhartṛkā, Utkaṇṭhitā, Abhisārikā, Vāsakasajjā and Vipra-labdhā type. We have then the slaying of Śaṅkhacūḍa demon and the festivity of Horikā with unrestrained fun and pleasantries (*xxx*) ; the killing of the bull-demon, called Ariṣṭa ; the appearance of the two lakes, Śyāma-kuṇḍa and Rādhā-kuṇḍa (the former made by a stroke of Kṛṣṇa's Gadā!); boat-excursion and other sports, in which Rādhā takes a prominent place (*xxxi*) ; and the slaying of the horse-demon Keśin (*xxxii*). All this happens when Kṛṣṇa is ten years old![1] The last long chapter (*xxxiii*) of the Pūrvārdha, which

1 According to the Bengal Vaiṣṇava theology, Kṛṣṇa's Kaumāra extended up to the fifth year, Pauganḍa up to the tenth and Kaiśora up to the sixteenth. According to the Bhāgavata verse: *ekādaśa-samās tatra gūḍhārciḥ sabalo'vasat*, he stayed at Vraja up to his eleventh year of age. His erotic sports, we are told, were possible at this tender age through the power of the divine Yogamāyā!

concludes the Vṛndāvana-līlā, gives an anticipatory survey of his Līlās at Mathurā and Dvārakā. The sage Nārada comes to Kṛṣṇa ; and after a long prose description, studded with a profusion of paronomasia and other poetic figures, of Kṛṣṇa's appearance, he conveys the news of Akrūra's coming to Vṛndāvana in order to fetch Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā. On perceiving Kṛṣṇa's doubt and sorrow, Nārada states that Kṛṣṇa's career is already marked out and should be fulfilled even at the cost of personal feeling and inconvenience. He then gives a prophetic résumé of his future career up to the end of Dvārakā-līlā, including his future marriages with Rukmiṇī and others, and his return to Vṛndāvana at the end, according to a promise made by himself (*Bh. x.* 45. 23), an act of return which is obscure in the *Bhāgavata* but explicit in the *Padma-purāṇa*[1].

The Uttarārdha is, therefore, an expansion of the narrative of Nārada into a separate Campū of a somewhat bigger dimension, consisting of 37 chapters or Pūraṇas. The narrators and listeners are the same, but we have also the subsidiary device of introducing messengers from Indraprastha and other places, who describe the doings of the absent Kṛṣṇa. The theme of Vipralambha or love in separation is kept up throughout as the dominant motif, until Kṛṣṇa's return to Vṛndāvana and entry into Goloka.

The first three chapters of the Uttara-campū describe the great love which the people of Vṛndāvana bore to Kṛṣṇa, the advent of Akrūra who is really extremely Krūra, and the sorrow of separation of the parents, relatives, friends and beloved Gopīs, to whom Kṛṣṇa makes a promise to return as soon as his work abroad is finished. The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to the description of Kṛṣṇa's entry into

1 The Pūrvārdha is dated at Vṛndāvana in Saṃvat 1645 and Śaka 1510 (=1588 A.D.). —There is a reference (p. 1832) to Caitanya's relishing the verse *yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ*, which incident is also mentioned in some detail by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his Bengali biography of Caitanya.

Mathurā, during which the women of the city throng to see him in the approved Kāvya manner of Pura-praveśa, his heroic exploits at Mathurā, including the slaying of Kaṃsa and sundry other demons, and the erotic episode of his meeting with Kubjā, for which, of course, we are supplied with the inevitable theological justification and evaluation of Kubjā's love, in reply to the ironical question posed by Lalitā: *yat kim api nākāryam ārya-caritānāṃ kubjāyāṃ sucaritaṃ tu kathaṃ nyubjīkṛtam* ! Kṛṣṇa places Ugrasena on the throne of Mathurā, himself preferring to be a cowherd (Gopatva) rather than a king (Rājatva). The sixth and seventh chapters revert to the motif of separation from Vṛndavana by describing Nanda's return and the great sorrow of all concerned at Kṛṣṇa's departure. The next two chapters (*viii* and *ix*) describe the Upanayana ceremony by which Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma become Kṣatriyas, which we are assured they really were, but which fact was concealed for the sake of the Līlā at Vṛndāvana! They proceed to the sage Saṃdīpani at Avantī and acquire in no time all the Vidyās and the sixty-four arts[1]. As fee (Dakṣiṇā) to his teacher, Kṛṣṇa brings back his Guru's dead son from the abode of Yama, for Yama turns out to be a great devotee of the Bhagavat (Mahābhāgavata). The next three chapters (*x-xii*), which conclude the Mathurā-līlā, deal with the familiar theme of Uddhava-saṃdeśa, which Rūpa Gosvāmin has also dealt with in one of his small Dūta-kāvyas. On returning to Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa sends his friend Uddhava, whom he himself describes as a great devotee well read in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and the Vaiṣṇava-śastra (!), with a message to Vṛndāvana (*x*) ; this is a fine chapter but for the usual affectaions of its author. Then we have Rādhā's Bhāva-vaikalya, in an extremely artificial chapter (*xi*) composed in strict conformity to the dictates of the Rasa-śāstra and illustrating the various feelings and gestures industriously analysed

1 See *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* on *Bh.* x. 45. 27 for a list of the sixty-four arts.

by it ; but there are also some poetical passages depicting the mingled emotions of Rādhā. The next chapter (*xii*) concludes the topic by describing the return of Uddhava and Kṛṣṇa's satisfaction, as well as sorrow, on hearing the welfare and woe of the people of Vraja.

The next six chapters (*xiii-xviii*) describe the defeat or death of several inconvenient people and the celebration of several convenient marriages. We have the binding of Jarāsaṃdha (who married the two daughters of Kaṃsa and was proving troublesome) eighteen times (*xiii*) ; the alluring of Kālayavana, with his host of three crores of Yavanas, to the cave of Mucukunda and getting him killed by the fire of the untimely awakened eyes of Mucukunda (*xiv*) ; Baladeva's marriage with Revatī, daughter of Revata (*xv*) and Kṛṣṇa's marriage with Rukmiṇī, daughter of Bhīṣmaka, who was meant for Śiśupāla, but whom, at her own request, Kṛṣṇa abducts (*xvi*) ; a long story of seven more marriages of Kṛṣṇa with Satyabhāmā, daughter of Satrājit, Jāmbavatī, daughter of Jāmbavat, Yamunā, daughter of Sūrya (sun-god), Mitravindā (*Bh.* x. 58. 30-31), Nāgnajitī, daughter of Nagnajit of Kośala, Bhadrā (*Bh.* x. 58. 56) or Lakṣaṇā, daughter of the king of Kekaya, and Mādrī, daughter of Bṛhatsena of Madra. Jīva Gosvāmin in this connexion refers to Rūpa's *Lalita-mādhava*, where these maidens are equated respectively with Rādhā, Lalitā, Viśākhā, Śaivyā, Padmā, Bhadrāvalī and Śyāmā (*xvii*). Then we have the slaying of the Naraka-demon, seizure of the heavenly Pārijāta tree, and the abduction of sixteen thousand maidens carried away by Naraka to his capital city in Prāgjyotiṣa (*xviii*). After this we have the adventure of Kṛṣṇa's son, Pradyumna, born of Rukmiṇī, who abducts Uṣā, daughter of Bāṇa, and of Kṛṣṇa humbling the pride of Śiva in the battle-field (*xix*). The next three chapters (*xx-xxii*) are concerned with some of Balarāma's erotic and heroic feats. Balarāma returns to Vṛndāvana to visit his old friends and relatives, stays for two months (*Bhāgavata* x. 65.

17) and marries some of the Gopīs he left behind in the Gāndharva form (*xx*). But he has to hurry back to Dvārakā on getting news of fights with Pauṇḍraka and others, Pauṇḍraka having been a pretender who wanted to pose as Vāsudeva. Balarāma carries some milk from Vraja which Kṛṣṇa drinks fondly (*xxi*). Balarāma's slaying of the monkey-demon Dvividha, his visit to Hastināpura, and curbing the pride of Duryodhana by an attack upon the city and the river Yamunā with his mighty ploughshare, conclude the incidental story of Balarāma (*xxii*). Next come two interesting chapters (*xxiii-xxiv*), which are more or less doctrinarian inventions of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The story of the Kurukṣetra war and the part played by Kṛṣṇa in it are deliberately avoided, but a sentimental episode is brought in of a reunion at Kurukṣetra of Kṛṣṇa with the people of Vṛndāvana who, on a message from him, come there as pilgrims during a solar eclipse. Kṛṣṇa meets his beloved Gopīs, assures them of his love in spite of his marriages of convenience, and ends by giving a theological lecture to them as a piece of consolation. He sports with them at night, but we are told that it was not like what they had in the old days at Vṛndāvana. This is the motif underlying the episode,[1] and the explanation furnished (*hṛdi yad*

1 This is also the view of Rūpa Gosvāmin in a verse which is composed as a variation of the well-known old verse of Śīlā-bhaṭṭārikā, *yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ* (*Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, no. 3768; *Padyāvalī*, no. 382). Rūpa's verse is given in his *Padyāvalī* (no. 383); and Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us (Madhya i. 76) that Rūpa composed it at Puri and received the approval of Caitanya on the delineation of the sentiment of Rādhā's longing at Kurukṣetra described therein :

priyaḥ so'yaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ sahacari kurukṣetra-militas
tathāhaṃ sā rādhā tad idam ubhayoḥ saṃgama-sukham/
tathā'pyantaḥ-khelan-madhura-muralī-pañcama-yuṣe
mano me kālindī-pulina-vipināya spṛhayati//.

It is noteworthy that Jīva, endorsing the description of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, refers (Pūrva xxiii, p. 1882) to Caitanya's relishing of the verse *yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ*, and puts it in the mouth of Rādhā elsewhere (Uttara xxvi, p. 1900).

virahau gatāgaminau) is the existence of previous pangs of separation (Gata-viraha) and impending sorrow of disunion (Bhāvi-viraha). This is followed by the recounting in three chapters (*xxv-xxvii*) of the well known story (in which the influence of Māgha is perceptible) of Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājasūya sacrifice at Indraprastha, the slaying of Jarāsaṃdha by Bhīma by a trick suggested by Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's cutting of the head of Śiśupāla by the Sudarśana disc. The connected episodes of the slaying of Śālva, who wanted to avenge Śiśupāla's death and of Dantavakra, who was Śālva's ally, occupy the next three chapters (*xxviii-xxx*). Both are favoured by Śiva's boon but Kṛṣṇa proved invincible for them. A whole chapter of theological digression (*xxix*) is introduced regarding the inconsistencies found in the accounts respectively of the *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma-purāṇa* about Kṛṣṇa's movements after the death of Dantavakra. The Uttara-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* speaks of Kṛṣṇa's return to Vṛndāvana after the Dantavakra episode, but the trouble arises from the fact that the *Bhāgavata* is not explicit about it. We have, therefore, a theological chapter of proofs in the form of a learned discussion between Paurṇamāsī and Vṛndā, in the course of which they freely quote and comment, with considerable scholastic acumen, not only texts from the *Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇa and Tantra scriptures, but even from Vācaspati-miśra's commentary on the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* (p. 1417)![1]

The remaining chapters (*xxxi-xxxvii*) of the Campū are devoted to the story of Kṛṣṇa's return to Vṛndāvana and his entry into Goloka from there. Kṛṣṇa comes back, leaving

1 Among other things, they discuss various questions relating to the sports of the Gopīs, Prakaṭa- and Aprakaṭa-līlā, Nitya-līlā and so forth. The question of Kṛṣṇa's age at the time of his return is also interesting. When Yudhiṣṭhira regained his kingdom, we are told that Kṛṣṇa's age was thirty-seven, but when he came back to Vṛndāvana it is said to be forty-four. As he left when he was eleven, the people of Vṛndāvana, by this computation, received him back after thirty-three years.

behind his weapons and his heroism, and putting on his Gopa-dress with his flute, his staff and his peacock-feathers. From Kṛṣṇa's Aiśvarya, we revert to his Mādhurya ; from his acts of valour to his acts of love ; and the ultimate superiority of his Vṛndāvana-līlā is vindicated by making him return to it. The object of describing his Aiśyarya is not to eclipse his Mādhurya—for his essential and permanent Mādhurya can never be eclipsed—but to make his Mādhurya more piquant and attractive.[1] Kṛṣṇa is drawn by his old love for the Gopīs, but he doubts whether it would be right for him to marry them, as they are known to be the married wives of other people. Paurṇamāsī intervenes and shows by elaborately quoting the scriptures that the Gopīs are his own, the Nitya-siddhā beloved, or Nitya-preyasī, of Kṛṣṇa, their being other people's wives is an illusion created by his own Yogamāyā.[2] The Vaiṣṇava apologist appears to think that conjugal love can hardly serve as an effective symbol of the passionate, unfettered and romantic love of devotion, but the desperate method of scriptural and allegorical interpretation is employed perhaps to maintain social and moral decorum by demonstrating that they are really wives of Kṛṣṇa and by effecting a regular marriage in the end, the semblance of irregular union being meant for furthering the intense eroticism involved in the Līlā (*xxxi*). Kṛṣṇa, now convinced, generously resolves to destroy even the semblance of the

1 According to Viśvanātha Cakravartin's interpretation (*Rāga-vartma-candrikā*, Prakāśa ii), the Mādhurya of the deity is an attribute in which the semblance of human acts (Manuṣya-līlā) is not obscured by the manifestation or non-manifestation of Aiśvarya. Thus, Aiśvarya is manifested in Pūtanā-vadha, but Kṛṣṇa's sucking the breast of Pūtanā like a human child is an act of Mādhurya which evokes the semblance of the sentiment of Vātsalya. The case of non-manifestation of Aiśvarya is illustrated by his human sports with the Gopīs as the best example of Mādhurya.

2 It is emphatically declared that the Gopīs bore no children ; for even if the scripture states *pāyayantyaḥ śiśūn payaḥ*, it does not say *pāyayantyaḥ sutān stanam* ; they were presumably children of relatives !

infamy that the Gopīs have a husband ;[1] and Paurṇamāsī making a formal proposal of the marriage to Nanda and Yośodā, declares that Rādhā and the Gopīs had, through Māyā created by herself,[2] only a semblance of marriage (*vivāha-bhāṇa*) with the Gopas, but that they were in fact unmarried ; an unreal image of them stayed in their own houses, while they went out to meet Kṛṣṇa. In order to test the truth of her statement, Paurṇamāsī summons Durvāsas by her power of meditation, and stages a kind of symbolical fire-ordeal or Agni-parīkṣā (after that of Sītā), there being no actual fire here but the fire of the Tapas of Durvāsas ! The next two chapters (*xxxiii-xxxiv*) describe the preliminary preparation (Adhivāsa) of the impending marriage ceremony, bathing, dressing and decoration of the bride and bride-groom and the festivities and pleasantries suitable to the occasion. The forty Āryā verse (pp. 1688-1702) which describe the ornaments of Rādhā, as well as the ornate prose passages, are extremely stilted examples of the use made of the traditional resources of rhetorical ingenuity, but they are matched by forty-five verses and a long prose passage (pp. 1706-1726) of a similar character on Kṛṣṇa's decoration. The marrige ceremony, with the Strī-kulācāra (p. 1769), follows in the next chapter (*xxxv*), and consummation in the chapter next to that (*xxxvi*), Rādhā generously requesting Kṛṣṇa to satisfy also her companions Lalītā, Viśākhā and others simultaneously ! But even in the midst of the bliss of married love, Rādhā is described as possessed of an indefinite nostalgia for the sweetness of the other love, and reciting with infinite longing the old verse *yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ* ascribed to Śīlā-bhaṭṭārikā ![3] The last chapter (*xxxvii*) entitled Goloka-praveśa describes entry into Goloka which, unseen by men,

1 *sva-priyāṇāṃ patir iti bahir akhyāti-duḥkhāni hatvā*, p. 1986.

2 *mayā preritasya sarvatra vyāpnuvataḥ svapnasya saṃpādana-vyavasāyayā māyayā tāsām anyatra vivāha-bhāṇaṃ nirvāhitam*, p. 1581.

3 See above, p. 639 footnote 1.

exists constantly in Vṛndāvana,[1] and the work is concluded with a theological-poetical account of Goloka-cum-Vṛndāvana.[2]

The brief résumé given above is perhaps enough to show that the *Gopāla-campū* of Jīva is an ambitiously enormous effort, and that it is an enormity in every sense. After his theological labours in his abstruse *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, he wanted to relax and put his dogmas into an attractive poetical form ; but the work he composed with this laudable object is not less abstruse, nor attractive and poetical, because even in his avowed literary composition Jīva could never relax nor forget that he was the theological apologist of the Caitanya sect. By inclination, training and acquirement, he was undoubtedly qualified for this exacting task, and he must have earnestly considered this to be the mission of his life. His work, therefore, could not be (and its declared object shows that it was never meant to be) a plain and poetical narrative without constantly wearisome excursions into dedactic and doctrinal exposition.[3] He was temperamentally a scholastic, and not a poet, but a scholastic with little critical sense or idea of proportion ; and his mind was too devout to be really artistic. There is, no doubt, a great deal of conventional art or artifice,[4] but it is laboriously acquired. His excessive consciousness of it, as well as his subtle and

1 *sa khalvayaṃ lokaḥ prākṛta-dṛṣṭīnāṃ prakaṭe vṛndāvana evāprakaṭaṃ vartate*, p. 1926. We are warned that since through the power of Yogamāyā all these exploits of Kṛṣṇa are rendered possible, one should not disbelieve *(tac ca sarvam asya pūrva-pūrva-labdha-yogamāyābalatvān nāpūrvaṃ mantavyam*, p. 1921).

2 The Uttarārdha is dated in Vṛndāvana, Saṃvat 1649 and Śaka 1514=1592 A.D.

3 A large number of Purāṇa, Tantra and sectarian devotional texts is cited, but none which is not quoted also in his *Saṃdarbhas*. An index, therefore, need not be given here.

4 See above our remarks on the literary merit of Jīva's *Mādhavamahotsava*, which, however, from the literary point of view, is a much better composition.

multifarious learning, makes his industrious production not so much a delectable poetic creation as a marvel of erudite correctness and massive workmanship.

In fairness it must be said that in individual stanzas, scattered over this vast work, fine and elegant touches are not wanting ; as, for instance, in the description of Rādhā's confusion and conflict of feelings at the sudden approach of Kṛṣṇa (Uttara xv, p. 729):

akasmād āyāntaṃ harim anubhavantī kila hriyā
daśām akṣṇor nānā drutam api dadhe sā nata-mukhī/
mudā smerā bhugnā vikasitavatī kuñcitavatī
sa-bāṣpā stabdhābhābhavad iti samaṃ yā na ghaṭate//.

Or, in the picture of Dadhi-mathana by Yaśodā (Pūrva viii, p. 449):

śyāmā lola-dukūla ratna-vilasat-kāñcī-cayenāñcitā
taj-jhaṃkāra-karambita-dhvani-dhara-śrīkaṅkaṇālaṃkṛtā/
paśyantī tanayānanaṃ laghu-laghūnmīlann ivākṣi-dvayaṃ
śrīmad-gopa-maheśvarī cala-bhujāmathnād abhīkṣṇaṃ dadhi//.

But, normally, the descriptive or sentimental verses are more conventional in words, ideas and imageries ; as for instance, the following verse (Pūrva xv, p. 737) on Rādhā's beauty[1]:

navendur mūrtir vā, kanaka-kamalaṃ vaktram atha vā,
cakorau netre vā, visarad amṛtaṃ dṛṣṭir atha vā/
apīttthaṃ rādhāyāṃ yadi jita-tulāyāṃ na balate
vikalpaḥ kiṃ tarhi prasajatitarāṃ tat-tad-upamā//.

Jīva possesses considerable literary and metrical facility, and even skill, but not much literary and poetical excellence. The play of wit and fancy, with its elaborate conceits and verbal trickeries, which is a characteristic feature of later decadent Sanskrit, is unweariedly and wearisomely in evidence. We have also not infrequent display of pure pedantry ; such

1 For an elaborately rhetorical description of Rādhā's embellished beauty, see Uttara xxxiv, pp. 1688-1702.

as in the following verse uttered by Paurṇamāsī (Pūrva xv, p. 766):

avacam avocam uvāca ca vacmi hi vaktāsmi vakṣyāmi/
ucyāsam idaṃ vacyāṃ vacāni no ced avakṣyaṃ na//!

Or, in the following comment, serious and not ironical, on the longing love of the Gopīs (Pūrva xvii, p. 872):

anumāna-gatā tāsām arthāpattiḥ pratīyate/
yataḥ kṛṣṇasya dayitās tā eva nyāya-paṇḍitāḥ//.

presuming that the Gopīs were as well versed in Nyāya as the learned author himself !

Jīva's prose is even more deliberately difficult and stilted, being more loaded with luxuriant rhetorical embellishments. When it is not argumentative, it is often a dreary imitation (like that of Karṇapūra, if not to the same extent) of the paronomistic, ornamented and tortuous style, set in fashion by Subandhu and Bāṇa. It abounds in involved complexities of construction, long compounds, sesquipedalian sentences and every kind of subtle verbal devices and mental conceits. It is not that Jīva's theme is small, inadequate or unsubstantial, or lacks situations of poetic possibilities, but it is made a convenient outlet for technical skill and learning. His style is naturally and always ponderous, even in dealing with light topics, and there is always a pedantic mass of descriptive details laboriously worked out. It is not necessary, nor can we afford space, to select any lengthy specimen here, for they occur from page to page ; but consider, for instance, the taste of Kṛṣṇa's brief punning witticism to the denuded Gopīs during the Vastra-haraṇa-līlā (Pūrva xxi, p. 1091):

bhavatīnām ambarāvaraṇatā vidyata eva, tad ambaram
katham apahāreṇa saṃbalanaṃ avalambatām!

If Jīva's poetry, though written in verse, is too often prosaic in spirit and style, his prose, attempting to be poetical, too often attains only the subtle and fatiguing ornamentation of an overworked diction. In bulk of production, in unfailing

workmanship and general literary competence, it is impossible to ignore this triumph of literary and theological dexterity, but it is equally impossible to enjoy it heartily. As a whole, this extraordinarily elaborate Campū gives one the impression that no labour is too arduous, no ingenuity too refined for the essentially scholastic mind behind it, which delights to indulge in methodical flights of strenuous prose and verse.

It is perhaps a relief to turn from these extensive and learned productions to the two small Dūta-kāvyas[1] of Rūpa Gosvāmin, which were composed probably before the author met Caitanya, but which undoubtedly bear witness to a trend of independently developed Vaiṣṇava inclination. Although they are not burdened with didactic and doctrinal matter, it cannot be said that they are more original or less artificial compositions than the professed devotional Kāvyas of the Caitanya sect, which we have reviewed above. Their very form, as well as the fact that they are obvious imitations, encourages artificiality. They are, like innumerable other poems of the same type,[2] plainly literary exercises; and their interest lies not so much in their absolute poetical worth as in the utilisation, in an unoriginal epoch, of the original form and motif of sending a love-message in a different way and for a different purpose. They illustrate the literary variation that can be worked by clever and industrious talent, which could not imbibe nor reproduce the inimitable poetic spirit of Kālidāsa's little masterpiece. Both the Dūta-kāvyas of Rūpa deal with aspects of the Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā legend, and depict the sending of messages respectively from Rādhā at Vṛndāvana and from Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā.

The *Haṃsa-dūta* (142 stanzas) discards the original Mandākrāntā metre for Śikhariṇī. The messenger selected is a white-feathered swan, but the imaginary journey is only

1 See above, p. 152.

2 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* ch. vi, under Erotic poetry, pp. 372-75.

for a short distance from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā ; and the sender of the message is neither the hero nor the heroine but a companion of the latter (Lalitā), who is filled with pity for Rādhā's lovelorn condition. There is the usual indication of the route, describing various places of interest in Vṛndāvana connected with Kṛṣṇa's exploits, such as the Kadamba tree on which Kṛṣṇa sat at the time of the Vastra-haraṇa, the place of Rāsa-sports, the Govardhana hill, the Kadamba-bower, the Bhāṇḍīra-grove, the spot where Brahmā's pride was humbled and the Kāliya lake, until Mathurā is reached. We have then a description of Mathurā, of the spectacle of Kṛṣṇa's entry into the city witnessed with emotion by a throng of women, of the magnificence of Kṛṣṇa's residence and his appearance, of the beauty of his various limbs (starting from the toe-nails to his face, 53-62), and finally a recital of the message (65-140), sent on Rādhā's behalf by Lalitā, imploring Kṛṣṇa, in view of Rādhā's desperate condition, to hurry back to Vṛndāvana. The message, however, includes not only a detailed description of Rādhā's sorrow of separation, but also Lalitā's appeal addressed to Kṛṣṇa himself, as well as systematically to his garland (Vanamālā), ear-ornament (Kuṇḍala), Kaustubha jewel and his conch-shell (Kambu), together with ingeniously applied references in ten stanzas (128-137) to his ten incarnations. Of this last topic, the reference to the Buddha may be cited as a specimen of witty application of the motif of ten incarnations to the particular context of Rādhā's condition and the kind-hearted Kṛṣṇa's apparent indifference:

na rāgaṃ sarvajña kvacid api vidhatte, rati-patiṃ
muhur dveṣṭi, drohaṃ kalayati balād iṣṭa-viṣaye|,
ciraṃ dhyānāsaktā nivasati sadāsau gata-ratis
tathā'pyasyāṃ haṃho sadaya-hṛdaya tvaṃ na dayase||.[1]

1 The poem opens and ends with an obeisance to Kṛṣṇa ; there is no reference to Caitanya, but homage is paid to Sanātana in one of the concluding verses. The reading *viditaḥ sākaratayā* ('known as Sākara'),

The explanation of Rādhā's inability of sending a direct message herself is given in a verse of Rādhā's wailing, which is a brief but fine imitation of a well known passage in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*:[1]

garīyān me premā tvayi param iti sneha-laghutā
na jīviṣyāmīti praṇaya-garimākhyāpana-vidhiḥ/
kathaṃ nāyāsīti smaraṇa-paripāṭī-prakaṭanaṃ
harau saṃdeśāya priya-sakhi na me vāg-avasaraḥ//.

The *Uddhava-saṃdeśa*, in 131 Mandākrāntā stanzas, keeps more to the scheme and metre of the original, and has the advantage of expanding the *Bhāgavata* incident (x. 47) of Kṛṣṇa's despatching Uddhava as a messenger from Mathurā to Vṛndāvana. After an indication of the route, along with the old loving associations connected with the various places of Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa describes the lament of the Gopīs when Akrūra fetched him, and the eagerness with which they will receive Uddhava. He entrusts a message to each of the chief Gopīs, namely to Candrāvalī, Viśākhā, Dhanyā, Śyāmalā, Padmā, Lalitā, Bhadrā, Śaivyā and lastly, to Rādhā, to whom he sends his garland as a token. It is perhaps a more appealing poem in the tender quality of its description of reminiscent love, although the vividness and reality of the emotion are still obscured by the conventional banalities of rhetoric[2] and sentiment. While graceful passages[3] like the

found in some MSS, is probably an ingenious substitution for *viditaḥ satkavitayā*.

1 At the end of the Pūrva-bhāga, ed. Nirnay Sagar Press (6th ed.), Bombay 1921, pp. 414-415.

2 The diction is easier, but its general artificiality cannot be doubted. Rūpa, like Jīva and other learned writers of the time, is given to much display of grammatical and rhetorical niceties. One curious instance is his fondness for intensive verbal forms which he uses quite frequently in this small poem, e.g. *rāraṭīsi* in 36, *babhramīti* in 42, *dandahīṣi* in 78, *dandahīti* in 79, *varīvarti* in 85 (cf. *narīnarti* in *Haṃsa-dūta* 81) and *saṃdedišīti* in 122 !

3 Most of these, as well as fine passages fram the *Haṃsa-dūta*, will be found quoted by himself in the two Rasa-śāstra works of Rūpa.

following, for instance, from the lament of the Gopīs are not infrequent:

yatra sphītādhara-madhu-bhare śītalotsaṅga-saṅge
saundaryeṇollikhita-vapuṣi sphāra-saurabhya-pūre/
narmārambha-sthapuṭita-vacaḥ-kandale nanda-sūnau
modiṣyante mama sakhi kadā hanta pañcendriyāṇi//

We have also stanzas elaborately working out metaphorical conceits like the following:

akrūrākhye hṛtavati haṭhāj jīvanaṃ māṃ nidāghe
vindanīnāṃ muhur aviralākāram antar-vidāram/
sadyaḥ śuṣyan-mukha-vanaruhāṃ vallavī-dīrghikāṇāṃ
yāsām āśā-mṛdam anusṛtāḥ prāṇa-kūrmā vasanti//!

5. STOTRAS, GĪTAS AND BIRUDAS

Like the regular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya, the Vaṣṇava Stotra marks a departure from the staid and elevated tradition[1] of the reflective Stotras, of which the Vedāntic hymns ascribed to Śaṃkara may be taken as the type, by their erotic-mystic sensibility and by their more passionate and sensuous content and expression. If the traditional Stotra as poems of praise and panegyric derived its impetus from speculative thought, the quasi-amorous attitude of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti movement shifted the basis of inspiration by transforming the mighty sex-impulse into an ecstatic religious emotion, and by relating the devotional literature very closely to the erotic; the religious longings being expressed in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion. The apotheosis of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, with all its paraphernalia of impassioned beatific sports, was, no doubt, a literary gain of immense importance and lifted the devotional literature from the dead level of speculative thought to the romantic richness of an intensely passionate experience. But very soon subtle scholas-

1 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* ch. vi, under Devotional Poetry, pp. 375-98.

ticism laid its cold dry fingers upon the spontaneous blooming, not only of the regular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya but also of the devotional Vaiṣṇava Stotra ; and the incubus of a long-established literary tradition retarded the growth of independent form and expression. As a result, rhetorical nicety and psychological refinement came to dominate. The technical analysis and authority of the older Poetics and Erotics had already evolved a system of meticulous classification of the ways, means and effects of the erotic sentiment, and established a series of rigid conventionalities to be expressed in stock poetic and emotional phrases, analogies and conceits. To add to this, the neo-vaiṣṇava theology and theory of sentiment brought in a further mass of well defined subtleties and elegancies. Neither the regular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya nor the Stotra could, therefore, escape refined artificiality of sentiment and expression, as well as inevitable monotony arising from similar themes and motifs, similar series of words and ideas and similar method and treatment.

The Bengal Vaiṣṇava Stotra, therefore, exhibits practically the same set of characteristics as the regular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya which we have reviewed above, and they are also composed by the same set of writers with similar prepossessions. If the Stotra springs from a more personal religious consciousness and is not weighted entirely by the dry dogmatism of mere scholastic thought, the expression is too conventionally artistic and too subtly saturated with studied erotic niceties. In spite of the emotional inflatus, they are deliberate works with all the distinctive features of deliberate art. Nevertheless, the Stotras are comparatively short pieces and are generally not so dull and dreary as the laboured and extensive Kāvya. We often find in them a rare and pleasing charm, a luscious exuberance of pictorial fancy and a mood of sensuous sentimentality, which we often miss in the more ambitious and leisurely composed Kāvyas of massively erudite fancy. It is true that the reality of the personal emotion is too often lost in the repetition of conventional ideas and imageries, but the

spring and resonance of the verses and the swing and smoothness of the comparatively facile diction, as well as the inherent passion and picturesqueness of the romantic content, frequently make these devotional efforts transcend the mere formalism of literary and emotional trivialities. According as the sentiment gains in ardour and the expression in concreteness, theology and rhetoric recede to background ; but, at the same time, it must be admitted that it is not very often that these poems of adoration and eulogy rise above the level of modest mediocrity.

It is not denied that some of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava Stotras maintain their popularity, being daily uttered and relished by innumerable devout minds, but popularity or devotional employment is no index to literary quality. They are popular, not because they are great religious poems, but because they give expression to cherished religious ideas. They have, therefore, different values for the devotee and the literary critic. They come within the purview of literary appreciation only when they are not merely liturgical verses, or strings of laudatory names and epithets, or metrical litanies of glory and greatness, or didactic dissertation of doctrinal matter. These effusions of the devout heart are, in a sense, beyond the scope of formal criticism ; and it is perhaps difficult for the uninterested critic, who is apt to dismiss them as expressions of abnormal sentimentality, to realise the entire mentality of these devotee-poets, the earnestness of their creed and credulity, the exaltation of their refined emotionalism. But when these devout utterances represent a professional effort and not a born gift, a systematic exposition of religious emotions and ideas and not their automatic fusion in an instinctively poetical and devotional personality, they seldom reach the true accent of a great religious poem.

Although ignored by orthodox opinion for some of its unorthodox views, the *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*[1] of the emotional

1 See above p. 130.

ascetic Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī is a refinedly passionate adoration of Caitanya, which should not be ignored as a remarkable contribution to the Stotra literature of the sect, inspired by sincere personal devotion. We have already given above a brief account of the content of poem, but more than the content, the expression, in spite of conventional ideas and imageries, often rises, in its intensity of emotional ardour, much above the level of what one finds in ordinary poems of panegyric. In self-disparagement the poet exclaims:

vañcito'smi vañcito'smi vañcito'smi na saṃśayaḥ/
viśvaṃ gaura-rase magnaṃ sparśo'pi mama nābhavat//,

and laments:

kair vā sarva-pumartha-maulir akṛtāyāsair ihāsādito
nāsīd gaura-padārvinda-rajasā spṛṣṭe mahī-maṇḍale/
hā hā dhiṅ mama jīvanaṃ dhig api me vidyā
dhig apyāśramaṃ
yad daurbhāgya-parāvarair mama na tat-saṃbandha-
gando'pyabhūt//.

The pictures he gives of Caitanya's ecstatic emotions, his frenzied dancing and singing, have a richness and reality which one often misses in the more laboured accounts. We can select here, at random, only one specimen, but it will be enough to indicate the tone:

abhūd gehe gehe tumula-hari-saṃkīrtana-ravo
babhau dehe dehe vipula-pulakāśru-vyatikaraḥ/
api snehe snehe parama-madhurotkarṣa-padavī
davīyasyāmnāyād api jagati gaure'vatarati//.

The personal note, however, which makes this short poem so enjoyable, is much less in evidence in the interminable elaborate Śatakas, called collectively *Vṛndāvana-mahimāmṛta*,[1] which are ascribed to Prabodhānanda. The work is nothing

1 See above pp. 131-32. The authenticity of the ascription is neither proved nor disproved.

more than a series of lavish description and reflection on the romantic associations of Vṛndāvana as the abode of Kṛṣṇa and the scene of his varied sports. It would have been a marvellous literary feat indeed if the author had fulfilled his alleged ambitious project of writing ten thousand verses in one hundred Śatakas, all on the same topic ; but, as it is, the seventeen Śatakas, so far published, give us a total of 1871 stanzas composed in a large variety of metres. One need not, however, be surprised at this inexhaustible fertility, for the indomitable Sanskrit poet is inexhaustible in his resources ; and to the devout mind, the charms of Vṛndāvana are inexhaustible. But literary fertility is seldom synonymous with poetical excellence ; and however exuberant and amazing the devotional fancy might be, it can never dwell upon the same theme on such a minute and extended scale without producing a sense of monotony and futility. However vividly and variedly they might have been conceived by a devout mind of great affluence, a more or less abstract contemplation of the divine sports could hardly inspire the poet with the same emotional directness as his real experience and adoration of Caitanya's vital devotion. If one can leisurely wade through this long and laborious production, one will certainly come across verses, lines and phrases, richly yet elegantly expressed, some real flash and felicity of workmanship, as well as a pleasing and picturesque sensuousness of details ; but the prevailing note of literary artificiality in matter and manner is unmistakable, and the modest poetic merit of the composition need not be piously exaggerated.

The wistfulness and ecstasy of the erotic-mystic devotional attitude, inspired by the frankly sensuous Vṛndāvana sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, as well as its intensely passionate appeal, are best exemplified by a series of fervent poems of praise and prayer composed by Raghunātha-dāsa. The twenty-nine Stotras contained in his *Stavāvalī*[1] are of varying

1 See above pp. 121-122, where the names of the individual Stotras, number of stanzas in each and their respective metres are also given.

lengths, diverse metres and unequal merit ; but with the exception of the first two small pieces (*Caitanyāṣṭaka* and *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru*),[1] which give expression to the author's reminiscence and loving obeisance to Caitanya, all the poems are concerned with the author's vivid and impassioned realisation of the beatific sports. We can, however, at once exclude the *Rādhikāṣṭottara-śata-nāma* and the *Premāmbhoja-makaranda*, which consist of nothing more than strings of descriptive epithets, in the Śloka metre, in praise of Rādhā, meant for devout recitation. The four short poems (two on the Govardhana hill,[2] one on the Rādhā-kuṇḍa and one on the Dānalīlā-kuṇḍa) are concerned with worship and adoration of the holy places connected with Rādhā's sports and the author's ardent desire to live in them ; while the much longer *Vraja-vilāsa-stava* (107 stanzas in various metres) is practically a systematic devotional and descriptive catalogue of everything connected with Vṛndāvana which, as the divine domicile, is said to be superior to Mathurā and Dvārakā, because of the divine sports occurring eternally therein.[3] It enumerates and describes elaborately, in the form of obeisance in consecutive stanzas, the parents, grandparents, relatives, friends, associates, servants, assistants (even the nurse and the priest) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the Gopas and Gopīs, the cows, bulls and calves, the flute, the pet peacock, the hills, groves, rivers, birds, bees, forests, trees,

1 Although Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja thinks highly of these two Stotras and quotes them extensively, they are not impressive compositions. In verse 4 of the second poem the Gambhirā episode and the miracle of extended limbs are referred to.

2 Raghunātha's blindness in old age is also mentioned in the last verse of the *Govardhanāśraya-daśaka* (see above p. 121).

3 Verse 5. Also verse 7:

vaidagdhyottara-narma-karmaṭha-sakhī-vṛndaiḥ parītaṃ rasaiḥ
pratyekaṃ taru-kuñja-vallari-giridroṇīṣu rātriṃdivam /
nānā-keli-bhareṇa yatra ramate tan-navya-yūnor yugaṃ
tat-pādāmduja-gandha-bandhurataraṃ vṛndāvanaṃ tad bhaje //

creepers, various places of sports, and even the humble grass and dust of Vṛndāvana, as well as those people, devout or otherwise, who have the blessed fortune of residing therein today!

But the remaining Stotras are of greater interest. They illustrate aspects of the realisation of the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti,[1] in which the poet imagines himself to be, not a Sakhī or companion,[2] but a Dāsī or humble handmaid of Rādhā, and passionately prays for a vision and vicarious enjoyment of the frankly erotic sports. In the first verse of his *Sva-niyama-daśaka*, Raghunātha clearly enunciates his creed by enumerating the objects of his adoration:

gurau mantre nāmni prabhuvara-sachīgarbhaja-pade
svarūpe śrī-rūpe gaṇa-yuji tādīya-prathamaje|
girīndre gāndharvā-sarasi madhu-puryāṃ vraja-vane
vraje bhakte goṣṭhālayiṣu param āstāṃ mama matiḥ||.

namely, the Guru, the Mantra, the blessed Name, Caitanya, Svarūpa Dāmodara, Rūpa,[3] Sanātana, the Govardhana hill, the Rādhā-kuṇḍa, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, the Goṣṭha, the devotee of Kṛṣṇa and the people of Vraja. But he also declares emphatically that the sole object of his prayer and praise is Vṛndāvana and its presiding deity, Rādhā. The ecstatic worship and adoration of Rādhā (Rādhā-bhajana),

1 See above pp. 176-79.

2 Possibly the imaginary Sakhī of Rādhā, named Rūpamañjarī, whom Raghunātha addresses in some of his Stotras, may have been Rūpa Gosvāmin ; and tradition may not be wrong in associating Rūpa with the form of Sakhī-bhāva realisation.

3 Stanzas 10 and 11 of the *Prārthanāśraya-caturdaśaka* appear to indicate that Rūpa was dead by the time when these stanzas were written. Also see his *Sva-niyama-daśaka*, verse 8. The Stotras must have been composed at different periods of time ; for Raghunātha's *Muktā-caritra* makes a wholesale insertion of the *Premāmbhoja-maka-randa*, while his *Kusuma-keli* is apparently a variation of the theme of the *Muktā-caritra*.

therefore, becomes the predominating motive of almost all his Stotras ; for he states (*Vīśākhānanda-stotra*, 131):

bhajāmi rādhām aravinda-netrāṃ
smarāmi rādhāṃ madhura-smitāsyām/
vadāmi rādhāṃ karuṇā-bharārdrāṃ
tato mamānyāsti gatir na kāpi//.

The mode of worship that he prefers, however, is not Sakhya but Dāsya:

pādābjayos tava vinā vara-dāsyam eva
nānyat kadāpi samaye kila devi yāce/
sakhyāya te mama namo'stu namo'stu nityaṃ
dāsyāya te mama raso'stu raso'stu satyam//.

Hence, in his much praised *Vilāpa-kusumāñjali*, from which the verse quoted above is taken, his sorrow of separation from Rādhā and his intense longing for service and worship are expressed with great warmth and earnestness, the author conceiving himself as a handmaid of Rādhā,[1] and describing in detail how he would like to wait upon her, help her to dress and decorate her limbs and minister unto her love-affair. Rādhā and her divine lover are presented in these Stotras in a background of highly sensuous appeal; and the extreme asceticism of the author's personal life affords a strange contrast to the extreme eroticism of his devotional effusions. But the attitude is essentially one of pathetic supplication and surrender for being included in the divine entourage, for ecstatic vision of the erotic sports. The fervent prayers are addressed to Rādhā, more than to Kṛṣṇa, because without an adoration of Rādhā it is impossible, in the poet's view to attain Kṛṣṇa (*Sva-saṃkalpa-prakāśa*, verse 1):

anārādhya rādhā-padāmbhoja-reṇum
anāśritya vṛndāṭavīṃ tat-padāṅkam/
asaṃbhāṣya tad-bhāva-gambhīra-cittān
kutaḥ śyāma-sindho rasasyāvagāhaḥ//.

1 *atyutkaṭena nitarāṃ virahānalena*
dandahyamāna-hṛdayā kila kāpi dāsī/
hā svamini kṣaṇam iha praṇayena gāḍham
ākrandanena vidhurā vilapāmi padyaiḥ//.

Hence, *snapayati nija-dāsye rādhikā maṃ kadā nu* ; *rādhāṃ kadāhaṃ bhaje* ; *kṣaṇaṃ api mama rādhe netram ānandaya tvam* ; *bhaja mano rādhām agādhāṃ rasaiḥ* ; such words and sentiment form the refrain of each stanza, as well as the theme, respectively of his *Rādhikāṣṭaka*, *Utkaṇṭhā-daśaka*, *Prema-pūra* and *Navāṣṭaka* Stotras ; while his *Abhīṣṭa-prārthana* and *Abhīṣṭa-sūcana* give expression to his eagerness to serve and worship Rādhā, and his *Nava-yuva-dvandva-didṛksāṣṭaka* as well as *Prārthanāmṛtā* to a longing to witness the divine sports. It is true that some of the Stotras are composed in direct honour of Kṛṣṇa (e.g. *Mukundāṣṭaka*, *Gopāla-rāja-stava*, *Madana-gopāla-stotra*),[1] but Rādhā figures in them very prominently. The more ambitiously elaborate *Viśākhānanda-stotra* is a panegyric of Rādhā (in 134 Śloka verses), in which she is described, in a highly rhetorical passage (77-86), as personified Victory in Love-sports (Kandarpa-yuddha-śrī), with all her paraphernalia of charming, yet deadly, weapons and battle-resources, and in which Kṛṣṇa throws out a single-handed challenge for love-fight, not only to Rādhā but also to all her companions ! The extensive *Rādhā-kṛṣṇojjvala-kusuma-keli* describes (in 44 Śikhariṇī stanzas with occasional intrusion of connecting prose) such a mild combat, but it is only a wordy warfare, a battle of erotic wit and raillery,[2] arising from a playful dispute over the ownership of the groves of Vṛndāvana, and ending in Kṛṣṇa's prescribing suitable, but audacious, punishment to Rādhā and the Gopīs for having, without title, plucked flowers from the groves which belong to him !

In spite of an excess of sensuous sentimentality which, however, is an essence of the faith, the devout, yet passionate,

1 All these Stotras have the last Pāda of each stanza as a repeated refrain. In *Gopāla-rāja* (verses 13 and 14), Viṭṭhaleśvara, son of Vallabhācārya, is mentioned as a worshipper of the image of Gopāla at Vṛndāvana.

2 In theme and treatment, this Stotra is only a variation of the poet's *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi* and *Muktā-caritra*.

personal note in these Stotras of Raghunātha-dāsa is certainly appropriate to this subjective type of devotional literature. It is a touching picture that he himself gives, in one of his smaller Stotras,[1] of his own simple, ascetic life of humble devotion at Rādhā-kuṇḍa, near the alleged Govardhana hill, bereft of the companionship of his dear friends in old age, awaiting desirable death in the holy place and filled with nothing but an intense longing to serve and worship his deity:

parityaktaḥ preyo-jana-samudayair bāḍham asudhīr
durandho nīrandhraṃ kadana-bhavakābdhau nipatitaḥ|
tṛṇaṃ dantair daṣṭvā catubhir abhiyāce'dya kṛpayā
svayaṃ śrī-gāndharvā sva-pada-nalināntaṃ nayatu mām||
vrajotpanna-kṣīrāśana-vasana-pātrādibhir aham
padārthair nirvāhya vyavahṛtim adambhaṃ sa-niyamaḥ|
vasānīśā-kuṇḍe giri-kula-vare caiva samaye
mariṣye tu preṣṭhe sarasi khalu jīvādi-puratah||

It is not mere abstract contemplation, dogmatic exposition or artistic expression of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend which interests him; he desires a rich and intimate realisation of all its romantic associations. And he has been able to communicate to his Stotras the rich and intimate picturesqueness of his devotional fancy and exuberant sentiment. The purely poetic merit of these passionate lyrical effusions is perhaps not very high, but they are comparatively free from mere dogma and rhetoric in their emotional exaltation and warmth of earnest belief.

The Stotras, Birudas and Gītas of Rūpa Gosvāmin are of a somewhat different type. They have more rhetoric than reality, more wealth of words than fervour of faith, more artistic than human appeal. They are collected together by his nephew Jīva, in a volume entitled *Stava-mālā*.[2] With the

1 *Sva-niyama-daśaka* 8-9.

2 See above p. 153. The work is also edited (and printed in Devanāgarī) by Bhavadatta Sastri and K. P. Parab, with the commentary of (Baladeva) Vidyābhūṣaṇa (and not Jīva), Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay 1903.

exception of three opening Aṣṭakas on Caitanya (the first two composed in the Śikhariṇī and the third in the Pṛthvī metre, but showing no remarkable features), the entire body of some sixty separate Stotras, Birudas and Gītas are, of course, concerned with the various details, chiefly erotic, of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Most of the Stotras are small, and the Aṣṭaka form, in the smaller pieces, appears to have found much favour with our poet ; he uses in them mostly short lyrical syllabic metres, each stanza often possessing refrain in the last foot. The jingle of rhyme is frequently melodious and the repetition of refrain pleasing, unless both are overdone: thus, in Svāgatā metre (*Kuñja-vihāryaṣṭaka*):

indranīla-maṇi-mañjula-varṇaḥ
phulla-nīpa-kusumāñcita-karṇaḥ|
kṛṣṇalābhir akṛśorasi hārī
sundaro jayati kuñja-vihārī||
rādhikā-vadana-candra-cakoraḥ
sarva-ballava-vadhū-dhṛti-coraḥ|
carcarī-caturatāñcita-cārī-
cāruto jayati kuñja-vihārī||

Or, in Mālinī (*Mukunda-muktāvalī*[1]):

nava-jaladhara-varṇaṃ campakodbhāsi-karṇaṃ
vikasita-nalināsyaṃ visphuran-manda-hāsyaṃ|
kanaka-ruci-dukūlaṃ cāru-barhāvacūḷaṃ|
kam api nikhila-sāraṃ naumi gopī-kumāraṁ||.

The Aṣṭakas concerning Kṛṣṇa are those on Keśava (Pṛthvī, with refrain), on Kuñja-vihārin (two Stotras in Svāgatā with refrain and rhyme and in Mālinī with refrain), on Mukunda (Mālinī, with refrain), on Vraja-nava-yuvarāja (Mālinī, with refrain) and on Kṛṣṇa-nāman (in varied metres). The Aṣṭakas

1 This is, however, not an Aṣṭaka. Kavikarṇapūra, as we have seen, also uses middle- and end-rhyme throughout his *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī*, but Raghunāthadāsa does not affect these devices either in his Kāvyas or his Stotras.

concerning Rādhā are those on Rādhā (Mālinī, with refrain) and Gāndharvā-saṃprārthana (Vasantatilaka). There is only one Aṣṭaka concerning both, namely, on Vraja-navīna-dvandva (Pṛthvī). But there are several on places or persons connected with their sports, namely, those on Yamunā (Toṭaka), on Mathurā (Sragdharā and Śārdūlavikrīḍita, but it is not an Aṣṭaka, because there are only four stanzas available !), on the Govardhana hill (two Aṣṭakas in Mattamayūrā and Mandākrāntā respectively, both having refrains), on Vṛndāvana (Pṛthvī, with refrain) and on Lalitā (Vasantatilaka, with refrain). There is nothing very remarkable in these small supplicatory panegyrics of eight stanzas for mercy and beatific vision, except their verbal and metrical melody and gorgeous erotic fancy. The *Hari-kusuma-stavaka* and the *Tribhaṅga-pañcaka* are not technically Aṣṭakas, but are of the same character ; the former consisting of 11 Toṭaka stanzas, and the latter comprising five rhymed moric stanzas of four feet of 32 syllabic instants (Mātrās)[1] in each foot. The two Aṣṭottara-śatanāma Stotras respectively on Kṛṣṇa (called *Premendu-sāgara*) and on Rādhā (named symmetrically *Premendu-sudhā*), both in the Śloka metre of 45 and 42 verses, are merely litanies, consisting of strings of descriptive epithets of the usual sensuous character. Of a similar type are the *Cāṭu-puṣpāñjali*, *Praṇāma-praṇaya* and *Kārpaṇya-pañjikā* which plead, in 24, 14 and 45 Śloka verses respectively, for favour of inclusion in the entourage of the divine sports.

Of greater interest, not only for their picturesque devotional-erotic fancy, but also for their extraordinary metrical

1 The following will serve as a specimen of the Tribhaṅga stanza:

yamalārjuna-bhañjanam āśrita-rañjanam ahi-gañjana-
ghana-lāsya-bharam
paśupāla-puraṃdaram abhisṛta-kandaram ati-sundaram
aravinda-karam/
vara-gopa-vadhūjana-viracita-pūjanam urukūjana-
nava-veṇu-dharam
smara-narma-vicakṣaṇam akhila-vilakṣaṇa-tanu-lakṣaṇam
ati-dakṣataram //, etc.

harmony and prodigality of verbal dexterity, are the more extensive *Mukunda-muktāvalī*, *Utkalikā-vallatī* and *Svāyam-utprekṣita-līlā* composed in varied metres ; the two Biruda and Chanda-kāvyas, namely, *Govinda-birudāvalī* and *Aṣṭā-daśa-cchandas* ; and the fine collection of songs in the moric metres, entitled the *Gītāvalī*. Apart from their devotional merit, they are literary exercises of great ingenuity ; but since they attempt to evolve new rhythmic and lyrical forms in verse, prose and song, they deserve a more detailed treatment. The *Mukunda-muktāvalī*[1] consists of thirty rhymed or alliterative stanzas, eight being composed in the moric Pajjhaṭika of sixteen Mātrās, four in Mālinī, and two in each of the following short lyrical measures, namely, Citrā, Jaladharamālā, Raṅgiṇī, Tūṇaka, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Sragviṇī, Jaloddhatagati, Śālinī and Tvaritagati. Some of these metres are of rare occurrence in general literature, but they are employed with great skill and fine adjustment of sound-effect, so much so that the work may be as well called, not inappropriately, *Vṛtta-muktāvalī*. Take, for instance, the Vṛttyanuprāsa in the following stanza in Raṅgiṇī metre:

parva-vartula-śarvarīpati-garva-rīti-harānanaṃ
nanda-nandanam indirā-kṛta-vandanaṃ dhṛta-candanam|
sundarī-ratimandirīkṛta-kandaram dhṛta-mandaraṃ
kuṇḍala-dyuti-maṇḍala-pluta-kandharaṃ bhajasundaram||.

Or, the middle rhyme in Tvaritagati:

rucira-nakhe racaya sakhe valita-ratiṃ bhajana-tatim|
tvam aviratis tvarita-gatir nata-śaraṇe hari-caraṇe||.

Or, the end-rhyme in Sragviṇī:

ullasad-ballavī-vāsasāṃ taskaras
tejesā nirjita-prasphurad-bhāskaraḥ|
pīna-doḥ-stambhayor ullasac-candanaḥ
pātu vaḥ sarvato devakī-nandanaḥ||.

1 Also printed in Devanāgarī without the name of the author, in Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka ii, p. 157 f.

and continuous rhyming in Jaloddhatagati:

vihāra-sadanaṃ manojña-radanaṃ
praṇīta-madanaṃ śaśāṅka-vadanam/
urastha-kamalaṃ yaśobhir amalam
karātta-kamalaṃ bhajasva tam alam//.

Or, continuous alliteration and end rhyme in Tūṇaka:

tuṇḍa-kānti-daṇḍitoru-pāṇḍurāṃśu-maṇḍalaṃ
gaṇḍa-pāli-tāṇḍāvāli-śāli-ratna-kuṇḍalaṃ/
phulla-puṇḍarīka-ṣaṇḍa-kḷpta-mālya-maṇḍanaṃ
caṇḍa-bāhu-daṇḍam atra naumi kaṃsa-khaṇḍanam//.

The same fondness for alliteration and rhyming is in evidence throughout in the *Svayam-utprekṣita-līlā*, (also called *Vilāsa-mañjarī*) which, however, is not formally a Stotra but a little sketch, describing the familiar episode of Rādhā's plucking flowers in the groves of Vṛndāvana, with the full knowledge of Kṛṣṇa's presence nearby, Kṛṣṇa's playful obstruction and threat of punishment, and the inevitable erotic witticism and raillery. It is composed also in thirty rhymed and alliterative stanzas, the metres used being Dodhaka, Mattā, Sragviṇī, Bhramaravilasita, Jaloddhatagati, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Toṭaka, Āryā (which is a rarely used metre in Bengal Vaiṣṇava Stotras), Pajjhaṭikā, Svāgatā, Rathoddhatā, Lolā, and Mālinī. It is not necessary to multiply examples; one in the rare Mattā and another in the common Bhujaṅgaprayāta metre will perhaps serve to illustrate the style:

bhṛṅgīveyaṃ tam aparimeyaṃ
mugdhā gandham hṛdi kṛta-bandham//
vyagra-prāyā pulakita-kāyā
premodbhātā drutam abhi yātā//.

and

parijñātam adya prasūnālim etāṃ
lunīṣe tvam evaṃ pravālaiḥ sametām/
dhṛtāsau mayā kāñcana-śreṇi-gauri
praviṣṭāsi gehaṃ katham puṣpa-cauri//.

The *Utkalikā-vallarī* is a much more extensive production of seventy verses, which are simultaneously addressed to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and express the poet's longing to serve and vicariously enjoy their sports. The poem does not employ rhyme and chiming, but the rhetorical and metrical display is equally prominent. The metres used are Upajāti, Mālinī, Śikhariṇī, Sundarī, Rathoddhatā, Puṣpitāgrā, Svāgatā, Vasantatilaka, Drutavilambita, Hariṇī, Śārdūla-vikrīḍita, Rucirā, Pṛthvī, Mandākrāntā, and Mattamayūrā. The following stanzas in Sundarī and Rathoddhatā are normal specimens of its ornate expression:

dadhatam vapur aṃśu-kandalīṃ
dalad-indīvara-vṛnda-bandhurām|
kṛta-kāñcana-kānti-vañcanaiḥ
sphuritāṃ cāru-marīci-saṃcayaiḥ||

tvāṃ ca ballava-puraṃdarātmaja
tvāṃ ca gokula-vareṇya-nandini|
eṣa mūrdha-racitāñjalir naman
bhikṣate kim api durbhago janaḥ||

but we have also elaborate working out of rhetorical conceits and imageries, as in the following:

gopendra-mitra-tanayā-dhruva-dhairya-sindhu-
pāna-kriyā-kalasasaṃbhava-veṇu-nādam !

The Biruda-kāvya, called the *Govinda-birudāvalī*, illustrates the extreme limits to which can be carried the inexhaustible talent for ingenious verbal devices of alliteration, rhyming and similar tricks of rhythmical repetition of syllables. But it also makes a clever attempt to evolve an extremely original series of rhythmic and alliterative prose forms (the interspersed verse in orthodox form and metre being negligible), which certainly demand a more exhaustive study than what is possible here. Viśvanātha, no doubt, defines the Biruda-kāvya as a poem of praise in honour of

kings, composed in prose and verse,[1] but he does not consider its characteristics, nor are earlier discussion of the subject and illustrative specimens available for our enlightenment. The Bengal Vaiṣṇava Biruda Kāvya, also composed in a somewhat unique kind of prose and nominal verse (or sometimes in nominal prose and unique verse), but dedicated to prayer and praise of deities, perhaps represent an original trend of literary composition. The credit of elaborating it should go to Rūpa Gosvāmin, although Kavikarṇapūra has one Stotra in the Biruda-form in his *Ānanda-vṛndāvana* Campū (xv. 220-256). Rūpa also composed a work called *Sāmānya-birudāvalī-lakṣaṇa*,[2] in which he defines and illustrates nearly fifty varieties of the form, and from which Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa quotes profusely in his commentary[3] on the *Govinda-birudāvalī*. Jīva wrote, in imitation, the *Gopāla-birudāvalī*[4] and inserted some Biruda-stotras in the last chapter of his *Gopāla-campū* ; while Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Raghunandana Gosvāmin, in the 18th century, composed respectively the *Nikuñja-keli-birudāvalī*[5] and *Gaurāṅga-birudāvalī*, which are highly ingenious imitations. In spite of these sectarian attempts, the form does not appear to have succeeded in obtaining popularity or currency, its elaborate artificiality probably standing in the way of general acceptance.

The unit of the Biruda form consists generally of a measure of rhythmic and alliterative prose, called Kalikā, corresponding to the metrical foot or Pāda, but a number of

1 *gadya-padyamayī rāja-stutir birudam ucyate*, *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, vi. 236, but nothing is known of the work, *Biruda-maṇi-mālā*, which it cites in illustration. The description of the *Birudāvalī* of Raghudeva of Mithilā, given by Aufrecht in his Oxford Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, no. 224, is too indefinite for any conclusion.

2 See above p. 156.

3 See Bombay ed. pp. 114-115 ; Berhampur ed. pp. 265-266.

4 See above p. 157. It exemplifies only the varieties of the first Caṇḍavṛtta type, and therefore need not be separately considered here.

5 Ed. Haridas Das, Navadvīpa 1940.

each unit is often prefaced and concluded by some verses in the orthodox metre ; or it may sometimes consist of units of verse Kalikās, with similar prefatory or concluding brief lines of prose. The measure of each Kalikā should generally be not more than sixty-four or not less than twelve Kalās, corresponding to Mātrās or syllabic instants of the moric metre, but the disposition of syllables generally follows the Gaṇa-scheme. In each piece or Vṛtta the number of Kalikās may extend from five to thirty. It should possess pomp of words (Śabda-ḍambara) and describe the valour, glory or beauty of the deity concerned. In effect, the long stretches of Kalikās are nothing more than strings of descriptive epithets, the chief object being to show verbal skill and subtlety in the manipulation of alliterative and rhyming ingenuities. Five varieties are distinguished, namely, Caṇḍa-vṛtta, Dvigādi-gaṇa-vṛtta, Tribhaṅgī-vṛtta (all three having prose, often with preliminary and concluding verses), Miśra-vṛtta (having verse with lines of prose at the beginning and at the end) and Kevala-vṛtta (pure prose) ; but the subdivisions are more minute and complicated[1]

The *Govinda-birudāvalī*, which purports to be a series of Stotras addressed to Kṛṣṇa, is an ambitious literary feat deliberately composed to illustrate practically all the forty-nine varieties of the new form. It is impossible to indicate here the diversity of effects attained, but a few specimens of

1 The details of characteristics must be sought in Rūpa's *Sāmānya-birudāvalī-lakṣaṇa* and illustrations in these Biruda Kāvyas. But we may just indicate that the Caṇḍa-vṛtta is said to have two varieties, Nakha and Viśikha, the former of which may have nine kinds (Vardhita, Vīrabhadra, Samagra, Cyuta, Utpala, Turaṅga, Guṇa-rati, Mātaṅga-khelita, Tilaka) and the latter eleven kinds (namely, Padma, Kunda, Campaka, Vañjula, Vakula, the Padma again being of six types, namely Paṅkeruha, Sitakañja, Pāṇḍūtpala, Indīvara, Aruṇāmbhoja, Kahlāra). The Dvigādi-gaṇas are of five kinds: Koraka, Gucchaka, Saṃphulla, Kusuma and Gandha. The Tribhaṅgī-vṛtta has six kinds. The Miśra may be Gadya-saṃpṛkta and Sāptavibhaktika. The Kevala may be Akṣaramayī or Sarvalaghvī.

the prose Kalikās may be given here to illustrate the style and type of composition. Thus, Utpala of seventeen moras and minimum of five Kalikās of the Caṇḍa-vṛtta variety:

kānanārabdha-kākalīśabda-
pāṭavākṛṣṭa-gopikā-dṛṣṭa
cāturījuṣṭa-rādhikā-tuṣṭa
kāminīlakṣa-mohane dakṣa
bhāminī-pakṣa mām amuṃ rakṣa.

Or, the Guṇa-rati variety of Caṇḍa-vṛtta consisting of twelve Kalikās:

prakaṭīkṛta-guṇa śakaṭī vighaṭana
nikaṭīkṛta-navalakuṭī-vara vana-
paṭalī-taṭa cara naṭa-līla madhura
surabhīkṛta-vana surabhī-hita-kara
muralī-vilasita khuralī-hṛta-jagad-
aruṇādhara nava-taruṇāyata-bhuja
varuṇālaya-sama-karuṇā-parimala
kalabhātiya-bala-śalabhāyita-khala
dhavalā-dhṛti-hara-gavalāśrita-kara
sarasīkṛta-nara sarasīruha-dhara
kalaśī-dadhi-hara kala-śīlita-mukha
lalitā-rati-kara lalitāvali-para.

The illustrations of the much longer varieties of other types cannot be given here in full for want of space. But here is a string of succeeding Yamakas:

tvaṃ jaya keśava keśa-bala-stuta
vīrya-vilakṣaṇa lakṣaṇa-bodhita
kelişu nāgara nāga-raṇoddhata
gokula-nandana nanda-nati-vrata

and so forth. Or, an extraordinary jingle of sounds:

vraja-pṛthu-pallī-parisara-vallī-
vana-bhuvi tallī-gaṇa-bhṛti mallī-
manasija-bhallīyita-śivamallī-
kumuda-matallī-yuşi gata jhillī-

parişadi hallīsaka-sukha-jhallī-
rata pariphullīkṛta-cala-cillī-
jita-rati-mallī-mada-bhara, etc.

Or, a succession of light syllables:

kusuma-nikara-nicita-cikura
nakhara-vijita-maṇija-mukura
subhaṭa-paṭima-ramita-mathura
vikaṭa-samara-naṭana-catura
samada-bhujaga-damana-caraṇa
nikhila-paśupa-nicaya-śaraṇa, etc.

Or, a row of phrases arranged according to the order of letters of the alphabet (Akṣaramayī variety):

acyuta jaya jaya ārta-kṛpa-maya
indra-makhārdana īti-viśātana
ujjvala-vibhrama ūrjita-vikrama, etc.

Or, all the seven case-endings illustrated serially (Śāpta-vibhaktika)[1]:

mukha-vidhur iṣṭaḥ sudṛg-abhimṛṣṭaḥ
smara-mada-dhṛṣṭaḥ sa bhavatu dṛṣṭaḥ/
suvalita-hastau kari-kara-śastau
rati-kala-tastau yuvatibhir astau/
śrita-bahu-dāsā jagad-abhilāsā
madhurima-vāsāḥ syur iha vilāsāḥ//,

and so on. There is no limit to these feats of clever verbal verbosity.

The *Aṣṭādaśa-cchandas*, as its name implies, makes similar attempts at eighteen Chandas or rhythmic prose and verse forms, but it is more diversified in content inasmuch as it proposes, in the succeeding pieces, to deal with some of the episodes of Vṛndāvana-līlā, ranging from birth (Nandotsava) to the slaying of Kaṃsa (Raṅgasthala-krīḍā). The charming names of the eighteen Chandas are Gucchaka, Koraka, Anu-

1 The specimen is taken from Viśvanātha Cakravartin's *Nikuñja-keli-birudāvalī*, which is much simpler than Rūpa's example.

kula, Praphulla-kusumāvalī, Kala-gīta, Aśoka-puṣpa-mañjarī, Anaṅgaśekhara, Dvipadikā, Hārihariṇa, Indirā, Matta-mātaṅga-līlā-kara, Mugdha-saurabha, Saṃphulla, Lalita-bhṛṅga, Kānti-ḍambara, Mukhadeva, Gucchaka (different from the first-named) and Bhṛṅgāra, applied successively to the familiar eighteen topics of Nandotsavādi, Śakaṭa-bhaṅgādi, Yamalārjuna-mocana, Go-vatsa-cāraṇādi, Vatsa-haraṇādi, Tālavana-carita, Kāliya-damana, Bhāṇḍīra-krīḍadi, Varṣā-śarad-vihāra, Vastra-haraṇa, Yajñapatnī-prasāda, Govardhanoddharaṇa, Nandāpaharaṇa, Rāsa-krīḍā, Sudarśana-mocana, Gopikā-gīta, Ariṣṭavadhādi, and Raṅga-sthalakrīdā, (=Kaṃsa-vadha). Although some of the metres, like Aśoka-puṣpa-mañjarī, Anaṅga-śekhara and Matta-mātaṅga-līlā-kara are included in the Daṇḍaka class of metres in such orthodox works on Prosody as the *Vṛtta-ratnākara*, most of them, not so reckoned, are of the Gaṇa-cchandas or Mātrā-cchandas type. But since the Gaṇa and Mātrā schemes are also the basis of the Biruda Vṛttas, this group of metrical and rhymed Chandas bears a close resemblance to the Birudas. The stretches of the stanzas, with their non-stop lines ranging from eight to sixty, are too lengthy for full quotations here, but we cite a few lines only from some of them to illustrate the variety of verbal melody which they attain:

Gucchaka (11 lines):

nija-mahima-maṇḍalī-vraja-vasati-rocanaṃ
vadana-vidhu-mādhurī-ramita-pitṛ-locanaṃ
śrutinipuṇa-bhūsura-vraja-vihita-jātakam
tanu-jalada-tarpita-svajana-gaṇa-cātakam, etc.

Anukūla (12 lines):

dhṛta-dadhi-manthana-daṇḍa jananī-cumbita-gaṇḍa
pīta-savitrī-dugdha kala-bhāṣita-kula-mugdha, etc.

Hāri-hariṇa (15 lines):

megha-samaya-pūrti-racita vṛṣṭiṣu taru-kandara-cita
nīpa-kakubha-puṣpa-valita sāndra-vipina-labda-lalita

bhakta-pariṣad-iṣṭa-varada hāri-vibhava-dhāri-śarada-laṃkṛta-bahu-pakṣi-bharita-kānana-kṛta-divya-carita, etc.

Lalita-bhṛnga (58 lines!):

śārada-vidhu-vīkṣaṇa-madhu-vardhita-mada-pūra
iṣṭa-bhajana-vallabha-jana-citta-kamala-sūra
gopa-yuvati-maṇḍala-mati-mohana-kala-gīta
mukta-sakala-kṛtya-vikala-yauvata-parivīta, etc.[1]

The amazing versatility of Rūpa in weaving endless patterns of rhythmic richness is also exemplified by his *Gītāvalī*. It consists of forty-one songs, set to musical tunes, and composed in moric metres after the Padāvalīs of Jayadeva. The songs deal with four picturesque topics connected with the Vṛndāvana-līlā, namely, the festivities and sports concerning birth of Kṛṣṇa, Vasanta-pañcamī, Dola and Rāsa, as well as give incidental musical word-pictures of Rādhā as the following eight types of heroine, namely, Abhisārikā, Vāsaka-sajjā, Utkaṇṭhitā, Vipralabdhā, Khaṇḍitā, Kalahāntaritā, Proṣita-patikā and Svādhīna-bhartṛkā. Rūpa always keeps in view the particular object of illustrating his Rasa-śāstra, but the rhetorician does not here overshadow the poet. The pieces are finely wrought as songs, but they are also enjoyable as little musical poems. One is tempted to quote extensively, but one specimen (on the Rāsa) will perhaps be sufficient to give an idea of the type of song affected:

(Rāga Dhanāśrī)

komala-śaśikara-ramya-vanāntara-nirmita-gīta-vilāsa/
tūrṇa-samāgata-vallava-yauvata-vīkṣaṇa-kṛta-parihāsa//
jaya jaya bhānusutā-taṭa-raṅga-mahānaṭa
sundara nanda-kumāra/
śarad-aṅgīkṛta-divya-rasāvṛtu maṅgala-rāsa-vihāra// (Dhruva)
gopī-cumbita rāga-karambita māna-vilokana-līna/
guṇa-garvonnata-rādhā-saṃgata-sauhṛda-saṃpad-adhīna//

1 There are also some three poems (Līlāntara-varṇana) which describe again in orthodox metres the Govardhana-dhāraṇa (1 Pṛthvī, 27 Bhujaṅgaprayāta, 1 Sragdharā), Vastra-haraṇa (Biruda) and Rāsa (17 Pajjhaṭikā).

tad-vacanāmṛta-pāna-madāhṛta valayīkṛta-parivāra/
sura-taruṇī-gaṇa-mati-vikṣobhaṇa khelana-valgita-hāra//
ambu-vigāhana-nandita-nija-jana maṇḍita-yamunā-tīra/
sukha-saṃvid-ghana pūrṇa sanātana nirmala nīla-śarīra//.[1]

There can be no doubt that this is a fine imitation of the spirit and style of Jayadeva's exquisite songs. In compositions like these Rūpa's art and humanism seldom yield place to mere academicism. For facility of phrase and marvellous modulation of sounds and syllables he had an undoubted talent ; and, in spite of the fact that the songs of the *Gītāvalī* are imitative, their pleasing quality should not be depreciated. At the same time, neither sectarian estimation nor general literary appreciation would place them on the same level or consider them as having superseded the Padāvalīs of the *Gita-govinda.*

It will be seen that the Stotras, Birudas and Gītas of Rūpa Gosvāmin, however elaborate they may be, are not of the merely descriptive and reflective character, but that the fundamental characteristics of their picturesque devotionalism are saturated with erotic emotionalism, of which it is a transfigured expression. This is undoubtedly made prominent by the highly sensuous pictorial fancy and the inexhaustible lyrical and musical gift of the author ; but profuse and overwrought rhetoric often obscures the reality of the emotion and gives it an appearance of spectacular sensibility. It is not the rhetorical habit by itself which annoys so much as its incessant and disproportionate employment ; and the real grace of graceful poetry is too often smothered by overfertile prodigality and deliberate straining after purely verbal and metrical effect. No doubt, Rūpa's Stotras and Gītas bear witness alike to his devotion, learning and literary skill, but we miss in them the touching quality of self-expression, the flavour of a simple, lovable personality, which is so

1 Although the name of Sanātana is cleverly inserted in every song, it does not occur as the technical Bhaṇitā, and there is no justification for the view that the *Gītāvalī* is Sanātana's work.

conspicuous in the less artistic efforts of his friend Raghunātha-dāsa. Rūpa is certainly a poet, but he is also a trained verbal specialist. His volume of vocabulary and richness of decorative devices become excessive and wasteful ; the whole battalion of descriptive epithets, of alliterative and rhyming jingles is often too compactly and indiscriminately arrayed to give us convincing visual pictures. The exuberant verbal and metrical dexterity ceases to be a means of beautiful expression ; it obstructs our sense of visualisation, although it pleases by its astonishing lavishness and endless ingenuity, not so much of sense as of mere sound. Rūpa possesses an irrepressible talent for such pleasing tricks, which he can accumulate untiringly in interminable series of fresh surprises. It makes his praiseworthy attempt to evolve new rhythmical prose and verse forms look plausible. To a certain extent, he is successful, but the effort fails by its outrageous tendency to prolonged elaborateness and meaningless pomp of brilliant, but hardly illuminating, gorgeousness. Rūpa, in his Stotras and Gītas, is not difficult and abstruse ; nor is he didactic, nor prone to inane and recondite subtleties ; but these tendencies of a scholastic training find expression in his inability to distinguish between art and artifice, between poetry and its make-believe.

A brief reference in this connexion may be made to Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī*,[1] which gives an anthological survey of Vaiṣṇava devotional verses, new and old, and is meant to illustrate the many nuances of the Bhakti-devoutness of Caitanyaism. Its content and arrangement are somewhat different from those ordinarily found in Sanskrit anthologies. All the verses are devoted to Kṛṣṇa-līlā ; and they are arranged in sections in accordance with the different doctrinarian aspects of Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti and different episodes in the erotic career of the deity. The whole arrangement conforms

1 Ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1934, of which see introd. for further details about the work. See above p. 153.

generally to the rhetorical classification of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra, to which the compilation may be regarded as an illustrative compendium. It gives us a selection of 386 verses from over 125 authors, including verses taken from the works of the compiler himself and his associates and contemporaries, as well as freely drawing upon Vaiṣṇava verses from the earlier Bengal anthology, the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, of Śrīdhara-dāsa. Rūpa, however, does not confine himself to Bengal nor to Vaiṣṇava authors alone. He selects older verses from Amaru, Bhavabhūti and others and places them in a Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa context, sometimes even making changes in the text in order to make non-sectarian verses applicable to a sectarian purpose! The *Padyāvalī*, therefore, is a unique anthology in bringing together in one context a large variety of Kṛṣṇaite verses to explain the many aspects of the devotional emotionalism connected with Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti ; but it is also important as bearing witness to a phase of literary activity in mediaeval Bengal which produced in Sanskrit a remarkable lyric literature peculiar to itself. The merit of this repository of single stanzas lies not so much in the selection of really great poems, but in its special object of preserving against oblivion a large number of fleeting, but fine, pieces of obscure and well-nigh dateless poets. Most of the verses reflect a charming quality of emotional directness, which one rarely finds in the more elaborate masterpieces ; and they can be appreciated as much from the point of view of religious expression as from the standpoint of literary effort of a fervent lyrical character, which the emotional religious movement inspired. The purely poetic merit of the detached stanzas is unequal, and perhaps may not be high ; but we often come across lines, phrases and even whole stanzas of undoubted charm, which fact indicates a general diffusion of the poetic spirit, capable of making even inferior songsters beautifully and passionately articulate.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 155, and p. 599, footnote 3. The eleven verses (in Sragdharā, except verse 4 in Śārdūlavikrīḍita) of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Smaraṇa-maṅgala*, reconstructed from the somewhat corrupt MS belonging to the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad (*Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1116, p 234), is given below. The MS consists of seven folios ; and the colophon names Rūpa Gosvāmin as the author, and the work as *Smaraṇa-maṅgalaikādaśa*. But there is also a running gloss (not recorded in the *Catalogue*!) by one Rādhāvallabha-dāsa, which says at the end: इति सनत्कुमारसंहितापद्यानां चूर्णकसहितानि व्याख्यानि समाप्तानि श्रीराधावल्लभदासेन विरचितानि !

स्मरणमङ्गलैकादशम्

श्रीराधाप्राणबन्धोश्चरणकमलयोः केशशेषाद्यगम्या
या साध्या प्रेमसेवा व्रजचरितपरैर्गाढलौल्यैकलभ्या ।
सा स्यात्प्राप्ता यया तां प्रथयितुमधुना मानसीमस्य सेवां
भाव्यां रागाध्वपान्थैर्व्रजमनु चरितं नैत्यिकं तस्य नौमि ॥१
कुञ्जाद्गोष्ठं निशान्ते प्रविशति कुरुते दोहनान्नाशनाद्यां
प्रातः सायं च लीलां विहरति सखिभिः सङ्गरे चारयन् गाः ।
मध्याह्ने चाथ नक्तं विलसति विपिने राधयाद्यापराह्णे
गोष्ठं याति प्रदोषे रमयति सुहृदो यः स कृष्णोऽवतान्नः ॥२
राज्यन्ते त्रस्तवृन्देरितबहुविरवैर्बोधितौ कीरसारी-
पद्यैर्द्यैरहद्यैरपि सुखशयनादुत्थितौ तौ सखीभिः ।
दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा तदात्वोदितरतिललितौ कुक्कुटीगीःसशङ्कौ
राधाकृष्णौ सतृष्णावपि निजनिजधाम्न्याप्ततल्पौ स्मरामि ॥३

राधां स्नातविभूषितां व्रजपयाहूतां[1] सखीभिः प्रगे
तद्ग हे विहितान्नपाकरचनां कृष्णावशेषाशनाम् ।
कृष्णं वुद्धमवाप्तधेनुसदनं निर्व्यूढगोदोहनं
सुस्नातं कृतभोजनं सहचरैस्तां चाथ तं चाश्रये ॥४
पूर्वाह्णे धेनुमित्रैर्विपिनमनुसृतं गोष्ठलोकानुयातं
कृष्णं राधासिलोलं तदभिसृतिकृते प्राप्ततत्कुण्डतीरम् ।
राधां चालोक्य कृष्णं कृतगृहगमनामार्ययार्कार्चनायै[2]
दिष्टां कृष्णप्रवर्ते प्रहितनिजसखीवर्त्मनेत्रां स्मरामि ॥५
मध्याह्ने ऽन्योन्यसङ्गोदितविविधविकारादिभूषाप्रमुग्धौ
वाम्योत्कण्ठातिलोलौ स्मरमखललिताद्यालिनर्माप्तसातौ ।
दोलारण्याम्बुवंशीहृतिरतिमधुपानार्कपूजादिलीलौ
राधाकृष्णौ सतृष्णौ परिजनघटया सेव्यमानौ स्मरामि ॥६
श्रीराधां प्राप्तगेहां निजरमणकृते कल्पनानोपहारां
सुस्नातां रम्यवेशां प्रियमुखकमलालोकपूर्णप्रमोदाम् ।
कृष्णं चैवापराह्णे व्रजमनु चरितं धेनुवृन्दैर्वयस्यैः
श्रीराधालोकतृप्तं पितृमुखमिलित मातृमृष्यं स्मरामि ॥७
सायं राधां स्वसख्या निजरमणकृते प्रेषितानेकभोज्यां
सख्यानीते सशेषाशनमुदितहृदां तां च तं च व्रजेन्दुम् ।
सुस्नातं रम्यवेशं गृहमनु जननीलालितं प्राप्तगोष्ठं
निर्व्यूढश्रेणिदोहं स्वगृहमनु पुनर्भक्तवन्तं स्मरामि ॥८
राधां सालीगणान्तामसितसितनिशायोग्यवेशां प्रदोषे
दूत्या वृन्दोपदेशादभिसृतयमुनातीरकल्पागकुञ्जम् ।
कृष्णं गोपैः सभायां विहितगुणिकलालोकनं स्निग्धमात्रा
यत्नादानीय संशायितमथ निभृतं प्राप्तकुञ्जं स्मरामि ॥९

---

1 व्रजपा=व्रजेश्वरी यशोदा ।
2 आर्यया=जटिलया, अर्कार्चनायै=सूर्यपूजायै ।

तावुत्कौ लब्धसंज्ञौ वहुपरिचरणैर्वृन्दयाराध्यमानौ
गानैर्नर्मप्रहेलीलपनसुनटनै रासलास्यादिवद्धैः।
प्रेष्ठालीभिर्लसन्तौ रतिगणमनसौ सृष्टमाध्वीकपानौ
क्रीडाचार्यौ निकुञ्जे विविधरतिरसौ कृत्यविस्तारितान्तौ ॥१०
ताम्बूलैर्गन्धमाल्यैर्व्यजनहिमपयःपादसंवाहनाद्यैः
प्रेम्णा संसेव्यमानौ प्रणयिसहचरीसंचयेनाप्तसातौ।
वाचा कान्तेरणाभिर्निभृतरतिरसैः कुञ्जसुप्तालिसङ्घौ
राधाकृष्णौ निशायां सकुसुमशयनौ प्राप्तनिद्रौ स्मरामि ॥११

इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिना विरचितं स्मरणमङ्गलैकादशं संपूर्णम् ॥

One wonders if these pedestrian verses were really composed by an accomplished writer like Rūpa Gosvāmin!

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